

LSI

Special Studies ORISSA

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

FOREWORD

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Indian Administrative Service
Registrar General & Census Commissioner,
India

SUPERVISION AND GUIDANCE

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LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL INDIA

IN MEMORY OF

SIR. GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

**FOR HIS PIONEERING CONTRIBUTION
IN THE FIELD OF SURVEY OF INDIAN
LANGUAGES AND CLASSIFICATION
OF LANGUAGES IN INDIAN CENSUS**



**LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA
SPECIAL STUDIES**

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OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
GENERAL, INDIA
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FOREWORD

Of all the human inventions, language is the most ancient and yet the most important and indispensable one for the survival and development of mankind. It won't be an exaggeration if it is claimed that it is this invention which distinguishes human beings from other beings. In other words, man becomes a fullfledged species because of the capability to use both the spoken and the written form of language for communication.

Several languages richly endow the Indian social panorama. Languages belonging to four families, namely, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman are spoken in this vast land. Our country has a very rich and long tradition of description of languages. Ancient treatises like Panini's *Astadhyayi* and Tolkappiyar's *Tolkappiyam* bear clear evidence to the pinnacle achieved in giving accurate descriptions, par excellence, of languages. A unique characteristic of the Indian tradition of description of languages is that it prescribed the norms for different roles to be played by human beings in a society, the domain, where language is used.

Despite such a rich tradition, unfortunately, all the Indian languages did not have had full descriptions. Even today quite a few spoken languages remain as non-literary languages, languages without script, as a result of which they are without proper development. The efforts undertaken by Sir George A. Grierson and his team, led to a comprehensive study of the Indian languages and the descriptions of languages was published in several volumes during the years 1896-1927. It may be mentioned, however, that this survey, despite its usefulness and popularity at the national and international levels, had certain inadequacy, owing to the fact that the tools of research available at that time were not as developed as at present. It was only during the early years of the previous century that the subject of linguistics started to emerge as an independent field of study at the global level and India lost no time in establishing in several universities, linguistics as a field of scientific pursuit. This eventually gave a boost to the study of Indian languages and dialects as a consequence of which scientific tools and designs for description of Indian languages evolved. Moreover, with the gaining of independence and reorganization of states on linguistic basis, the geo-political boundaries of India have undergone a radical change after Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*.

With a view to overcome these constraints and to view the Indian languages from a technically advanced perspective, the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India submitted a proposal for the conduct of a fresh Linguistic Survey of India to the Government of India which was duly approved. Though the original proposal envisaged simultaneous survey of all languages of the country, later it was decided that the survey would be carried out state by state in view of certain administrative and technical constraints. Accordingly, this volume on Orissa presents a description of the various languages/dialects spoken in the state of Orissa besides giving the basic information on the sociolinguistic aspects of each of the languages included. It is believed, that now this volume presents a comprehensive picture on the linguistic composition of the Orissa state and fills in the long standing gap in this sphere of social sciences.

New Delhi
March, 2002

JAYANT KUMAR BANTHIA
REGISTRAR GENERAL
AND
CENSUS COMMISSIONER, INDIA

PREFACE

Realizing the need for studying all the Indian languages employing the tools made available by modern linguistics, the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India proposed to the Government of India for a major research project entitled Linguistic Survey of India. The proposal was accepted with modifications by the government during the Sixth Five Year Plan. Despite the fact that the project was initiated in 1981, it could not be started till 1983 due to procedural delays in recruiting the staff sanctioned for the project.

However, this project could not be carried out as was planned due to obvious infrastructural constraints. As a result, moderate progress could be achieved. In spite of the constraints mentioned above, we are happy to bring out the description of the languages and dialects spoken in the state of Orissa, first in the series under the title, *Linguistic Survey of India-Orissa*. Simultaneously field survey, analysis and report writing on the languages and dialects spoken in the states of Bihar, Sikkim, Rajasthan, West Bengal and the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli are in progress.

The following points may be mentioned by way of explaining the methodology adopted in this survey. First, the then Deputy Registrar General (Language) Dr. B. P. Mahapatra visited many of the Departments of Linguistics functioning in the Indian Universities, held discussions with the linguists serving there about the final design of the survey to be conducted by the Language Division. It may be pertinent to mention here that although the original proposal envisaged the simultaneous survey of all languages of the country, later it was decided that the survey would be carried out state by state in view of certain unavoidable constraints and to begin with the state of Orissa was taken up.

Next, steps were taken to design the tools for the survey. Software for use in the survey such as questionnaire: word list, sentence list and a story in English as connected text were finalized. The questionnaire constructed exclusively for use in this survey, contained questions pertaining to demographic, linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects. The word list containing five thousand words, the sentence list containing nine hundred sentences of different patterns were constructed and finalized. The story for getting it translated into the languages surveyed was also selected. Thus all these four software were used as tools in the field survey.

Selection of the informants for the survey was done through the Orissa Directorate of Census Operations and in consultation with the State Government officials. Introduction letters about the officials carrying out the survey were sent to the Directorate and also to the District Magistrates of various districts where field survey was carried out, and the cooperation and assistance of the government officials was solicited. These steps served the purpose of establishing a good rapport with the informants which ultimately resulted in the elicitation of good and reliable data on the languages under survey. The officials who collected data, trained linguists as they were, could do justice to their work and collected adequate amount of data for the survey. Informants for this survey were selected from among the adult speakers of the languages. Primary and secondary school teachers who were considered well versed with the language under study served as mediators between the researchers and the informants. This, in a way, helped a lot in getting cooperation from the informants and eventually good amount of data were elicited from them.

Elicitation of the data for the survey was done in a friendly atmosphere. Since a good amount of rapport was established by the researchers with the informants through government officials and teachers, practically, there was no problem in the collection of data, once the selection of the informants had been finalized. Two to three persons were selected to serve as informants for each of the language/dialect that was studied. The interview session consisted of

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the collecting word lists, sentence lists and also getting the story translated and transcribed into the language. The whole of the interview was recorded using tape recorders, the recordings of which were transcribed in the field, using narrow phonetic transcription based on the International Phonetic Script. The data transcribed thus were subjected to phonemisation process for the purpose of making phonemic inventory and analysis for the purpose of making grammatical and syntactic descriptions. The findings and conclusions of the analysis in the form of individual language descriptions, presented family wise.

About one hundred years have lapsed after Sir G. A. Grierson undertook his monumental survey of Indian Languages and more than fifty years have lapsed after India attained its freedom from foreign rule rendering a lot of changes in our society as also in our languages, thereby making it imperative on the part of the linguists to see what changes have taken place in Indian languages after Grierson's study. While some of the languages have attained the status of developed languages, some are in the process of being developed, some more are yet to develop, some others have lost their status (demographic and developmental) what they had achieved. Oriya, the official language of Orissa state, for example, had attained the status of a Scheduled Language; some languages like Santali etc, have got introduced into such areas of language use as mass media and education whereas some other languages like Bhumij etc., have shown a trend of stagnation. In this way, it can be said that the present survey, indeed, can help in taking stock of the linguistic situation prevailing in the country by providing a platform to researchers and interested people to compare it with the linguistic situation that was prevailing roughly a century ago.

The report on the survey has been presented in the following chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Indo-Aryan family (that is, mainly Oriya and its dialects)
3. Austro-Asiatic family and
4. Dravidian family

The introductory part of the survey report discusses the infrastructural facilities that were made available for carrying out the present survey, the methodology adopted, the significance of the survey as also the scope and limitations of the survey. The report begins with the description of Oriya and its dialects, namely, Sambalpuri, Relli, Bhatrī, Desia (Proja), Bhuyan and other Oriya tribal dialects including one community dialect (KeLa) and three Hindi dialects i.e. Laria, Binjhia and Sadan/Sadri. This presentation provides ample scope for a comparison of these speech forms. Finally, the report presents the descriptions of other languages, namely, Khond/Kondh, Kisan, Kui, Koya, Kuvi and Gadaba (Ollari) belonging to the Dravidian family and Bhumij, Bonda, Didei, Gadaba(Gutob), Ho, Juang, Kharia, Mundari, Parengi, Santali and Savara belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family.

The second part entitled Indo-Aryan family presents a description of Standard Oriya. It gives descriptions of the following five dialects of Oriya language also: 1. Sambalpuri, 2. Bhatrī, 3. Desia (Proja), 4. Relli and 5. Bhuyan. A comparative word list of one thousand lexical items of the four dialects is appended in the section to provide a scope for comparing the lexical items of these dialects of Oriya. Further, this chapter includes a section on the tribal dialects of Oriya also. Besides, a brief account of the phonological isoglosses, plotted in maps are included in this section.

The third part of the survey report entitled Austro-Asiatic family comprises of the descriptions of eleven languages, namely, 1. Bhumij, 2. Bonda, 3. Didei, 4. Gadaba(Gutob), 5. Ho, 6. Juang, 7. Kharia, 8. Mundari, 9. Parengi, 10. Santali and 11. Savara. The descriptions of

these eleven languages include a brief sociolinguistic account as well as a word list of two hundred and fifty 'basic vocabulary' items.

The description of languages, belonging to Dravidian family, is presented in part. The languages whose descriptions are included in this part are 1. Khond/Kond, 3. Koya, 4. Kui, 5. Kuvi and 6. Gadaba(Ollari). The descriptions include a brief sociolinguistic account of each of the language as also a word list of two hundred and fifty 'basic vocabulary' items.

Since the bibliographical information for each of the section is presented separately it was decided that no general bibliography need to be given in the end of this report.

The languages covered in this survey include the following five languages as referred to earlier, although their speakers strength did not appear in the census reports since 1971. Accordingly, only 1961 census figures are given for these languages in these descriptions. The five languages are 1. Bonda, 2. Didei, 3. Gadaba(Gutob), 4. Parengi (Austro-Asiatic family), 5. Gadaba(Ollari, Dravidian family).

The sociolinguistic descriptions of the languages included in this survey in general and that of Oriya language in particular give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation as found in Orissa. Moreover, the description of the bilingual situation prevailing in Orissa throws some light on the linguistic mobility of the people, especially the tribal communities inhabiting the Orissa state.

Considering the space limitation of the survey report, it was decided that the description of the Oriya language, descriptions of its dialects and those of other languages would be presented in the survey report in condensed form, although most of the descriptions are made in an elaborate manner and are available with the Language Division. The comparative word list of Oriya and its four dialects included in this survey, namely, 1. Sambalpuri, 2. Relli, 3. Bhatri and 4. Desia (Proja) presents 1000 items together with their gloss, arranged in the order as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and particles. The report on Bhuyan, another dialect of Oriya, has been adopted from a published article and hence the word list on Bhuyan could not be furnished in the table. The word lists for the rest of the languages in this survey contain 250 'basic vocabulary' items together with their glosses.

Only a brief attempt has been made to compare Grierson's survey reports on the languages of Orissa state with that of the present report, leaving ample scope to the readers to make comparison and draw conclusions.

It is a well established fact that when languages belonging to two or more families are spoken in a geographically contiguous areas, then it will result in convergence. The convergence of features may take place in all the levels of the language such as phonology, morphology, syntax and lexical items. In this survey, while preparing the descriptions across the family boundaries some of the features on convergence have been identified, although there is scope for making an elaborate study on the quantum and nature of linguistic convergence prevailing in Orissa.

It is inherent in human conditions to err and we make no claim to being an exception. Although the same questionnaire containing the word list, sentence list and a story along with a standard format developed for the survey, were given to all the researchers those who participated in the linguistic survey of Orissa, subjectivity in the descriptions and thereby uniformity in presentation could not be achieved. However, an effort has been made to reach the goal of uniformity as much as practicable.

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The description of languages, belonging to Dravidian family, is presented in the fourth part. The languages whose descriptions are included in this part are 1. Khond/Kondh, 2. Kisan, 3. Koya, 4. Kui, 5. Kuvi and 6. Gadaba(Ollari). The descriptions include a brief sociolinguistic account of each of the language as also a word list of two hundred and fifty 'basic vocabulary' items.

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The survey was initiated by Dr. B. P. Mahapatra, Deputy Registrar General (Language) in the year 1981 and following his retirement in January 1997 the work was continued by Shri S. S. Bhattacharya, Research Officer (Language) till Dr. C. Shivashanmugam took over the charge when he joined as Deputy Registrar General (Language) in February 1999. After his departure in February 2000 the work was again taken up by Shri S. S. Bhattacharya for finalisation of the volume a draft of which was prepared during the period of Dr. C. Shivashanmugam.

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Collection of a large amount of data on the languages and dialects spoken in the state of Orissa could not have been taken up and completed without the kind co-operation and help of the Directorate of Census Operations, Orissa, Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh and Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh and also the various District Magistrates and other officials. The informants extended their co-operation in this survey by delivering copious data. We constantly received co-operation and help from the Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal and we express our sincere gratitude to all of them at this juncture.

The co-operations and understanding that we received from the members of the staff of Language Division during the survey, writing of reports and finalization of the volume needs a special mention. But space restriction impedes to name them here separately as they deserve. Thus, their names have been mentioned in the Acknowledgement section.

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 Senior Stenographer
 Senior Stenographer
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations: General

AA	Austro-Asiatic
Dco	Directorate of Census Operations
DR	Dravidian
F	Female
IA	Indo-Aryan
L/Lg	Language
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
M	Male
MT	Mother Tongue
P	Person
Std.O	Standard Oriya
T	Total
U	Urban
U.Ts.	Union Territories

Abbreviations: Grammatical Descriptions

abl.	Ablative	dir.	Direct
acc.	Accusative	DL	Dental
adj.	Adjective	dl.	Dual
adv.	Adverb	e.	Elder
AL.	Alveolar	excl.	Exclusive
anim.	Animate	fem.	Feminine
asp.	Aspirated	frac.	Fractional
aux.	Auxiliary	ft.	Finite
BL.	Bilabial	fut.	Future
C	Consonant	gen./Gen.	Genitive
card.	Cardinal	GL.	Glottal
caus.	Causative	hon.	Honorific
cl.	Clause	hum.	Human
condl.	Conditional	imp.	Imperative
cont.	Continuous	imperf.	Imperfect
dat.	Dative	inanim.	Inanimate
Dem/demons.	Demonstrative	incl.	Inclusive
indef.	Indefinite	pr.	Present
inf.	Infinitive	pre.	Preposition
instr.	Instrumental	pred.	Predicate
inter.	Interrogative	pt.	Past
intrans.	Intransitive	reflex.	Reflexive
loc.	Locative	relat.	Relative
LD	Labio-Dental	RT	Retroflex
masc.	Masculine	sing.	Singular
neg.	Negative	soc.	Sociative
nom.	Nominative	SOV	Subject-Object-Verb

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations: General

AA	Austro-Asiatic
Dco	Directorate of Census Operations
DR	Dravidian
F	Female
IA	Indo-Aryan
L/Lg	Language
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
M	Male
MT	Mother Tongue
P	Person
Std.O	Standard Oriya
T	Total
U	Urban
U.Ts.	Union Territories

Abbreviations: Grammatical Descriptions

abl.	Ablative	dir.	Direct
acc.	Accusative	DL	Dental
adj.	Adjective	dl.	Dual
adv.	Adverb	e.	Elder
AL	Alveolar	excl.	Exclusive
anim.	Animate	fem.	Feminine
asp.	Aspirated	frac.	Fractional
aux.	Auxiliary	ft.	Finite
BL	Bilabial	fut.	Future
C	Consonant	gen./Gen.	Genitive
card.	Cardinal	GL	Glottal
caus.	Causative	hon.	Honorific
cl.	Clause	hum.	Human
condl.	Conditional	imp.	Imperative
cont.	Continuous	imperf.	Imperfect
dat.	Dative	inanim.	Inanimate
Dem/demons.	Demonstrative	incl.	Inclusive
indef.	Indefinite	pr.	Present
inf.	Infinitive	pre.	Preposition
instr.	Instrumental	pred.	Predicate
inter.	Interrogative	pt.	Past
intrans.	Intransitive	reflex.	Reflexive
loc.	Locative	relat.	Relative
LD	Labio-Dental	RT	Retroflex
masc.	Masculine	sing.	Singular
neg.	Negative	soc.	Sociative
nom.	Nominative	SOV	Subject-Object-Verb

non-ft	Non-finite
non-hum.	Non-human
NP	Noun phrase
nt.	Neuter
obj.	Object
obl.	Oblique
part.	Participle
pass.	Passive
per.	Person
perf.	Perfect
PNG	Person-Number-Gender
PNM	Person-Number- Marker
PL.	Palatal
pl.	plural

subj.	Subject
trans.	Transitive
unasp.	Unaspirated
V	Vowel
vb.	Verb
VL	Velar
voc.	Vocative
VP	Verb Phrase
VR	Variable Rule
y	Young
I	First person
II	Second person
III	Third Person

Symbols used

V:/ 6	long vowel	A	high mid central vowel
l V	vowel – short-long	b', d'	bilabial, dental implosives
ɹ	vowel – half		
~ V	nasalised vowel	C, J	voiceless alveolar, voiced alveolar affricates
Ω	back mid rounded vowel	D	voiced alveolar retroflex
//	phonemic representation	d	voiced alveolar stop
[]	phonetic representation	E	low mid front vowel
()	parenthesis	I, U	lax high front, high back vowel
{ }	conditions on variables	L	lateral retroflex
• ∞	allomorph boundary	M	velar nasal
# #	word-boundary	M'	palatal nasal
φ	zero morpheme	N	retroflex nasal
→ / >	indicating 'becoming'	ŋ	dental nasal

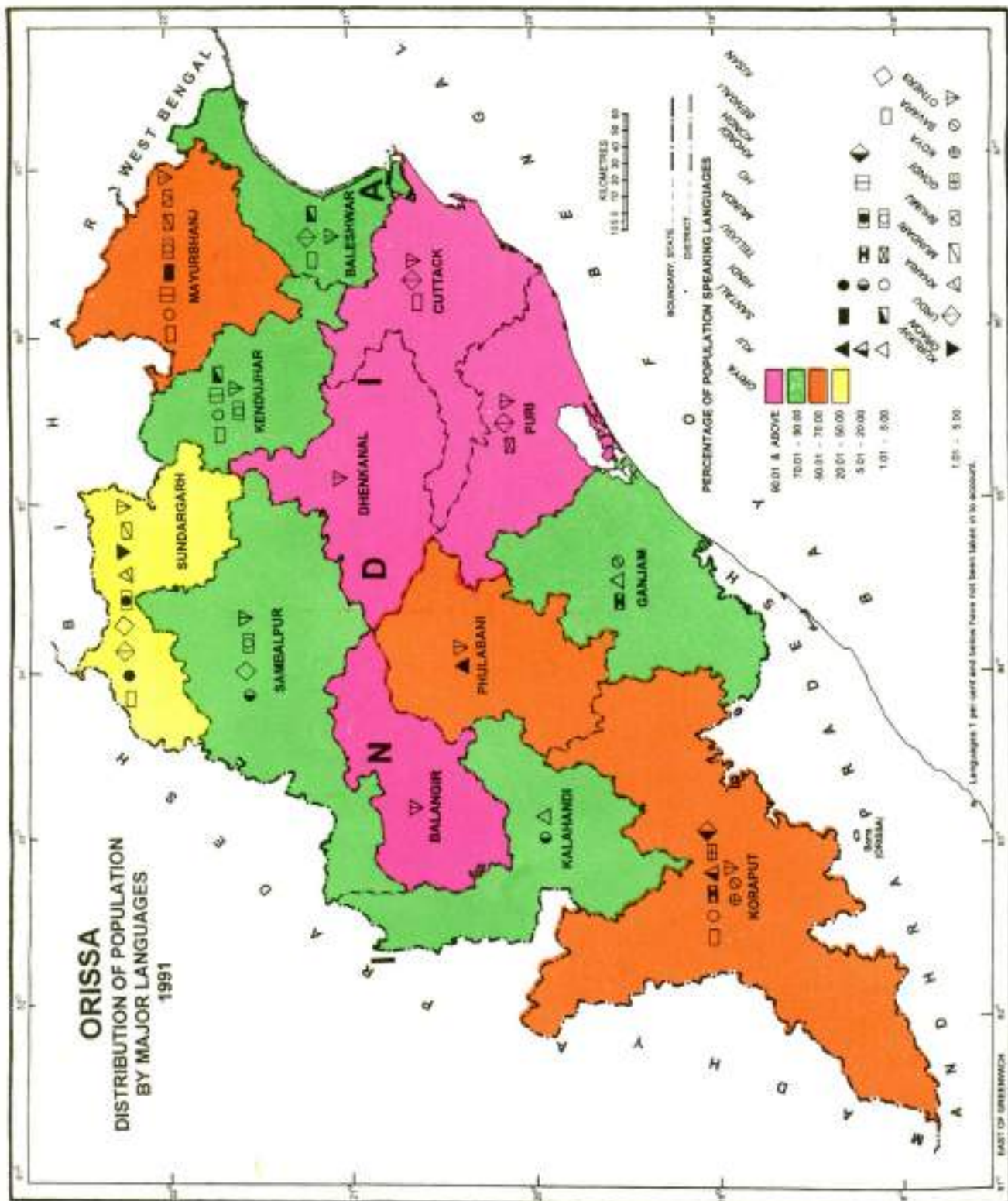
<	indicating 'coming from'	O	low-mid back vowel
p', t'	voiceless bilabial, dental ejectives	R	retroflex flap
s	voiceless dental fricative	˘	superscript, for vowelisation
S	voiceless retroflex fricative	S'	voiceless palatal fricative
T	voiceless alveolar retroflex	t̪	voiceless alveolar stop
ʔ	glottal stop	ɪ	high central vowel
ɛ	Mean-mid front vowel		
ʌ	open mid back unrounded vowel		

Abbreviations: Journals, Books, etc.

DED	Dravidian Etymological Dictionary
DLA	Dravidian Linguistics Association
IL	Indian Linguistics
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
ODBL	Origin and Development of Bengali Language
ORGI	Office of the Registrar General, India
SOAS	Oriental School of African Studies

MAPS AND FACING PAGES

Orissa- Administrative Division 1991-	Facing Page-ii
Distribution of Population by Major Languages-	Facing Page-1
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Presence/Absence of Metathetic Vowel Change -	
Presence/Absence of Word Final - 'O'	
Presence/Absence of Five Vowel / Six Vowel systems	
Presence/Absence of L/l and N/n	



INTRODUCTION

Indian grammatical heritage

India has been rightly described as a museum of languages. This nation showcases languages belonging to four families, namely, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman and some unidentified languages like Andamanese, Onge etc. The enormous variety of languages and their dialects spoken by millions of people inhabiting the country, each having its own characteristic features and peculiarities distinct from others and also at the same time having certain common linguistic traits that have developed over a long period of co-existence and resultant contact, bear a clear testimony to its rich tradition.

The vast heritage and rich tradition of the country can be understood completely and comprehensively by more and more extensive and deeper synchronic studies of languages and dialects which are but the manifestations of the culture found in the length and breadth of the country.

The scholarly achievement of ancient India in the field of linguistics is a well acknowledged fact. If one views from the point of view of exhaustiveness, internal consistency and economy of statements, *Panini's* grammar of Sanskrit *Astadhyayi* and *Tolkappiyar's* grammar of Tamil *Tolkappiyam* are contributions without any parallel. It is to be emphasised here that *vyakarana*, the grammar, was developed as an independent discipline for the study of language in ancient India.

Describing the high calibre of *Panini's* work Bloomfield (1953) observes that *Panini's* work is "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence". Similarly, *Tolkappiyam*, the earliest extant Tamil grammatical work, has won the appreciation of one and all in the world of linguistics.

The division between ancient and modern times came as a result of scholarly contact with the west. The classical period in ancient times that saw the rise of linguistic science is undoubtedly the one associated with *Panini*, his predecessors on the one hand and *Tolkappiyar*, his predecessors and successors, on the other hand. A close scholarly contact with India and the west resulted in the recognition of the existence of Indo-European family with the introduction of Sanskrit as a serious object of study, and the emergence of comparative philology. There are many aspects of the 19th century linguistics as well as the linguistics of the 20th century which derived inspiration from the rich heritage of linguistics in India.

The first attempt towards a systematic study of Indian languages was made in 1816 by W.Carey and other fellow missionaries giving 34 specimens of 33 Indian languages. But they were all treated as Sanskritic in origin. It was only after Carey's report, the Non-Aryan languages received the attention of the scholars. In 1837 *A Comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages* was published by Brown and in 1847 *A Comparative Vocabulary of the sub-Himalayan dialects* was published by Hodgson. Later on, he produced the *Vocabularies of Munda and Dravidian forms of speech*. In 1854, Maxmuller, for the first time, established the existence of the Munda family of languages independent of Dravidian group. Two years later, in 1856, Caldwell's *Comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages* was published. This was for the first time that a group of Indian languages was studied systematically in a holistic manner by a single scholar.

The two important contributions, namely Beam's *Comparative grammar of the Aryan languages of India* (1867) and Hoernle's *Grammar of Eastern Hindi compared with the other Gaudian languages* (1880) had laid the foundation for further research on mutual relationship of languages of Indo-Aryan origin.

It was W.W. Hunter who laid the foundations of statistical collection of data in every field including sociology and ethnography. His contributions include *Comparative dictionary of the non-Aryan languages of India*. His concern was shared at that time in the works of Hunter's monumental series of statistical accounts, which continued in the scheme of gazetteers, and the great decennial Indian census which began in 1871-1872.

Linguistic studies or philological studies in the initial days were considered as oriental studies. These studies opened with the Wilson philological Lecture Series of the University of Bombay delivered by R.G. Bhandarkar, John Beams, A. F. Hoernle and Robert Caldwell. The complexion of linguistic studies during this period was decidedly historical and comparative in orientation and horizon was Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.

The next period may be dated from the publication of Jules Bloch's *La formation de la langue Marathe* and the studies conducted by T. Graham Baley and R.L. Turner and others who realised the importance of studying vernaculars of India in their own right. The early part of 20th century witnessed three major events, namely, 1. publication of S.K. Chatterjee's *Origin and Development of Bengali Language* (1926), 2. the formation of Linguistic Society of India (1928) and 3. the completion of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (1928). The period between 1928-1954 has seen the effort of the scholars to evolve methods for writing grammars of Indian vernaculars independent of the Sanskrit model.

Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India

While this type of scholarly activity was going on in the Indian sub-continent, activities elsewhere in the globe actually gave a further momentum to the study of languages in India. In the year 1886, the Oriental Congress at Vienna passed a resolution urging upon the British Government of India to undertake a systematic survey of the languages of India. Thus, the Linguistic Survey of India appeared in Indian politico-linguistic scenario under the superintendentship of Sir George Abraham Grierson, who had joined the Indian Civil Service in the year 1873. Being associated with Indian decennial census of 1901, Grierson brought out the complementary publications of the Indian Census and Linguistic Survey of India. His survey covered 400 millions of people embracing four families of languages with all their sub-families and branches. The results of the census, according to Grierson, should be made to feed a scientific survey while the conclusions of such a survey should help in the calibration of census result and guide the future census operations. Thus it can be said that his census operation complemented his linguistic survey. The scheme of classification of language followed in Indian census in 1901 and in subsequent censuses upto 1931 was based on the classification proposed by Grierson in 1901 and later in his Linguistic Survey of India.

The survey made by Sir George Grierson and his team during the years 1894 – 1927 (*LSI* Vol-1 pt-1 p-17) covered most of the languages spoken throughout India and the descriptions of those languages were published in 11 volumes in 19 parts running to 9,440 pages, plus addenda minora.

As per the government of India despatch No. 78, dated the 10th March, 1898 "the survey extends over the whole of India except Burma, Madras and Hyderabad. That is to say, it covers Assam, Lower Bengal, Nepal, the North-Western provinces, the Punjab including Kashmir and the neighboring countries, Rajputana, Central India, the Central Provinces, Berar, Bombay and Sindh together with (in the case of British Provinces) the connected Native States".

The work done during the survey consisted of two main parts. The first part consisted of the collection of lists from the local authorities, showing what were the languages and dialects spoken in each local area. These lists were to be edited as far as possible, and compiled into

provincial rough lists. They were confessedly 'rough lists' and did not profess to be scientifically accurate. The second part of the work consisted of the collection of specimens prepared by local officers of every language and dialect mentioned by each in the rough list submitted by him. Grierson's task was to edit the specimens and to publish making selection from them. With their aid, he had to identify the various languages and dialects mentioned under various names in the rough lists, and to assign to each its habitat.

The third part of the work aimed at establishing groups among languages on the basis of their genealogy.

The groups identified by Grierson were

- (1) The Indo-Aryan languages,
- (2) The Iranian languages,
- (3) The Dravidian,
- (4) The so-called Kolarian languages, which henceforth may be called as Munda languages.
- (5) The Tibeto-Burman languages and
- (6) The unclassified languages of the North-West frontier.

Contents of Grierson's *LSI*

The contents of the *LSI* were as follows:

Vol.I Pt(i) Introduction, 1927 pp:517 + E

Pt(ii) Comparative vocabulary of Indian languages, 1928, pp:337 + Index Verborum.

Vol.II Mon- khmer and Tai families, 1924, pp:233

Tibeto-Burman languages

Vol.III Pt (i) Himalayan dialects, North Assam groups, 1909 pp:641 + Ad.

Pt(ii) Bodo-Naga and Kachin groups, 1923 pp: 528.

Pt(iii) Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups, 1904, pp:403.

Munda and Dravidian languages

Vol.IV Munda and Dravidian languages, 1906, pp:681 + Ad.

Indo-Aryan languages

Vol.V Eastern group

Pt(i) Bengali and Assamese, 1903, pp:446 +Ad.

Pt(ii) Bihari and Oriya, 1903, pp:449 +Ad.

Vol.VI Mediate group (Eastern Hindi) 1904, pp:277 +Ad.

Vol.VII Southern group (Marathi) 1905, pp:409 + Ad.

Vol.VIII North-Western Group

Pt(i) Sindhi and Lahnda, 1919, pp: 584 + Ad.

Pt(ii) Dardic or Pisacha languages (including Kashmiri) 1919, pp:567+Ad.

Vol.IX Cenral Group

Pt(i) Western Hindi and Punjabi, 1916, pp:823 + Ad.

Pt(ii) Rajasthani and Gujarati, 1908, pp:477 + Ad.

- Pt(iii) Bhili languages including Khandeshi, Banjari or Labani, Bahurupia etc. 1907, pp:325 + Ad.
 Pt(iv) Pahari languages and Gujuri, 1916, pp:981 + Ad.
 Vol.X Iranian Family, 1921, pp:549 + Ad.
 Vol.XI Gipsy Languages, 1922, pp:213 + Ad.

Critique of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (LSI)

Since the LSI the geopolitical boundaries of the Indian subcontinent have undergone considerable change. For example, lengthy coverage of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh which are no more part of India, and at the same time scanty coverage of the greater part of Deccan and Madras Presidency are the definite shortcomings of the survey.

Of the four families, namely, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic, the major portion of the survey deals with the Indo-Aryan languages and one volume only (vol. IV) deals with the two major language families of India, that is, Dravidian and Munda in a highly unsatisfactory manner. Vol.X deals with Iranian languages and Vol.III parts (i) and (ii) deal exclusively with non-Indian languages. As regards Tibeto-Burman languages, data were not available to the editor and no samples were available as survey material.

All these points led to a general agreement among the academics in general and linguists in particular both in India and abroad that a new comprehensive survey on all languages spoken in India based upon the modern principles and theories of linguistics must be undertaken immediately. Their observations on the scope and the methods of Grierson's LSI are worth noting. Such an eminent scholar like Murray B. Emeneau, observes that "the late Sir George Abraham Grierson's monumental Linguistic Survey of India was an experiment in dialect mapping, which can be regarded as only a partial success. The method of collecting materials essentially by having minor local government officials, fill in a questionnaire, have the parable of Prodigal son translated, and add whatever else they could, only produce material inadequate for either descriptive or comparative purposes; none of it can be trusted as accurate..... The Linguistic Survey, despite its Fourth Volume on Dravidian and Munda languages, did not extend its operations into Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore states, and consequently failed to describe the dialects of the greater part of the Dravidian speaking territory. Moreover, its mesh was wide and its methods so hit-or-miss that several of the Dravidian languages in central India were missed altogether.....On the Munda languages little need to be said. They have so far either been badly described or known only as names in the Survey, which certainly did not succeed in mapping them all.....The remaining languages of India shall be passed over in silence -Burushaski, Khasi, the Tibeto-Burmese languages of the northern and eastern border-lands, the Iranian languages of the western borders, and others. Descriptions in a modern sense are virtually lacking". [M.B. Emeneau- *India and Linguistics* (1955); *Language and linguistic area*, Ed. A.S. Dil, Stanford University Press, 1980: pp-30-32].

The above discussion emphasises the need for a linguistic survey of India on an extensive and scientific line. Presently, the languages of India are trying hard to take their legitimate place as languages of identity, as media of instruction, administration, judiciary and creative literature and also they try to become truly national languages in all respects. It is, therefore, felt that the need to study the existing languages and their dialects and recover the untold linguistic wealth of the country as preserved in the spoken tongues is a sacred duty of every one of us, and particularly linguists and others who consciously use language as an expression of creative activity.

Present L S I

Considering the need of the time, a scheme for fresh linguistic survey of India was approved by the Government of India. The Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India was entrusted with this assignment and accordingly steps were taken to survey state by state and publish the results, although originally it was not decided that the survey will be undertaken state by state.

Aims of the Present Survey

The proposal submitted to the Government contained the following items as its aims.

The present survey pursues the five objectives listed: (1) demographic, (2) geographic-linguistic, (3) historic-linguistic, (4) socio-linguistic and (5) cartographic. Since Grierson's Survey scholars are informed of the languages that are spoken on the national territory of India. Nevertheless, our knowledge of how these languages are divided into dialects, upto which point the neighbouring dialects are mutually intelligible, how do the languages distinguish themselves on the plane of linguistic analysis, and where through the linguistic boundaries pass, etc. is not very satisfactory. These are questions which not only interest the linguists and the historians, but these are of concern to the other scientists, administrators and planners of the country.

Keeping these aims in view the following steps were taken in the present survey.

- 1) To relate the present state of knowledge of specific languages.
- 2) To relate Grierson's survey to the present findings.
- 3) To classify and evaluate new information and to give any information which may help the classification of specific language.
- 4) To assess the total extent of linguistic research in each language.

The nature of data for these programmes are outlined as follows.

- i) The preparation of the programme of pilot studies.
- ii) The collection and elicitation of linguistic data.
- iii) The dialectological analysis of the material collected and the representation thereof in appropriate formats.

For presentation of the Survey results on each language/dialect of the states the format devised has been structured as below.

Introduction

Family affiliation

Location

Speaker's strength

Bilingualism

Review of earlier literature available on the language/dialect/mother tongue

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental phonemes

Vowels

Consonants

Suprasegmental phonemes

Length

Nasalisation

Phonemic description

Vowels

Consonants

Major allophonic distribution

- Vowels
 - Consonants
 - Diphthongs
 - Consonant cluster
 - Syllable
- Morphophonemics**
- Morphology**
 - Noun-morphology**
 - Noun
 - Number
 - Gender
 - Case
 - Postposition
 - Pronoun
 - Adjective
 - Numeral
 - Classifier
 - Verb – morphology**
 - Verb
 - Finite verb
 - Tense
 - Aspect
 - Mood
 - Non-finite verb
 - Infinitive
 - Verbal noun
 - Gerund
 - Participle
 - Causative verb
 - Auxiliary verb
 - Negative verb
 - Compound verb
 - Passive formation
 - Transitivity
 - Adverb
 - Particle/clitic
 - Echo word/reduplication
- Syntax**
 - Description of types of Sentences
 - Interrogative
 - Imperative
 - Negative
 - Causative
 - Coordination
 - Description of patterns of Sentences
 - Simple
 - Complex
 - Compound

Brief sociolinguistic information

Lexicon

Bibliography

L S I : Orissa

The Survey of Orissa is the first venture in the series of Linguistic Survey of India undertaken by the Language Division.

Specific Objectives of the Present Survey

1. Preparation of a description of the main language of the state, namely, Oriya, together with a brief description of its dialects.
2. Preparation of concise description of the remaining languages spoken in the state with sample lexical lists.
3. Preparation of a brief sociolinguistic profile of all the languages and dialects spoken in Orissa wherever available and presenting it along with the description of individual languages.
4. Assessment of the earlier linguistic research works done on these languages.
5. Preparation of a comparative word list of the various dialects of the Oriya language of the state, and
6. Preparation of the isogloss maps on some selected linguistic features identifying the dialect areas.

General profile of Orissa

Each of the states constituting Indian Republic can be described as a 'mini India' since it accommodates people of diverse ethnic - and consequent diverse linguistic and cultural - backgrounds within it. This principle of unity in diversity, in fact, has been the effective force which keeps India as a single unit. Orissa is no exception to this phenomenon. One can find the people of diverse culture settled in this state. Protected and enriched by the Bay of Bengal on the east, flanked by Andhra Pradesh on the south, West Bengal on the north, Bihar on the north-west and Madhya Pradesh on the west, this state - historically known as *Kalinga* - strives hard to project itself as a developing state.

Present Orissa state has been divided into thirty revenue districts (*Orissa: volume of states of our Union series*, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1997, pp-22) to facilitate development and progress in all fields. However, the field work for the present survey was carried out during the eighties and nineties of this century and at 1991 there were only thirteen districts in Orissa. As a result, this survey report gives facts and figures as per the 1991 census division of district boundaries only.

The latest published census data is that of 1991 census, according to which the modern Orissa state is divided into thirteen districts covering an area of 1,55,707 square kilometre with a population of 31,659,736 (*Census of India 1991, series 19 Orissa Part-II- A General Population Tables*).

Of the 25 states in India, and 7 Union Territories Orissa has been chosen in this volume of the report on the Linguistic Survey of India due to the following reasons. Since historic time, Orissa has been a place of pilgrimage for people belonging to all states of India. The monumental temple of Lord Jagannath constructed by the tribal leader of the Savara group attracts large number of devotees throughout the year. Moreover, for quite a long time Orissa has been a homeland for many tribal settlements too. Except the coastal districts like Balasore, Puri, Ganjam, etc. throughout

Orissa different tribes like Savara, Juang, Kandha, Paraja, Santal, Koya, Bhumia, Gadaba, etc. have settled in Orissa constituting 22.3 percent of 31.7 million population of Orissa. Owing to the influence of Oriya language, more and more speakers of other languages are switching to Oriya language abandoning their respective mother tongues. This situation is gaining currency among the younger generations of the tribal population in alarming proportion and consequently these tribal languages face marginalisation. Although it is true of other tribal population settled elsewhere in India, Orissa has been chosen because of the following exclusive reasons.

There are no organizations or institutions in Orissa which are out and out devoted to the study and development of languages spoken in Orissa with the result that many of the languages and dialects of Orissa remain unexplored and undescribed. This survey fills that gap and makes the descriptions of all the languages/variants spoken in Orissa available to the users who are interested in the linguistic treasure of the land.

Linguistic profile of Orissa

Orissa houses all the eighteen languages that are enlisted in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. This linguistic diversity, it can be said, reinforces harmony among our people. Socially and culturally, it breeds tolerance and fosters mutual understanding. Before going into the details of linguistic profile of Orissa state a few words about 'language' and 'mother tongue' nomenclature in Indian decennial census would be useful for the readers.

A mother tongue in census is a self declaration. As per census instruction, a person is free to declare name of his mother tongue without succumbing to any sort of pressure and the enumerator has to record the same faithfully and without any prejudice or bias. As such, in the declaration of one's mother tongue many a time it is witnessed that in the name of mother tongues the place names, proper names, sect names, caste names, region names, religion names, etc. have come up in the record of the enumeration slip. The enumerator while operating in the field is not authorised to change the mother tongue names so returned. These mother tongues undergo rigorous scrutiny and the process of rationalisation in order to arrive at a rationalised list of mother tongues in each censuses. In 1991 census this enlisted 1576 mother tongue names eliminating all the spurious returns. These 1576 rationalised mother tongues were further classified following the usual linguistic methods for rational grouping based on available linguistic information thus leading to a consolidated number of 114 languages having minimum speakers strength of 10,000 and above at the all India level.

In census the dichotomy language/mother tongue is co-terminus and as such both language and mother tongue data have been shown in the language table (Table C-7) of 1991 census. In this volume also Mother Tongue data which is exclusive and Language data which is inclusive of its variants i.e. mother tongues grouped under each have been shown.

The linguistic composition of the people living in Orissa, as gleaned from census 1991 is presented below.

Out of the total rationalized 1576 mother tongues of 1991 census at All India level, 91 are seen to have been returned from the state of Orissa. These 91 mother tongues are grouped under 18 scheduled languages and 45 non-scheduled languages along with a total of other mother tongues kept under 'others' which comprises 33,810 speakers out of total 31,659,736 speakers in the state of Orissa.

Name of languages / mother tongue(s) grouped under each of the 18 Scheduled languages

1.	Assamese	370
2.	Bengali	442,971
	i) Bengali	439,170
	ii) Others	3,801
3.	Gujarati	24,636
	i) Gujarati	17,027
	ii) Saurashtra/Saurashtri	13
	iii) Others	7,596
4.	Hindi	759,016
	i) Hindi	301,112
	ii) Awadhi	28
	iii) Bagheli/Baghelkhandi	2
	iv) Banjari	3,742
	v) Bhojpuri	5,949
	vi) Braj Bhasha	8
	vii) Chhattisgarhi	83,785
	viii) Garhwali	42
	ix) Haryanvi	301
	x) Kangri	1
	xi) Kumauni	5
	xii) Kurmali Thar	21,984
	xiii) Laria	61,920
	xiv) Lodhi	2
	xv) Magadhi/Magahi	1,197
	xvi) Maithili	1,173
	xvii) Malvi	40
	xviii) Marwari	9,865
	xix) Nagpuria	307
	xx) Pahari	978
	xxi) Rajasthani	1,175
	xxii) Sadan/Sadri	248,089
	xxiii) Others	17,311
5.	Kannada	1,743
	i) Kannada	1,242
	ii) Others	501
6.	Kashmiri	82
	i) Kashmiri	82
7.	Konkani	282
	i) Konkani	149
	ii) Others	133
8.	Malayalam	16,246
	i) Malayalam	14,922
	ii) Others	1,324
9.	Manipuri	100
	i) Manipuri	100

10.	Marathi		3,806
	i)	Marathi	3,687
	ii)	Others	119
11.	Nepali		9,689
	i)	Nepali	9,688
	ii)	Others	1
12.	Oriya		26,199,346
	i)	Oriya	25,908,888
	ii)	Bhatri	64,032
	iii)	Proja	114,289
	iv)	Relli	442
	v)	Sambalpuri	40,100
	vi)	Others	71,595
13.	Punjabi		21,205
	i)	Punjabi	19,552
	ii)	Bagri	1
	iii)	Others	1,652
14.	Sanskrit		78
	i)	Sanskrit	75
	ii)	Others	3
15.	Sindhi		2,612
	i)	Sindhi	2,244
	ii)	Kachchhi	367
	iii)	Others	1
16.	Tamil		11,502
	i)	Tamil	11,497
	ii)	Others	5
17.	Telugu		665,001
	i)	Telugu	663,833
	ii)	Others	1,168
18.	Urdu		502,102
	i)	Urdu	502,055
	ii)	Others	47

Name of the languages / Mother Tongues grouped under each of the Non – Scheduled languages

1.	Adi		3
	i)	Others	3
2.	Angami		1
	i)	Angami	1
3.	Ao		1
	i)	Others	1
4.	Bhili/Bhilodi		12
	i)	Kokna/Kokni/Kukna	2
	ii)	Others	10
5.	Bhotia		1
	i)	Bhotia	1

6.	Bhumij		27,669
	i)	Bhumij	26,513
	ii)	Others	1,156
7.	Coorgi/Kodagu		6
	i)	Coorgi/Kodagu	6
8.	Dogri		46
	i)	Dogri	46
9.	English		1,063
	i)	English	1,063
10.	Gadaba		18,927
	i)	Gadaba	18,927
11.	Garó		17
	i)	Garó	1
	ii)	Others	16
12.	Gondi		51,948
	i)	Gondi	39,083
	ii)	Ganda/Gando	12,520
	iii)	Kalari	1
	iv)	Maria	134
	v)	Muria	195
	vi)	Others	15
13.	Halabi		2,593
	i)	Halabi	2,593
14.	Ho		292,619
	i)	Ho	291,942
	ii)	Others	677
15.	Juang		16,848
	i)	Juang	16,848
16.	Khandeshi		6
	i)	Others	6
17.	Kharia		89,336
	i)	Kharia	88,905
	ii)	Others	431
18.	Khasi		55
	i)	Khasi	55
19.	Khond/Kondh		193,775
	i)	Khond/Kondh	191,177
	ii)	Kuvi	2,457
	iii)	Others	141
20.	Kinnauri		3
	i)	Others	3
21.	Kisan		160,704
	i)	Kisan	160,704
22.	Koda/Kora		1,333
	i)	Koda/Kora	1,320
	ii)	Others	13
23.	Kolami		60
	i)	Kolami	60

24.	Konda		285
	i)	Others	285
25.	Korwa		377
	i)	Korwa	157
	ii)	Others	220
26.	Koya		101,752
	i)	Koya	101,752
27.	Kui		636,005
	i)	Kui	636,005
28.	Kuki		136
	i)	Others	136
29.	Kurukh/Oraon		85,358
	i)	Kurukh/Oraon	80,681
	ii)	Others	4,677
30.	Lahnda		6
	i)	Multani	2
	ii)	Others	4
31.	Lotha		1
	i)	Lotha	1
32.	Lushai/Mizo		13
	i)	Lushai/Mizo	3
33.	Mishmi		1
	i)	Others	1
34.	Munda		253,206
	i)	Munda	169,399
	ii)	Kol	82,704
	iii)	Others	1,103
35.	Mundari		145,097
	i)	Mundari	145,084
	ii)	Others	13
36.	Nicobarese		2
	i)	Nicobarese	2
37.	Nissi/Dafla		1
	i)	Apatani	1
38.	Parji		7,222
	i)	Dhurwa	6,349
	ii)	Others	873
39.	Pochury		3
	i)	Others	3
40.	Santali		661,849
	i)	Santali	616,337
	ii)	Karmali	42,808
	iii)	Mahili	678
	iv)	Others	2,026
41.	Savara		214,523
	i)	Savara	214,523

42.	Tibetan		2,005
	i) Tibetan		1,980
	ii) Others		25
43.	Tripuri		3
	i) Tripuri		3
44.	Tulu		1
	i) Tulu		1
45.	Total of others		33,810

All the 91 mother tongues returned from Orissa do not have equal demographic significance for the state of Orissa. Fifteen numerically biggest languages in descending order of speakers' strength and fifteen numerically biggest mother tongues, grouped under different languages along with their percentage to the total population of the state in 1991 census are, therefore, shown below for understanding the language situation of Orissa from the census point of view.

TABLE - I

Fifteen numerically biggest languages in descending order of strength in Orissa

Sl. No.	Orissa Language	Number of Persons who returned the Language as their mother tongue					
		Persons	Percentage to State total Population	Rural	Urban	Proportion Rural	Proportion Urban
1.	Oriya	26,199,346	82.75	23,063,312	3,136,034	88.03	11.97
2.	Hindi	759,016	2.40	441,351	317,665	58.15	41.85
3.	Telugu	665,001	2.10	401,283	263,718	60.34	39.66
4.	Santali	661,849	2.09	630,974	30,875	95.34	4.66
5.	Kui	636,005	2.01	625,343	10,662	98.32	1.68
6.	Urdu	502,102	1.59	306,521	195,581	61.05	38.95
7.	Bengali	442,971	1.40	322,857	120,114	72.88	27.12
8.	Ho	292,619	0.92	281,233	11,386	96.11	3.89
9.	Munda	253,206	0.80	225,894	27,312	89.21	10.79
10.	Savara	214,523	0.68	213,258	1,265	99.41	0.59
11.	Khond/Kondh	193,775	0.61	190,033	3,742	98.07	1.93
12.	Kisan	160,704	0.51	150,619	10,085	93.72	6.28
13.	Mundari	145,097	0.46	134,687	10,410	92.83	7.17
14.	Koya	101,752	0.32	101,634	118	99.88	0.12
15.	Kharia	89,336	0.28	82,229	7,107	92.04	7.96
	Others	342,434	1.08	253,525	88,909	74.04	25.96
All Mother Tongues Total		31,659,736	100.00	27,424,753	4,234,983	86.62	13.38

TABLE - II

Fifteen numerically biggest mother tongues in descending order of strength in Orissa

Sl. No.	Orissa Mother Tongue	Persons	Percentage to State total Population	Rural	Urban	Proportion Rural	Proportion Urban
1.	Oriya	25,908,888	81.84	22,94,744	3,114,144	87.98	12.02
2.	Telugu	663,833	2.10	400,117	263,716	60.27	39.73
3.	Kui	636,005	2.01	625,343	10,662	98.32	1.68
4.	Santali	616,337	1.95	586,142	30,195	95.10	4.90
5.	Urdu	502,055	1.59	306,494	195,561	61.05	38.95
6.	Bengali	439,170	1.39	322,183	116,987	73.36	26.64
7.	Hindi	301,112	0.95	61,318	239,794	20.36	79.64
8.	Ho	291,942	0.92	280,616	11,326	96.12	3.88
9.	Sadan/Sadri	248,089	0.78	199,929	48,160	80.59	19.41
10.	Savara	214,523	0.68	213,258	1,265	99.41	0.59
11.	Khond/Kondh	191,177	0.60	187,435	3,742	98.04	1.96
12.	Munda	169,399	0.54	146,591	22,808	86.54	13.46
13.	Kisan	160,704	0.51	150,619	10,085	93.72	6.28
14.	Mundari	145,084	0.46	134,687	10,397	92.83	7.17
15.	Proja	114,289	0.36	109,368	4,921	95.69	4.31
	Others	1,057,129	3.34	905,909	151,220	85.70	14.30
	All Mother Tongues Total	31,659,736	100.00	27,424,753	4,234,983	86.62	13.38

Bilingualism and trilingualism in census with reference to Orissa

Bilingualism and trilingualism data of 1991 census are available for 114 languages at all India level of which 18 scheduled languages and 43 non-scheduled languages (including 'others') are seen to have the bilingual and trilingual returns. It may be mentioned here that in comparison to the rate of national bilingualism (which is 19.44 %) Orissa has slightly lower percentage (that is, 18.79%). But with regard to the national average rate of trilingualism (which is 7.26%) Orissa has slightly higher percentage (that is, 9.22%).

With regard to the return of Oriya as the bilingual and trilingual language by the 17 scheduled (excluding Oriya) and 43 non-scheduled language speakers, the following picture emerges

Language speakers returning Oriya as Language of bilingualism and trilingualism.**A. Scheduled languages**

Language names (with total speakers)	Bilingual return	Trilingual return	Percentage of Bilingual
Assamese (370)	Total- 256 Oriya- 60	Total- 143 Oriya- 12	16.22
Bengali (442,971)	Total-193,090 Oriya-130,915	Total-84,481 Oriya-15,531	29.55
Gujarati (24,636)	Total- 16,796 Oriya- 4,325	Total- 11,868 Oriya- 2,710	17.56

Hindi (759,016)	Total- 302,284 Oriya-232,983	Total-69,301 Oriya-23,101	30.70
Kannada (1,743)	Total-905 Oriya-377	Total- 503 Oriya-73	21.63
Kashmiri (82)	Total-31 Oriya-6	Total-16 Oriya-Nil	7.32
Konkani (282)	Total-112 Oriya-95	Total-42 Oriya-14	33.69
Malayalam (16,246)	Total-12,469 Oriya-1,788	Total-9,664 Oriya-1,232	11.01
Manipuri (100)	Total-44 Oriya-nil	Total-22 Oriya-nil	-----
Marathi (3,806)	Total-1,968 Oriya-516	Total-1,051 Oriya-97	13.56
Nepali (9,689)	Total-5,772 Oriya-1,396	total-2,882 Oriya-1,198	14.41
Punjabi (21,205)	Total-10,351 Oriya-3,855	Total-5,706 Oriya-1,292	18.18
Sanskrit (78)	Total-57 Oriya-30	Total- 44 Oriya-16	38.46
Sindhi (2,612)	Total-1,896 Oriya-420	Total-1,332 Oriya-279	16.08
Tamil (11,502)	Total-7,395 Oriya-2,218	Total-4,750 Oriya- 740	19.28
Telugu (6,65,001)	Total-2,82,672 Oriya-2,19,476	Total- 83,166 Oriya-16,630	33.00
Urdu (5,02,102)	Total-2,29,399 Oriya-1,63,623	Total-96,156 Oriya-20,210	32.59

B. Non-scheduled languages

Adi (3)	Total-1 Oriya-1	Total-0 Oriya-nil	33.33
Ao (1)	Total-1 Oriya-1	Total-0 Oriya-nil	100
Arabic/Arbi (267)	Total-163 Oriya-50	Total-93 Oriya-13	18.73
Bhili/Bhilodi (12)	Total-8 Oriya-8	Total-1 Oriya-nil	66.67
Bhumij (27,669)	Total-12,742 Oriya-12,188	Total-2,084 Oriya-nil	44.05
Coorgi/Kodagu (6)	Total-3 Oriya-2	Total-0 Oriya-nil	33.33
Dogri (46)	Total-44 Oriya-11	Total-31 Oriya-11	23.91
English (1,063)	Total-649 Oriya-160	Total-84 Oriya-37	15.05
Gadaba (18,927)	Total-8,895 Oriya-8,517	Total-662 Oriya-94	45.00
Garo (17)	Total-10 Oriya-10	Total-3 Oriya-nil	58.82
Gondi (51,948)	Total-8,324 Oriya-5,726	Total-1,564 Oriya-261	11.02
Halabi (2,593)	Total-769 Oriya-655	Total-76 Oriya-13	25.26
Ho (2,92,619)	Total-1,14,060 Oriya-1,06,749	Total-11,678 Oriya-nil	36.48
Juang (16,848)	Total-8,673 Oriya-8,673	Total-83 Oriya-nil	51.48
Kharia (89,336)	Total-46,875 Oriya-39,287	Total-14,240 Oriya-2,669	43.98

Khasi (55)	Total-28 Oriya-23	Total-6 Oriya-nil	41.82
Khond/kondh (1,93,775)	Total-64,656 Oriya-63,667	Total-1,938 Oriya-nil	32.86
Kisan (1,60,704)	Total-93,207 Oriya-89,190	Total-14,463 Oriya-1,607	55.50
Koda/Kora (1,333)	Total-454 Oriya-427	Total-112 Oriya-13	32.03
Kolami (60)	Total-43 Oriya-36	Total-14 Oriya-nil	60.00
Konda (285)	Total-133 Oriya-119	Total-9 Oriya-2	41.75
Korwa (377)	Total-145 Oriya-137	Total-15 Oriya-nil	36.34
Koya (1,01,752)	Total-16,288 Oriya-14,760	Total-510 Oriya-nil	14.51
Kui (6,36,005)	Total-2,40,792 Oriya-2,28,072	Total-22,094 Oriya-3,124	35.86
Kuki (136)	Total-42 Oriya-34	Total-2 Oriya-1	25.00
Kurukh/Oraon (85,358)	Total-41,824 Oriya-32,007	Total-15,362 Oriya-2,987	37.50
Lahnda (6)	Total-2 Oriya-2	Total-0 Oriya-nil	33.33
Lushai/Mizo (13)	Total-4 Oriya-4	Total-0 Oriya-nil	30.77
Munda (2,53,206)	Total-1,07,665 Oriya-93,734	Total-22,828 Oriya-3,803	37.02
Mundari (145,097)	Total-66,790 Oriya-60,979	Total-15,268 Oriya-1451	42.03
Parji (7,222)	Total-3,322 Oriya-3,213	Total-108 Oriya-36	44.49

Pochury (3)	Total-1 Oriya-1	Total-0 Oriya-nil	33.33
Santali (6,61,849)	Total-252,050 Oriya-242,030	Total-39,955 Oriya-3,340	36.57
Savara (214,523)	Total-85,530 Oriya-78,049	Total-9,514 Oriya-1,045	36.38
Tibetan (2,005)	Total-710 Oriya-9	Total-465 Oriya-59	0.45
Other languages (33,810)	Total-19,958 Oriya-16,234	Total-2,370 Oriya-338	48.02

Bilingual and trilingual strength among Oriya speakers

The position of bilingual and trilingual returns among Oriya mother tongue speakers may be shown as under:

	Bilinguals	Trilinguals	% of Bilinguals
Oriya (26,199,346)	Total-3,688,978 English-2,898,784 Hindi-790,194	Total-2,374,797 Hindi-1,846,596 English-528,201	14.08 11.06 3.02

I Indo-Aryan

a) Oriya

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Standard Oriya | 2. Sambalpur |
| 3. Bhatari | 4. Relli |
| 5. Desia (Proja) | 6. Bhuyan |

b) Hindi mother tongue group

- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| 7. Laria | 8. Binjhia |
| 9. Sadan/Sadri | |

II Austro - Asiatic

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| 10. Bhumij | 11. Bonda |
| 12. Didei | 13. Gadaba (Gutob) |
| 14. Ho | 15. Juang |
| 16. Kharia | 17. Mundari |
| 18. Parengi | 19. Santali |
| 20. Savara | |

III Dravidian

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 21. Khond/Kondh | 22. Kisan |
| 23. Koya | 24. Kui |
| 25. Kuvi | 26. Gadaba (Ollari) |

Among the Austro-Asiatic languages, most of the linguistic communities are concentrated in Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Sudargarh, Keonjhar, Koraput and Ganjam districts as per the present investigation.

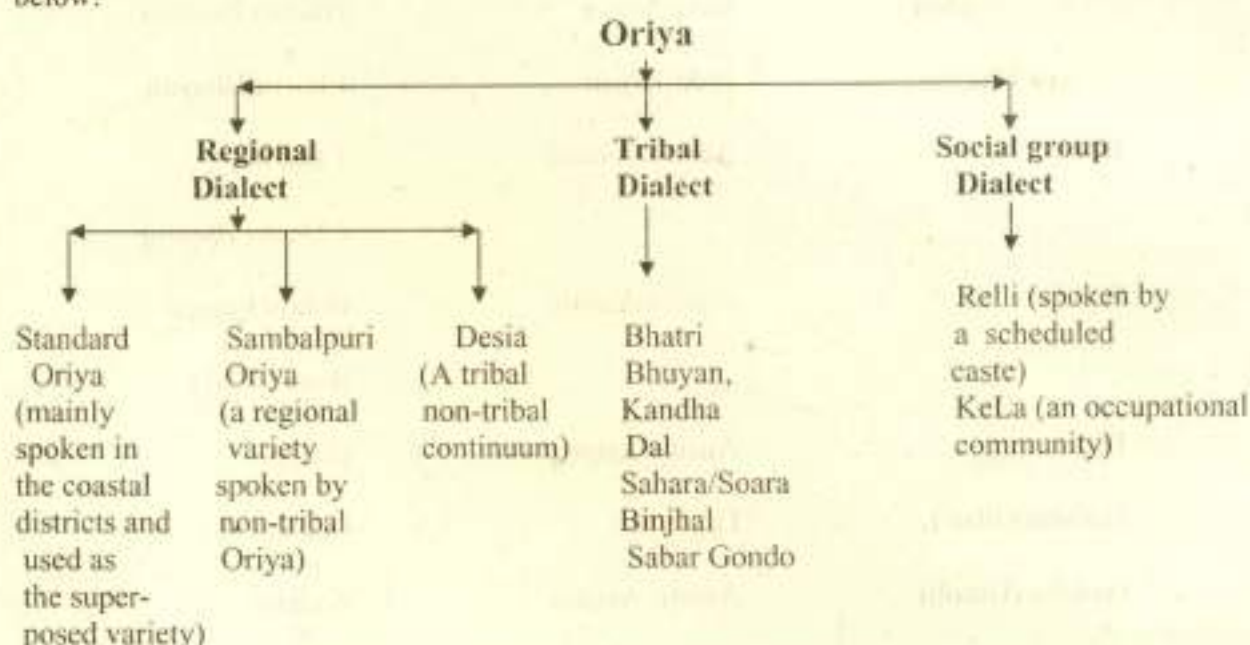
The concentration of Dravidian linguistic communities is in Koraput, Ganjam, Kalahandi and Phulbani districts. Only Kisan is reported to be scattered in Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Dhenkanal and Puri districts.

Out of the 26 linguistic communities categorically covered in this survey, the following groups appear as the scheduled tribes (according to ST-8 and ST-9 tables of 1981 census, pp-267 to 313) whose linguistic identity can be co-related with their ethnic identity. These are 17 in number and are as follows.

Serial No.	Language/Mother tongue	Language family	Scheduled tribe
1	Bhatri	Indo-Aryan	Bhottada, Dhotada
2.	Binjhia/Binjhoa	Indo-Aryan	Binjhia/Binjhoa
3.	Bhuiya/Bhuyan	Indo-Aryan	Bhuiya/Bhuyan
4.	Bhumij	Austro-Asiatic	1. Bhumij 2. Desua Bhumij
5.	Bonda	Austro-Asiatic	Bondo Poroja/ Bondo Porja
6.	Didei	Austro-Asiatic	Didayi
7.	Gadaba(Ollari)	Dravidian	Gadaba
8.	Gadaba (Gutob)	Austro-Asiatic	Gadaba
9.	Ho	Austro-Asiatic	Ho
10.	Juang	Austro-Asiatic	Juang
11.	Kharia	Austro-Asiatic	Kharia/Kharian
12.	Mundari	Austro-Asiatic	Mundari
13.	Parengi	Austro-Asiatic	Parenga
14.	Santali	Austro-Asiatic	Santal
15.	Savara	Austro-Asiatic	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara

16.	Khond/Kondh	Dravidian	Khond, Kond, Kondha, Nanguli Kandha, Sitha Kandha
17.	Kisan	Dravidian	Kisan
18.	Koya	Dravidian	Koya
19.	Kui	Dravidian	Kandha, Kondha

The dialects of Oriya covered in this survey are spoken by people belonging to different tribal and non-tribal groups. A diagram giving information on the dialects of Oriya is presented below:



The present volume on *Linguistic Survey of India-Orissa* is a significant departure from that of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (Volume V Part II) with regard to the study of Oriya language and its dialects in view of the fact that in the place of Grierson's brief grammatical sketch of Oriya and a scanty reference to Bhatri as its dialect, the present study gives out a linguistic description of Standard Oriya and presents individual study on altogether five more dialects of Oriya, viz., Sambalpuri, Relli, Desia (Proja), Bhuyan and Bhatri on the basis of field survey conducted by the researchers. The studies, when compared with those of Grierson, nevertheless, are based upon the descriptive method available in the field of linguistic science.

Besides these descriptions, the volume puts forth the descriptive studies of altogether seventeen languages of which six belong to the Dravidian family and eleven to the Austro-Asiatic family out of which Bonda, Didei and Gutob are not included in Grierson's *LSI* but have been referred to by the scholars like Norman H. Zide ("Munda and non-Munda Austro-Asiatic Languages", in Sebeok, T.A. (ed.), *Current trends in linguistics*, Vol-5, The Hague, Mouton: LSI - Golden Jubilee Volume, 1978).

Mutual influence

A scrutiny of the descriptions of various languages and dialects included in this volume helps us to have a glimpse of the linguistic scenario prevailing in Orissa state. As Weinreich (1953) had observed, there has been mutual adaptation of phonological and morphological features as well as lexical items between the scheduled (that is, Oriya) and the non-scheduled (herein, the non-Oriya languages belonging to the Austric and Dravidian families) languages. As such, the major language of the state, that is, Oriya has adapted a number of non Indo-Aryan linguistic features into its system.

Shades of convergence in Oriya dialects

In the sub-systems of Oriya language, it is noticed that the Sambalpuri dialect has greatly (and the standard Oriya has partly) contributed to the formation of the satellite dialects, namely, Relli, Desia (Proja), Bhatra and Bhuyan which are spoken in the fringe areas of the southern Orissa (Koraput district) and Andhra Pradesh (Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts) and Madhya Pradesh (Bastar district) and the north-western Orissa (Koraput district) region lying contiguous to the Sambalpuri dialect area. These satellite dialects have undergone some sort of convergence with Telugu (of the Dravidian family), Hindi (Chhattisgarhi variety) carrying alongwith them the influence of Sambalpuri dialect to the maximum and that of the standard Oriya to the minimum in the structural and lexical dimensions. Since the two satellite dialects Relli and Desia (Proja) are located in the southern extreme of Orissa meeting the Andhra Pradesh state border, these two may be treated as the gate-way for internalizing the features of Dravidian languages (through Telugu) which, in due course, were imported into the two bigger regional dialects of Oriya (that is, Standard Oriya and Sambalpuri). The isogloss maps given in this volume also corroborate the load of acculturation and linguistic assimilation that have taken place in these varieties.

The languages, dialects and mother-tongues spoken in the state of Orissa – itself a conglomeration of area speaking languages belonging to three different families – were further subjected to convergence from the adjoining states where different languages are spoken. One has to bear in mind the fact that in pre-independent India, the present day Orissa was sandwiched among Madras Presidency, Bengal Presidency and the Central Presidency. Hence, the influence of Telugu in its southern boundary and that of Bengali in its northern boundary can very well be established.

The incidence of bilingualism prevailing among the non-Oriya tribals in favour of Oriya language requires a brief discussion. The bilingualism prevailing in Orissa may be because of the factors involved like Oriya being the medium of education and administration in the state and high prestige value is usually attached to it. Further it is the aspiration to derive more benefits by identifying with the scheduled language group which constitutes a majority may result in bilingualism. The societal need of day to day contact requires the use of Oriya. On the contrary, the intensity of bilingualism among the Oriyas living within the satellite dialect areas is also in favour of the contact languages, that is, Telugu and Hindi for reasons of ease of interaction and influence of mass media. Moreover, those living outside the satellite dialect areas also favour Hindi because of the imminent role of mass media.

The overall findings of the Linguistic Survey of the Orissa scheme actualized by a set of linguists of the Language Division thus presented before the intellectual world is a modest attempt to delineate the state of linguistic contact existing among the tribals and the non-tribals living in the land of Orissa which has a long tradition of peaceful co-existence of diverse social groups in close fraternity thus representing the essence of 'mini India' and revalidating Emeneau's hypothesis of 'India as a linguistic area' ('India as a Linguistic Area', *Language*: 32 pp.3-16, 1956) and Masica's 'South Asian convergence' (*Defining Linguistic Area: South Asia*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1976), in the fluid zone of the state boundaries of Orissa.

Follow up of the present volume

Extensive data on the regional variations found in Oriya language throughout the state of Orissa have been collected during the field survey of the present work. A detailed description on them could not be included in this volume owing to the bulkiness of such an analysis. Hence, a detailed description on the regional and social variations may be taken up as a follow up work of this volume. Data for district-wise grammatical sketches of different regional varieties of Oriya have also been collected as a part of this survey. This analysis will help us to make out the melting points of the major and satellite dialects of Oriya. Description of social dialects of Oriya can also be taken up as a follow up work of this volume.

Future perspectives

Sociolinguistic information on the various languages/mother tongues and dialects included in this survey could not be given in an elaborate manner in this volume for want of adequate data. Hence, an extensive study on the sociolinguistics of the various languages and dialects could be taken up in the future. The impact of bilingualism reflecting the linguistic acculturation among the linguistic communities as found in the state of Orissa may also be taken up for study in an elaborate manner in the future. The quantum of social acculturation and its by-product 'linguistic acculturation' can be assessed in this manner.

The sociology of language as found in Orissa, when taken up for an extensive study, may throw light on some of the grey areas such as language loyalty, language shift, language use, language maintenance, etc. as found among the Oriyas as well as in other linguistic communities.

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INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

ORIYA

Ranjita Nayak

Introduction

Oriya pronounced as oRia is the official language of the state of Orissa and is specified in the schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. Statistical data shows that besides Orissa, Oriya speakers live in other states like Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi also.

Affiliation

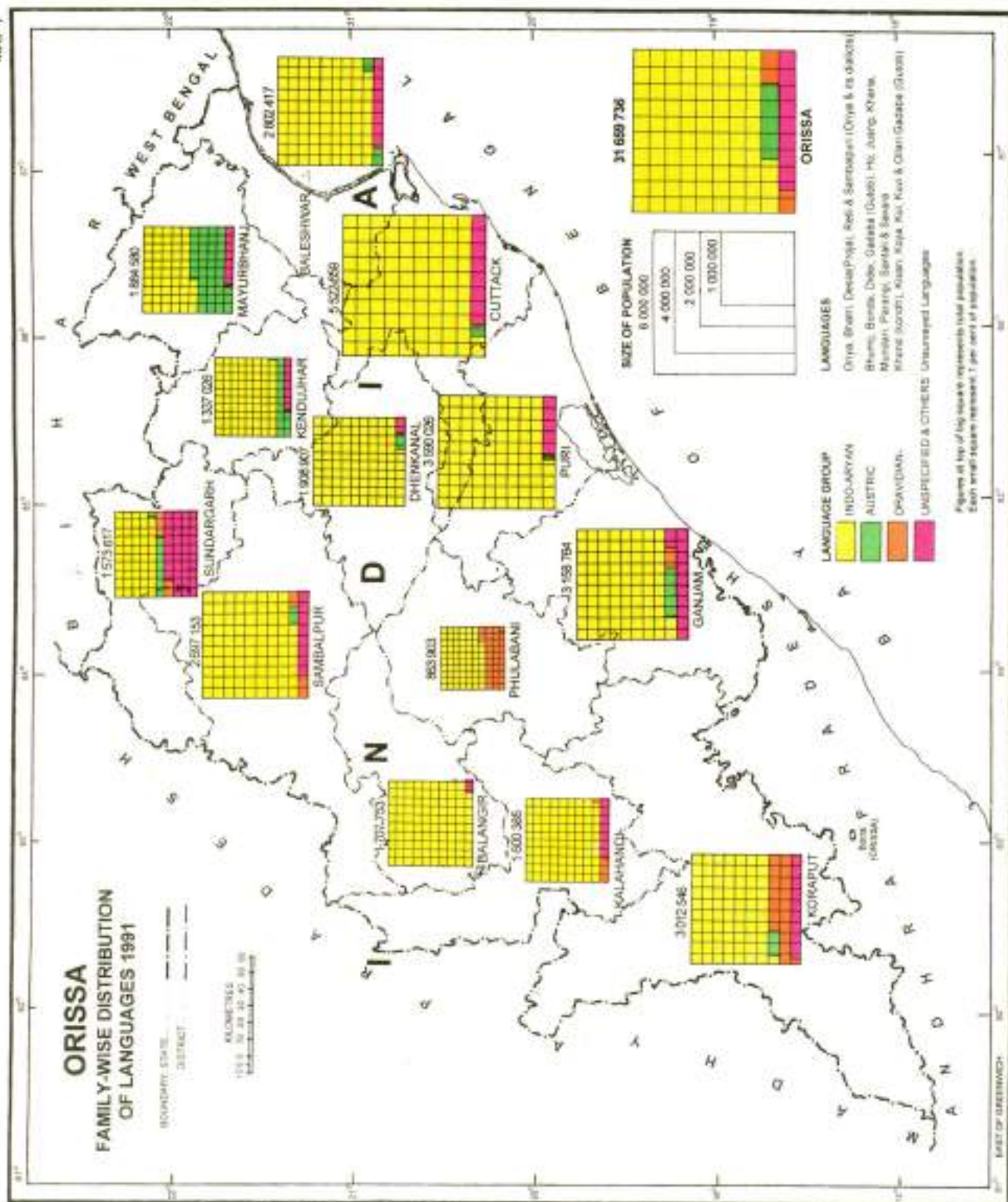
Oriya, Bengali and Assamese are referred to as belonging to the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan family and Oriya is a member of the Eastern sub-group. Grierson (1968) mentions that the grammatical construction of Oriya closely resembles that of Bengali. However, Oriya is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit and among Indo-Aryan languages, it can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in vedic times.

Statistical Data: Language, Mother Tongue and Bilingualism

1991 census data shows that out of the total population 838,583,988 in India, Oriya language speakers were having a strength of 28,061,313 distributed in different states and union territories*. This includes the mother tongue speakers of Oriya and other mother tongues viz., Bhatiri, Proja, Relli, Sambalpuri and others. The speakers strength of each of them at all India level are as follows.

Language (Mother tongue)	Speakers Strength
Oriya (Language)	28,061,313
Oriya (Mother tongue)	27,586,476
Bhatiri	218,073
Proja	118,726
Relli	14,307
Sambalpuri	40,519
Others	83,212

The details of Oriya language and Mother tongue with the break ups of Male/Female and Rural/Urban in India and Orissa is given below.



Stalled space. Survey of India says the permission of the Bangalore Census is in order. The previous orders of 2014 issued to the city to a halt point of building housing made it impossible for the government to take any

ORIYA (LANGUAGE)					ORIYA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	28,061,313	14,305,077	13,756,236		T	27,586,476	14,069,069	13,517,407
	R	24,388,823	12,298,079	12,090,744		R	23,954,396	12,082,328	11,872,068
	U	3,672,490	2,006,998	1,665,492		U	3,632,080	1,986,741	1,645,339
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	26,199,346	13,310,374	12,888,972		T	25,908,888	13,166,266	12,742,622
	R	23,063,312	11,624,489	11,438,823		R	22,794,744	11,491,317	11,303,427
	U	3,136,034	1,685,885	1,450,149		U	3,114,144	1,674,949	1,439,195

Bilingualism:

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	28,061,313	4,473,909	3,025,074	1,448,835	English	2,933,330	2,023,156	910,174	2,579,154	1,881,839	697,315
					Hindi	1,280,564	860,996	419,568			
					Telugu	96,270	53,236	43,034			
					Bengali	74,369	42,726	31,643			
					Assamese	46,058	26,067	19,991			
					Ho	20,090	8,354	11,736			
					Kannabi	14,427	7,248	7,179			
					Marathi	2,051	1,213	838			
					Gujarati	1,153	932	221			
Orissa	26,199,346	3,688,978	2,528,971	1,160,007	English	2,898,784	1,996,556	902,228	2,374,797	1,730,348	644,449
					Hindi	790,194	532,415	257,779			

* Andhra Pradesh - 259,947; Arunachal Pradesh - 9,211; Assam - 140,782; Bihar - 404,443; Goa - 683; Gujarat - 38,277; Haryana - 2,634; Himachal Pradesh - 1,607; Karnataka - 5,474; Kerala - 733; Madhya Pradesh - 721,348; Maharashtra - 38,183; Manipur - 433; Meghalaya - 736; Mizoram - 96; Nagaland - 1,965; Orissa - 26,199,346; Punjab - 3,987; Rajasthan - 10,494; Sikkim - 110; Tamil Nadu - 2,660; Tripura - 18,423; Uttar Pradesh - 14,742; West Bengal - 170,001; Andaman & Nicobar Islands - 841; Chandigarh - 683; Dadra & Nagar Haveli - 80; Daman & Diu - 46; Delhi - 13,099; Lakshadweep - 5; Pondicherry - 244.

Location: Oriya and its dialects

Orissa, a state under the Indian union, is geographically bounded on the east by Bay of Bengal and on the West by the hilly tracts inhabited by different tribal communities. Linguistically Oriya is bound by three distinct language areas, namely, 1) Telugu in the south, 2) Chattisgarhi (Hindi) in the west and 3) Bengali in the north. As a result, the dialects like southern (Desia) and western (Sambalpuri) have come up besides the standard Oriya spoken in the coastal areas of Orissa. Mahapatra (1995) mentions that Sambalpuri is the only regional dialect of Oriya and the Proja of Koraput district in southern Orissa, Relli of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh and Bhatiri of Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) and Koraput (Orissa) are also the dialects of Oriya. Grierson (1968, Vol.V) has presented a skeleton grammar of Oriya but he didn't indicate about the dialects, except a brief mention about Bhatiri.

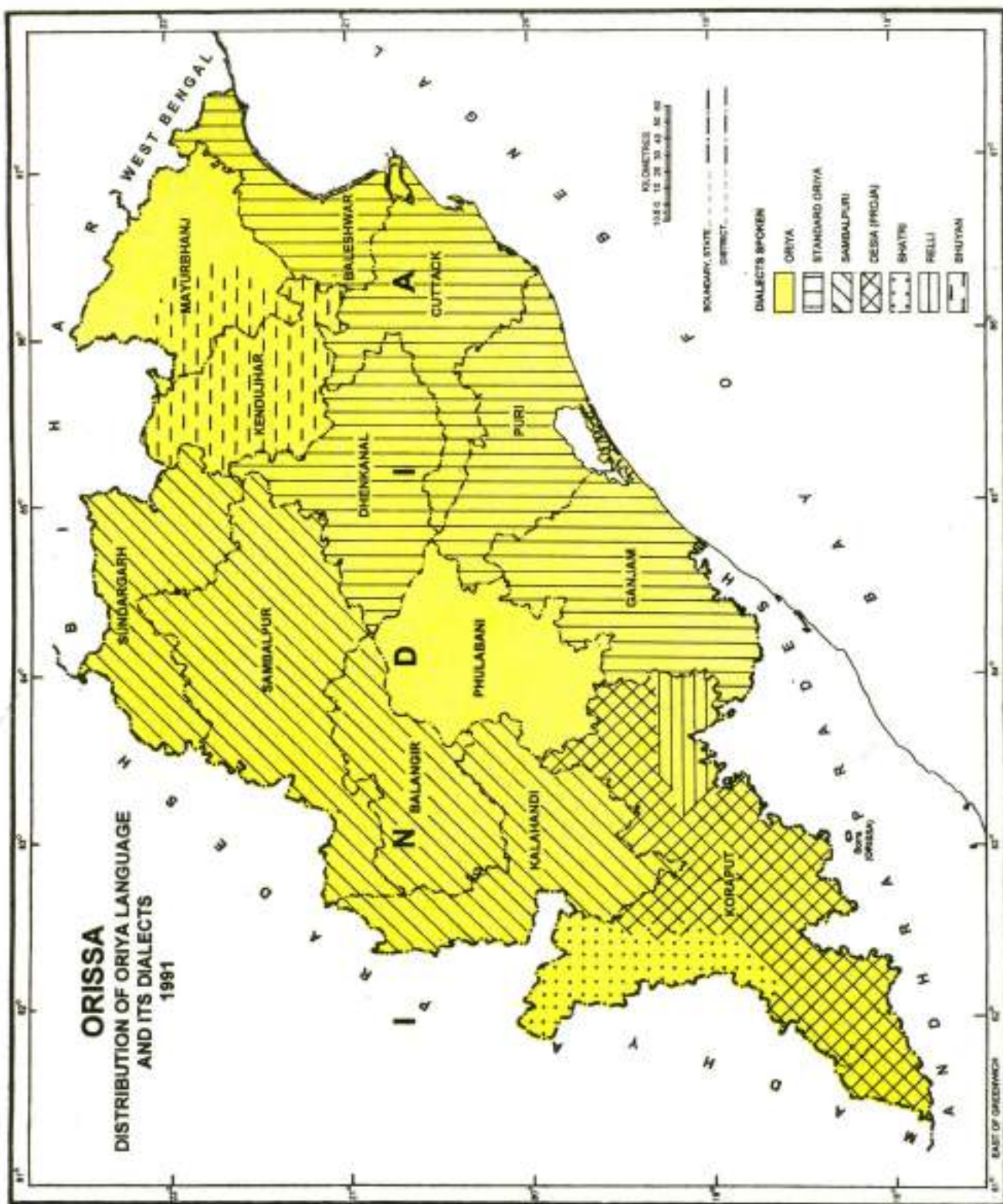
Standard Oriya

Standard Oriya is also a dialect of Oriya mainly spoken by the people of the coastal area of Orissa. The other varieties are spoken in the rest of the state. The following is the description of Standard Oriya.

Orthography:

The Oriya script as follows:

MAP 8



Basic 2001 Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India. The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

I. Vowels	ଓ	ଆ	ଇ	ଈ	ଉ	ଊ	ଋ	ୠ	ଏ	ଐ	ଓ	ଔ
IPA representation	O	a	i	i:	u	u:	ru	e	Oi	o	Ou	
II. Consonants	କ	ଖ	ଗ	ଘ	ଙ	ଚ	ଛ	ଜ	ଝ	ଟ	ଠ	ଡ
IPA representation	k	kh	g	gh	ŋ	c	ch	j	jh	ɳ	T	
Consonants	ଠ	ଡ	ଢ	ଡ	ଢ	ଣ	ଟ	ଡ	ଢ	ଧ	ନ	
IPA representation	Th	D	Dh	R	Rh	N	t	th	d	dh	n	
Consonants	ପ	ଫ	ବ	ଭ	ମ	ଯ	ର	ଲ	ୱ	ଶ	ଷ	
IPA representation	p	ph	b	bh	m	jy	r	L	w	Ś	S	
Consonants	ସ	ହ	ଷ	ଝ	ଲ							
IPA representation	s	h	khy	y	l							
III. Secondary symbols of vowels as used with consonants	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ	ଐ
IPA representation	ka	ki	ki:	ku	ku:	kru	ke	kOi	ko	kOu	kOn	
Consonants	କଠ	କଠ	କଠ									
IPA representation	kOh	kOn	k									
IV. Secondary symbols Of vowels as used with consonants	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍					
IPA representation	kn	kw	ky	kr	kL	kl	rk					
V. Conjunct letter	କ୍	ଖ୍	ଗ୍	ଘ୍	ଙ୍	ଚ୍	ଛ୍	ଜ୍	ଝ୍	ଟ୍	ଠ୍	ଡ୍
IPA representation	ŋk	ŋkh	ŋg	ŋgh	ŋc	ŋch	ŋj	ŋjh	NT	NTh	ND	
Conjunct letter	କ୍	ଚ୍	ଛ୍	ଜ୍	ଝ୍	ଟ୍	ଠ୍	ଡ୍	ଧ୍	ନ୍	କ୍	କ୍
IPA representation	NDh	nt	nth	nd	ndh	mp	mph	mb	mbh	mm	kk	kt
Conjunct letter	କ୍	ଛ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍	କ୍

IPA representation	cc	ech	nggy	TT	tk	tt	tp	tm	ts	dd	
Conjunct letter	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ
IPA representation	ddh	dbh	pt	pp	ps	bd	bdh	Lk	Lp	Sc	Sch
Conjunct letter	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ
IPA representation	Sk	ST	STh	SN	Sp	Sph	sk	st	sth	sp	
Conjunct letter	ଢ	ଢ	ଢ								
IPA representation	sph	ksN	NN								

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

The phonemic inventory of Oriya consists of 37 segmental phonemes and one suprasegmental phonemes. Phonemes forming central and marginal part of the syllable are grouped under the subsystems of syllabics and non-syllabics respectively. The syllabics may otherwise be referred to as vowels and the non-syllabics as consonants. Of the 37 segmental phonemes 6 are vowel phonemes and 31 (including marginal) are consonants. The suprasegmental phonemes occur with the vowel phonemes.

Segmental Phonemes : vowels

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
High	i		u
High-Mid	e		o
Low		a	o

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
Unaspirated						
Voiceless	p	t	T	c	k	
Voiced	b	d	D	j	g	
Aspirated						
Voiceless	ph	th	Th	ch	kh	
Voiced	bh	dh	Dh	jh	gh	
Nasals	m	n	N		M	
Laterals:		l	L			
Tapped:		r				
Fricatives:		s				h
Semi-vowels:	w			y		

Suprasegmentals:

Nasalisation : V (vowel with nasalisation) is the only co-articulated or suprasegmental phoneme found in Oriya which occurs with all the vowels. Some of these occurrences of nasalised vowels are exemplified below:

<i>/bõtsi/</i>	'flute'	<i>/pẽkaLi/</i>	'trumpet'
		<i>/mũa/</i>	'fried rice cake'
<i>/põiba/</i>	'to get warm from fire'	<i>/ã/</i>	'opening mouth'

Length

Vowel length in Oriya is not considered phonemic although there are a number of instances where the vowels are phonetically long and may also contrast with their short counterparts. For example

<i>/pila/</i>	'child'	<i>[pi:la]</i>	'he drank'
<i>/marO/</i>	'you kill'	<i>[ma:rO]</i>	'mother's' etc.

Besides these minimal pairs there are number of phonetically long vowels occurring in a number of items.

(i) All close syllables in final position or in isolation are long. Such words include the verb roots in imperative like

<i>[a:s]</i>	'come'	<i>[u:Th]</i>	'get up!'
<i>[kO:r]</i>	'do!'	<i>[bu:l]</i>	'move!'
and other words like			
<i>[kO:NO]</i>	'what'	<i>[ha:s]</i>	'enough' etc.

In all the above cases, the length of the vowel, however, is non-contrastive and non-phonemic.

(ii) Words ending in vowels are long in imperative words like

<i>[dho:]</i>	'wash!'	<i>[ga:]</i>	'sing!'
<i>[ja:]</i>	'go!'	<i>[u:Th]</i>	'get up!'

The second kind of long vowel is, however, contrastive and occurs in the following positions:

In morpheme boundaries when identical vowels come together. For example:

<i>[pi:li]</i>	'I drank'	<i>[st:li]</i>	'I stitched' etc.
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However, in few words the vowel length is inherent. For example

<i>[ma:rO]</i>	'mother's'	<i>[to:rO]</i>	'your'
<i>[ta:rO]</i>	'his/her'	<i>[mO:rO]</i>	'mine' etc.

Phonemic distribution of vowels

Vowels

All the vowel phonemes occur in all the three positions.

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/i/	/iTal/	'brick'	/pita/	'bitter'	/paTi/	'mouth' etc.
/e/	/eGarO/	'eleven'	/betO/	'cane'	/ketel/	'how much'

The vowel may be fairly fronted and opened(allophonically) in some words like [ehE] 'sorry/sad expression'.

/O/	/Oja/	'grand father'	/bOgO/	'crane'	/puO/	'tree'
/a/	/aji/	'to-day'	/kacO/	'glass'	/OTa/	'flour'
/o/	/oda/	'wet'	/godamO/	'godown'	/so/	'sleep!'
/u/	/uThO/	'get up!'	/khurO/	'razor'	/akhul/	'sugar cane'

Consonants

The distribution of the consonantal phonemes is as the following:

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/p/	/pOrO/	'feather'	/kOpa/	'cotton'	/cup/	'shut up!'
/ph/	/phOLO/	'fruit'	/sOpha/	'clean'	/maph/	'forgive!'
/b/	/bONO/	'forest'	/cabi/	'key'	/bhab/	'think!'
/bh/	/bhatO/	'cooked rice'	/jibhO/	'tongue'		
/t/	/tOLO/	'floor'	/pita/	'bitter'	/cit/	'facing up'
/th/	/thOTa/	'jokes'	/kOtha/	'story'	/IOth/	'expression for sitting noise'
/d/	/dOrO/	'rate'	/jOdi/	'if'	/bad/	'except'
/dh/	/dhOLA/	'white'	/Odha/	'half'	/sodh/	'scold!'
/c/	/ca/	'tea'	/kacO/	'glass'	/kac/	'wash!'
/ch/	/chO/	'six'	/machO/	'fish'	/bach/	'select!'
/j/	/ja/	'go'	/taja/	'fresh'	/bhaj/	'fry!'
/jh/	/jhiO/	'daughter'	/mOjhi/	'middle'	/bujh/	'understand!'
/k/	/kaul/	'crow'	/sOkALO/	'morning'	/Dak/	'call!'
/kh/	/khOTO/	'bed'	/pOkhaLO/	'soaked rice'	/lekh/	'write!'
/g/	/gOchO/	'tree'	[sOgORO]	'cart'	/mOg/	'mug'
/gh/	/ghOrO/	'house'	/baghO/	'tiger'	/suMgh/	'smell!'
/T/	/TOMka/	'money'	/maTi/	'soil'	[sa:T]	'shirt'
/Th/	/Thik/	'correct'	/piTha/	'cake'	/uTh/	'get up!'
/D/	/DOba/	'tin'	/ONDa/	'egg'	/rOD/	'cry!'
/Dh/	/DhipO/	'mound'	/sONDhO/	'bull'	/gODh/	'make'
/m/	/mitO/	'friend'	/sOmanO/	'equal'	/dOm/	'breath'
/n/	/nOkhO/	'nail'	/kOna/	'cloth'	/ain/	'law'
/N/	/jONa/	'known'	/paNi/	'water'	/jaN/	'know!'

/l/	/lOta/	'creeper'	/pila/	'child'	/lal/	'red'
/L/	/thaLi/	'plate'	/DhaLi/	'pour'		
/r/	/rOsO/	'juice'	/garO/	'line'	/kOr/	'do!'
/s/	/sOrO/	'cream'	/masO/	'month'	/as/	'come!'
/h/	/hOLO/	'plough'	/mOhu/	'honey'	/kOh/	'speak!'
/w/	/tawu/	'frying pan'	/hawu/	'air'		
/y/	/chaya/	'shadow'	/sOmOyO/	'time'		

[N, L and y in Oriya does not occur initially.]

Major allophonic distribution

Oriya vowels do not have specific or significant allophones.

Consonantal allophones

In case of consonantal allophones some questions may arise with the status of the velar nasal /M/ and the flapped retroflex [R]. The phone /M/ occurs in the language with the following contexts.

- (i) Conditionally before a homorganic stop, that is

/OMkO/	'mathematics'	/beMgO/	'frog' etc
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- (ii) It occurs somewhat unstably in word-final or syllable final positions. For example

/ebOM/	'and'	/bOrOM/	'rather' etc.
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These rare words have no fixed norms rather no consistencies in pronunciation. They vary as

/ebOû ~ ebOM ~ ebOm/	'or';
/bOrOû ~ bOrOM ~ bOrOm/	'rather' etc.

A nasal occurring before the velar consonant is less frequent than a nasal occurring before dental consonant. In other words, velar nasal is less frequent in Oriya than the dental nasal and velar nasal is treated as a conditional variant of dental nasal.

The [R] flapped retroflex on the other hand is treated as an allophone of /D/ and is a very frequent phone in the language. [R] occurs intervocally whereas /D/ occurs elsewhere. However, [R] is increasingly distributed elsewhere by the introduction of a number of loan words where /D/ also occurs intervocally. For example

/reDiO/	'radio'	/reDi/	'ready' etc.
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But the distribution is not pervasive enough to destroy the native speakers' intuition of grouping these two sounds. One may hear frequently that /kORa/ 'strong' is pronounced /kODa/ or /kODDa/; /maDO/ or /maDDO/ for /maRO/ 'beating'; /baDDeibi/ for /baReibi/ 'I will beat you' etc. in specific cases.

In addition to the above allophonic variations, Bhattacharya (1993) specifically mentions about /h/ and its allophonic distribution in Oriya as

	Phone	Allophone	Distribution		
1.	/h/	[h]	/hOM gama/ /baha/	'riot' 'marriage' etc.	/hOjeiba/ 'to lose'
2.	/D/	[D]	/Deri/ /uDrO/ /mONDO/	'late' 'historical name of Orissa' 'gruel'	/DaLO/ 'branch' /muNDO/ 'head'
		[R]	[bORO] [baRO]	'big' 'fence' etc.	[jhORO] 'storm'
3.	/Dh/	[Dh] [Rh]	/Dheu/ [bORhi] [ORhei]	'wave' 'flood' 'two and half'	/DhaLiba/ 'to pour' [muRhi] 'fried rice'
4.	/n/	[n]	/sanO/ /snaNO/ /jOtnO/ /dantO/	'small' 'bath' 'care' 'teeth'	/nOdi/ 'river' /snigdho/ 'pleasant' /rOtnO/ 'jewel' /santi/ 'peace'
		[M]	[paM'cO] [guM'jiba] [cOM'cOLO]	'five' 'to insert' 'quickly'	[kOM'ca] 'raw'

Diphthongs

There are two diphthongs / Oi / and / Ou / available in Oriya. Below are the examples;

/ Oi /	/ SOinikO /	'Soldier'	/OirabOtO /	'name of elephant'
	/ OitihasiKO /	'historical'		
/ Ou /	/ jOubOnO /	'youth'	/ OuSODhO /	'medicine'
	/ KOusOLO /	'trick'		

Consonant clusters

The consonant clusters are two-member, three-member and four-member types. The two-member consonant clusters are initially and medially occurring while the three and four member consonant clusters occur only medially. Example

Two-member clusters initially occurring

/kr/	as in	/krOmO/	'serial'
/khr/	as in	/khrisTabdO/	'year'
/gr/	as in	/grOhONOI/	'accept'
/tr/	as in	/trupti/	'satisfaction'
/dr/	as in	/drObyO/	'material'
/Tr/	as in	/Tren/	'train'
/Dr/	as in	/DrOm/	'drum'
/dhr/	as in	/dhrubO/	'name of a star'
/pr/	as in	/prOmaNO/	'proof'
/phr/	as in	/phrem/	'frame'

/br/	as in	/brukhyO/	'tree'
/bhr/	as in	/bhrOmONO/	'travel'
/nr/	as in	/nrutyO/	'dance'
/mr/	as in	/mrutyul/	'death'
/sr/	as in	/srabONO/	'name of month'
/hr/	as in	/hrOdO/	'lake'

Other initial clusters are-

/kL/	with	/kLOb/	'club'
/gL/	with	/gLas/	'glass'

-L clusters with

/kL/	/kLanti/	'tiredness'
/gL/	/gLani/	'sadness'
/pL/	/pLen/	'plane'
/mL/	/mLanO/	'pale'
/sL/	/sLesO/	'cough'

-w clusters with

/kw/	/kwOciti/	'seldom'
/tw/	/twOca/	'skin'
/dw/	/dwOndO/	'dilemma'
/sw/	/swadhinO/	'independence'

-y clusters with

/khy/	/khyOma/	'excuse'
/gy/	/gyani/	'wise'
/jy/	/jyoti/	'brightness'
/ty/	/tyagO/	'sacrifice'
/ny/	/nyayO/	'justice'
/by/	/byObOsayO/	'business'
/sy/	/syamOLO/	'green'

Two member-clusters medially occurring

/pt/	/rOptani/	'export'
/ps/	/OpsOra/	'angle'
/pL/	/bipLObO/	'revolution'
/pr/	/biprO/	'brahmin'
/py/	/prapyt/	'share'
/bd/	/sObdO/	'sound'
/bdh/	/prOibdhO/	'greedy'
/tp/	/utpadhO/	'yield'
/tm/	/atma/	'soul'
/tn/	/rOtnO/	'jewel'
/thy/	/tOthyO/	'evidence'
/ddh/	/juddhO/	'war'

/dy/	/pOdyO/	'poem'
/kt/	/rOktO/	'blood'
/khN/	/tikhNO/	'sharp'
/gdh/	/dugdhO/	'milk'
/gm/	/jugmO/	'mixed'
/gn/	/lOgnO/	'intention/moment'
/gy/	/jogyO/	'suitable'
/ghn/	/bighnO/	'obstruction'
/sc/	/niscOyO/	'sure'
/sk/	/susko/	'dry'
/ST/	/kOSTO/	'difficult'
/STh/	/sOSThO/	'sixth'
/SN/	/uSNO/	'warm'
/sp/	/pOrOspOrO/	'each other'
/sph/	/nisphOLO/	'fruitless'
/hn/	/jOhnO/	'moon'
/hw/	/gOhwOrO/	'deep hole'
/hy/	/bahyO/	'external'
/mp/	/kOmpO/	'shivering'
/mph/	/DemphO/	'branch'
/mb/	/ambO/	'mango'
/mbh/	/dOmbhO/	'strong'
/mm/	/sOmmOti/	'approval'
/mn/	/nimnO/	'lower'
/mr/	/nOmrO/	'polite'
/my/	/rOmyO/	'criticism'
/nt/	/OntO /	'end'
/nth/	/kanthO/	'wall'
/nd/	/mOndO/	'bad'
/ndh/	/OndhO/	'blind'
/nm/	/jOnmO/	'birth' etc.

Three member medial clusters

/ttw/	/tOttwO/	'science'
/tmy/	/mahatmyO/	'greatness'
/tsn/	/jyOtsna/	'moonlight'
/khm/	/sukhmO/	'thin'
/sTr/	/rasTrO/	'nation'
/ntr/	/jOntrO/	'machine'
/ndhr/	/rOndhrO/	'whole'
/ntw/	/santwOna/	'consolation'
/ndhy/	/sandhyO/	'evening'

Four consonantal clusters

/ntry/	/swatOntryO/	'independence'
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Geminated consonants

The following are the examples of geminated consonants

/TT-/	/pOTa/	'wooden plate'	/pOTTa/	'the documents of land'
/mm-/	/sOmanO/	'equal'	/sOmmanO/	'respect'
/cc-/	/kOca /	'washed'	/kOcca/	'not brick built'
/tt-/	/bhiti/	'fear'	/bhitti/	'base, foundation'
/kk-/	/pOkka/	'drop'	/pOkka/	'plastered brick built'
/ll-/	/mOli/	'died'	/mOlli/	'jasmine'

Syllables

Oriya syllable contains a vowel as nucleus followed or preceded by peripheral consonants. Mahapatra (1995) claims that the possible syllable structures can be derived from the formula, $C_{0-3} V C_{0-2}$. The subscript figures here indicate the possibilities in terms of number of elements for that place of syllable structure. Thus C_{0-3} means that maximum three consonant elements can occur in place of one syllable. This is the structure of the syllable occurring in a word. Normal syllabic patterns of words occur in isolation are as given below:

V	-	/a/	'come'
VC	-	/as/	'come'
VCC	-	/aMk/	'draw'
CV	-	/ja/	'go'
CCCV -	-	/stri/	'wife'
CVC	-	/bOs/	'sit'
CCVC	-	/STil/	'steel'
CVCC	-	/bOTn/	'button'
CCVCC	-	/TrOMk/	'box'
CCVCCV	-	/spOSTO/	'clear'

Words having more than five syllables are rare in Oriya. Commonly, words have two or three syllables.

Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic rules are classified into two types: general and specific. The specific rules are applicable to specific category of words, in specified morphological environments, viz., nouns before the plural or case suffixes, verb roots before tense suffixes, etc. The general rules for alternations are given below:

1. Alternations phonologically conditioned
 - (i) /e ~ i/ before /O/, /e/ is replaced by /i/. For example

/de - O/	/diO/	'give'
/ne - Onti/	/niOnti/	'taking'
 - (ii) /e ~ u/ before /O/, /e/ is replaced by /u/. Example

/he - O/	/huO/	'be happen /to be'
/he - Onti/	/huOnti/	'happening (plural)'
 - (iii) /o ~ u/ before /a/ and /O/, /o/ is replaced by /u/. For example

/dho - a/	/dhua/	'washed' (used as modifier or attribute)
/so - a/	/sua/	'sleeping'
(iv) /O - a/ after /a/, /O/ is replaced by /a/. For example		
/kha - Onti/	/khaanti/	'eat (plural)'

2. Alternations morphologically and phonologically conditioned in roots ending with a consonant

- a) if the final consonant is other than /h/, then
/a/ followed by /a/ alternates with /O/. For example
/aN/ - /ā/ /ONa/ 'to bring'
/mag/ - /ā/ /mOga/ 'to ask'
 - b) if the final consonant is /h/ /O/ and /o/ alternate with /u/ when followed by /e/, /o/ or /a/. For example
/kOh/ - /e/ /kuhe/ 'say'
3. /a/ followed by /i/ alternates with /e/. For example
/oLa/ - /i/ /oLei/ 'to sweep'

Morphology

Morphologically Oriya words fall into seven categories, that is, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, indeclinable, finite verb and non-finite verb. On the basis of the inflections and the affix systems, the words could be categorised into these seven grammatical categories. Except indeclinables, all the categories do take inflections either nominal or verbal. Hence, noun, pronoun and adjective could be treated as nominal classes and finite verb, non-finite verb and adverb as verbal classes.

Noun morphology

Noun

Nouns are those which are inflected for either number or gender or case markers.

Number

There are two numbers in Oriya, singular and plural. Singular denotes one and only one person or thing and the noun may be followed or preceded by singular specifiers or singular number markers. Plural is formed by the addition of plural suffixes to the nouns which usually occur as singular. Plural number denotes more than one person or thing.

The singular number markers occur as:

With suffix- (-Ti, -Ta, -Tie)

/pimpuRi -Ti/	'ant'	/pila -Tie/	'child'
/jhiO -Ta/	'daughter'		

The plural number suffixes that occur with nominal forms as-

(1) with suffix - ϕ , For example

/cini- ϕ /	'sugar'	/bali- ϕ /	'sand' etc.
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(2) /-mane/, /-guDie/, /-guDa/, /-sObu/, /-sreNi/ etc. For example

/lokOmane/	'people'	/bhatOguDa/	'rice'
/phu/OguDie/	'flowers'	/gāsObu/	'villages'

/pOrbOtOsreNi/ 'mountains'

(3) /-guDi/ , /-guDa/ with indefinite /-e/. Example

/guDie kOtha/ 'too much of talk' /guDae gaLi/ 'too much of scold'
/pilaē/ 'children' /loke/ 'people'

(4) /-guDi/ /-guDa/ with definite /-ko/ (specifier) suffix. For example

/nOdiguDikO/ 'rivers' /cauLoguDakO/ 'rice'

(5) with /-tOkO/ and /-jakO/ (specifier) definite suffix. Example

/bhatOtOkO/ 'rice' /ghOrOjakO/ 'the whole house'

Case inflections

Traditionally case inflection is referred to as case markers, postpositions and *vibhakti* markers by many grammarians. It is both syntactical and morphological rather than only a morphological phenomena. The function of case is to indicate the grammatical/semantic relationships between nouns and also between noun and verb in a larger syntactic structure.

The case markers used in standard Oriya are five. Below are presented the case markers

	Case	Singular	Plural
(1)	Nominative	/ φ /, /-Tū/, /-Ta/	/-mane/
(2)	Accusative	/-ku/, /-te/	/-Mku/
(3)	Ablative	/-ru/, /-Tharu/	/-MkOru/, /-MkOTharu/
(4)	Genitive	/-rO/	/-MkOrO/
(5)	Locative	/-re/	/-MkOre/, /-MkOThare/

The case suffixes can be added in the following manner-

- (1) Noun – case suffix
- (2) Noun – number – case suffix
- (3) Noun – case suffix – postposition

The case suffixes are bound by the semantic and syntactic properties of both the nominal and verbal inflections. Indeed, case holds the syntactic and semantic relationship between the word-structures.

Hence, in a sentence all the nouns receive case even if they do not carry case endings. For example

- (1) /mū ghOrOkū jauchi/
I home(to) going

'I am going to home'

/Mū/ 'I' receives nominative case and /ghOrO/ 'house' receives accusative case.

However,

- (2) /mū minuku bOhi deli/
I Minu(to) book gave
'I gave the book to Minu'

Here, in (2) /mū/ 'I' receives nominative and Minu receives accusative while /bOhil/ 'book' has no overt case marker but receives case. The case is assigned to /bOhil/ 'book' by the verb.

Gender

There is no grammatical gender in Oriya, instead gender is lexical. Though gender plays no major role in grammatical agreement between subject and predicate in Oriya, it is accounted under nominal inflections. In Oriya, we find two genders that is masculine and feminine.

Gender inflection never change the word-class of nominal group. Hence, the markers change the gender in Oriya as follows:

- (1) Isolated words or different words to differentiate gender

Masculine		Feminine	
/bapa/	'father'	/ma/	'mother'
/bhail/	'brother'	/bhOuNil/	'sister'
/swami/	'husband'	/stri/	'wife'
/raja/	'king'	/raNil/	'queen'
/sONDhOl/	'bull'	/gai/	'cow'

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (2) | with prefix /ONDira/ | 'male' | /mai/ | 'female' |
| | /ONDira gOdho/ | 'male donkey' | /mai gOdho/ | 'female donkey' |
| | /ONDira cheLi/ | 'male goat' | /mai cheLi/ | 'female goat' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------|----------|----------------------------|
| (3) | with /-a/ suffix | | | |
| | /sObhyOl/ | 'member' | /sObhya/ | 'female member' |
| | /dusTO/ | 'naughty' | /dusTa/ | '(in female sense)naughty' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------------|-----------|------------------|
| (4) | with /-i/ suffix | | | |
| | /kumarOl/ | 'young boy' | /kumari/ | 'young girl' |
| | /sundOrOl/ | 'handsome boy' | /sundOri/ | 'beautiful lady' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|---------|---------------------|
| (5) | with /-i/ suffix (with the morphophonemic changes from /a/ to /i/) | | | |
| | /Toka/ | 'young boy' | /Toki/ | 'young girl' |
| | /choTa/ | 'lame man' | /choTi/ | 'lame lady' |
| | /peTa/ | 'pot-bellied man' | /peTi/ | 'pot-bellied woman' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------|--------|-----------------|
| (6) | with /-i/ suffix (the morphophonemic change takes place from /O/ to /a/) | | | |
| | /kONa/ | 'blind man' | /kaNi/ | 'blind woman' |
| | /sOLa/ | 'brother-in-law' | /saLi/ | 'sister-in-law' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| (7) | With /ri/ suffix (the morphophonemic change takes place from /a/ to /ri/) | | | |
| | /neta/ | 'male leader' | /netri/ | 'female leader' |
| | /rOcOita/ | 'author' | /rOcOitri/ | 'authoress' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| (8) | /-aNi/ (suffix the morphophonemic change takes place /O/ to /aNi/) | | | |
| | /masTOro/ | 'male teacher' | /masTraNi/ | 'female teacher' |
| | /Thakuro/ | 'god' | /ThakuraNi/ | 'goddess' |
| | /tOnti/ | 'male weaver' | /tOntiaNi/ | 'female weaver' |

- (9) with /-Ni/ suffix
 /corO/ 'male thief' /corONi/ 'female thief'
 /mulia/ 'male labourer' /muliaNi/ 'female labourer'
- (10) with /-uNi/ suffix
 (i) change takes place /-O/ to /uNi/
 /gOuDO/ 'milk man' /gOuDuNi/ 'milk maid'
 /baghO/ 'tiger' /baghuNi/ 'tigress'
- (ii) change takes place /-a/ to /uNi/
 /keLa/ 'male snake charmer' /keLuNi/ 'female snake charmer'
 /cOsa/ 'farmer' /casuNi/ 'female farmer'
- (iii) change takes place /-i/ to /-uNi/
 /maLi/ 'male gardener' /maluNi/ 'female gardener'
 /bhikari/ 'male beggar' /bhikaruNi/ 'female beggar'
- (11) with /-ni/ suffix
 /bOndi/ 'male prisoner' /bOndini/ 'female prisoner'

Pronoun

In Oriya pronouns can be classified both notionally and morphologically. There are several types of pronouns. In Oriya, the personal pronouns are represented in two ways, direct and oblique. For example

/mū/ 'I' /tu/tume/ 'you'
 /se/ 'he/she' and /ame/ 'we' are direct and are used in nominative case and they never take any overt case inflection, whereas /mo/ 'my', /to/tumO/ 'your', /ta/ 'his/her' and /amO/ 'ours' are used in oblique category for using case inflections. The accusative case marker /-te/ is used specifically with /mo/ and /to/, while in other cases the rest of the case markers are assigned as usual. From sociolinguistic point of view the second person pronouns are further classified into familiar, polite and honorific pronouns both notionally and also on the basis of person-number marker of the finite verb constructions. For example

Context	Second person singular	Second person plural
Familiar	tu	tume mane
Polite	tume	tume mane
Honorific	apONO	apONO mane

/tu/ 'you' is used in the case of non-honorific, affectionate relation and while addressing youngsters. /tume/ 'you' is used with colleagues, class mates and distant relations and /apONO/ 'you' (honorific plural) is used in case of honorific context. Elderly persons and respected persons are classified notionally as remote, proximate, relative and interrogative. /se/sie/ 'he/she' are the remote, /e/ie/ 'he/she' are the proximate, /je/jie/ 'who' are the relative and /kie/ 'who' is the interrogative personal pronoun.

The demonstratives can be defined with reference to the notion of proximity in both time and space scale. The reflexive pronouns also have two forms /nife/ and /nijO/ 'self'. /nife/ is used in direct case and /nijO/ in oblique case. Hence, /nijOrO/, /nijOku/, /nijOTharu/ etc. occur with different case suffixes.

Relative pronouns found in Oriya are /jje/, /je/, /jOu/, jeû/ 'who' (direct base) and /jaha/ (oblique base). The case inflections are very much restricted to the relative pronouns. /jaha/ takes all the singular case inflections, whereas /jOu/ and /jeû/ are used in adjectival sense. For example
 /jeû loka/ 'which/that person' /jOu pila/ 'which/that boy'
 where as /jje/ is used in direct case and does not take any case inflections.

The interrogative pronouns used in Oriya are:

/kie/	'who'	/kOu/	'which'
/kO: NO/	'what'	/kaha/	'who'

In nominative use they do not take any case inflections. /kOu/ and /kaha/ take all the singular case inflections.

The indefinite pronouns are-

/ketekO/	'some'	/kiekie/	'some people'
/OnekO/	'many'		

They take case inflections very rarely.

Demonstrative pronouns are:

/ehi/	'this'	/eha/	'this'
/sehi/	'that'	/taha/	'that'
/ei/	'this'	/e/	'this'
/sei/	'that'		

Case markers are directly added with the above forms.

In Oriya, pronouns have allomorphic oblique bases, whenever a case inflectional suffix is present in the constructions.

Pronoun with direct and oblique forms-

Direct		Oblique
/mû/	'I'	/mO-/ before case inflectional suffix /-te/ and /mo/ receive case markers as /-rO/, /-paû/, /-dwara/, /-Tharu/, /-Thare/.
/ame/	'we'	/amO-/ with all case suffixes.
/tume/	'you'	/tumO-/ with all case inflections.
/se/	'he/she'	/ta-/ with all case inflections.
		/taMkO-/ (in honorific) with all case inflections.
/e/	'he/she'	/ya-/ and /eha-/ with all case inflections
/je/	'who'	/ja-/ and /jaha-/ with all case inflections.
/kie/	'who'	/ka- and /kaha-/ with all case inflections.
/apONO/	'you' (honorific)	/apONOMkO-/ with all case inflections.

Among these pronouns the number marker /-mane/ is not added to both /mû/ and /tu/. Other pronouns make a separate class to which this number inflection is added. The suffix /-MkO-/ is also not added to both /mû/ and /tu/ among the pronoun. Further, first person plural /ame/ 'we' and second person plural /tume/ 'you' make a separate group or class because the inflectional suffix /-MkO-/ is added to both /ame/ and /tume/ only when the number inflectional suffix /-mane/ is present in the construction. However, this /-MkO-/ is also added to other pronouns that is /apONO/, /ta-/ and /taha-/ (the oblique base of /se/ 'she/he') and /ya-/ and /eha-/ (the oblique base of /e/ 'this') even, when the number inflectional suffix is absent in the construction.

Postpositions

The postpositions which occur with nominal forms and function as both morphological and syntactic markers are:

/upOre/	'up'	/pOri/	'like'
/mOdhyOre/	'between'	/bhoLi/	'like'
/bhutOre/	'in'	/prOti/	'per head'
/tOLe/	'under'	/jogu/	'because of'
/pakhOre/	'near'	/hetu/	'because of'
/bOdOLOre/	'in stead of'	/nei/	'by'
/nikOTOre/	'near'	/dei/	'by'
/Tharu/	'from'	/dwara/	'by'
/sOkase/	'for'	/pa/	'for'
/nimOntel/	'for'	/Thare/	'at'
/pOribOrtel/	'in stead of'	/rupe/	'like'

The postpositions are added to the nominal stems formed by noun – genitive case marker also.

Classifier

When a noun is enumerated in Oriya, it takes a group of morphemes called 'classifier'. When the number indicates only 'one' then the structure of the numeral phrase is: (classifier – numeral) – noun

When the numeral is more than one it is numeral – classifier – noun. For example

/jON – e pila/	'one child'	/dui jONO pila/	'two children'
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The classifiers fall into two groups, that is, qualifiers and quantifiers. The nouns which occur with /goTa/ or with its variant /-Ta/ are count nouns and which do not are mass nouns. A mass noun, however, can also be counted with the help of 'quantifiers' like /menca/ 'a lump of', /puLa/ 'a lump' etc. Example

/menca -e kaduO/	'one lump of mud'
/gilas -e paNi/	'one glass of water'

The class of qualifiers to noun is dominated by the classifier /gOTa/gOTi/ and its allomorph /-Ta/-Ti/ when the number is more than one. For example

/goTie pila/	'one child'
/goTie ghOrO/	'one house'
/duiTl pila/	'two children'
/duiTl ghOrO/	'two houses'

The domain of count noun is further divided into human and non-human depending upon whether the noun can also occur with the human classifier /jONO/ or not. For example

/jONe pila/	'one child'(human)
/khONDe luga/	'one saree'(non-human)

All the nouns, however, irrespective of their status, can be enumerated along a number of dimensions which show the status along with the classifiers. The list of such classifiers is very large and they signify different status like-

/khONDe	kaThO/	'one piece of wood'
/gochae	kaThO/	'one large bundle of wood'
/biDae	kaThO/	'one small bundle of wood'
/phaLe	kaThO/	'one half piece of wood'
/sOgODE	kaThO/	'one cart full of wood'
/bojhe	kaThO/	'one head load of wood'
/gOdae	kaThO/	'one heap of wood'
/muNDae	kaThO/	'one hunk of wood'
/kile	kaThO/	'one kilogram of wood'
/phuTe	kaThO/	'one foot long wood'
/bOstae	kaThO/	'one sack full of wood' etc.

Adjective

The adjectives are formed and used in the following manner in Oriya.

Adjective – noun

/bhOI pila/	'good boy'	/duSTO puO/	'naughty boy'
/nali phulO/	'red flower'		

Adjective(numeral) – specifier (-Ti/Ta/ jONO – noun)

/dOsOTi phulO/	'ten flower'
/pācOTa gā/	'five villages'
/jONe chatro/	'one student'
/dOsO jONO sikhsOkO/	'ten teachers'

Adjective(numeral) – quantity/measure – noun

/pācOkilO pOriba/	'five kilograms of vegetables'
/dOsO liTOro telO/	'ten litres of oil'
/dOsO miTOro kOna/	'ten metres of clothes'
/saThie phuTO jOmil/	'sixty feet of land'

Adjective – adjective – noun

/Oti bODO ghOrO/	'very big house'
/bhari sundOrO pila/	'very nice boy'

Adverb – adjective – noun

/dhirO miTha kOtha/	'soft sweet talk'
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Compound adverb – noun

/kandO kandO mûhO/	'crying face'
/hOsO hOsO bhabO/	'smiling appearance'

Adjective – verbal noun

/dhirO cali/

'slow walk'

/cŏcOLO khial/

'fast eating'

Besides these, the example of derived adjectives are given below:

(1) In addition of suffix

(i) noun – /-a/ suffix – noun

/rogO – a = roga/ in /roga lokO/

'ill person'

/dOkhiNO – a = dOkhiNa/ in /dOkhiNa pObOnO/

'south wind'

(ii) verb – /-a/ suffix – noun

/suN – a = suNa/ in /suNa kOtha/

'heard matter'

/jaN – a = jONa/ in /jONa khObOrO/

'known news'

(iii) noun – verb – /-a/ suffix – noun

/cauLO – dhO – a = cauLO dhua/ in /cauLO dhua paNi/

'rice-rinsed water'

/luga – kac – a = luga kOca/ in /luga kOca sabun/

'cloth washing soap'

(iv) noun – /-i/ suffix – noun

/guN – i = guNi/ in /guNi lokO/

'good person'

/dam – i = dami/ in /dami jinis/

'costly things'

(v) verb – /-ai/-ei/ suffix – noun

/bOndha – ai/ei = bOndhei/ in /bOndhei phoTO/

'framed photograph'

(vi) noun – /oi/ suffix – noun

/ghOrO – oi = ghOroi/ in /ghOroi jhiO/

'homely girl'

(vii) noun – /-ia/ suffix – noun

/sOhOrO – ia = sOhOria/ in /sOhOria babu/

'person living in town'

/kOLa – ia = kaLia/ in /kaLia bOLOdO/

'black bull'

(viii) verb – /-iba/ suffix – noun

/pi – iba = piiba/ in /piiba paNi/

'drinking water'

/jaN – iba = jaNiba/ in /jaNiba kOtha/

'general knowledge'

(ix) verb – /-ila/ suffix – noun

/gOrjila = gOrjila/ in /gOrjila meghO/

'thunder cloud'

/khaila = khaila/ in /khaila pilal/

'eating child'

(x) noun – /-ua/ suffix – noun

/ghOrO – ua = ghOrua/ in /ghOrua lokO/

'homely man'

(xi) /-e/ suffix – noun

/sOhO – e = sOhe/ in /sOhe lokO/

'hundred people'

/gilasO – e = gilase/ in /gilase paNi/

'a glass of water'

(2) Prefix – noun /verb

/O – dhua = Odhua/ in /Odhua basOnO/ 'uncleaned utensils'
/O – dekha = Odekha/ in /Odekha jaga/ 'unseen place'

ONO – prefix – noun – noun

/ONO – osarO = ONO osaria/ in /ONOosaria rastal/ 'narrow road'

ni – prefix – noun – noun

/ni – DorO = niDOrO/ in /niDOrO mONisO/ 'fearless person'
/ni – khuNO = nikhuNO/ in /nikhuNO kamO/ 'smooth work'

sO – prefix – noun – noun

/sO – kshOmO = sOkshOmO/ in /sOkshOmO purusO/ 'capable person'
/sO – pOribarO = sOpOribarO/ in /sOpOribarO (bOrgO)/ 'with all family members'

sa – prefix – noun – noun

/sa – baLOkO = sabaLOkO/ in /sabaLOkO pila/ 'not minor child'

Odha/OdhO = prefix – noun – noun

/Odha/OdhO – peTO = /OdhO peTO/ in /OdhO peTO khial/ 'half eaten'.

(3) Prefix and suffix (circumfix)

bOd- prefix –i /a/ ia/ suffix

/bOd – nam – ia = /bOd namia/ in / bOd namia kamO/ 'unpopular work'

Numeral

Numerals are of two types, namely, (i) Cardinals and (ii) Ordinals.

Cardinals

Used for mathematical counting in Oriya. They are like

/ekO/	'one'	/du/	'two'
/tin/	'three'	/car/	'four'
/pācO/	'five'	/chO/	'six'
/satO/	'seven'	/aThO/	'eight'
/nO/	'nine'	/dOsO/	'ten'
/koRi/	'twenty'	/tiris/	'thirty'
/caLis/	'fourty'	/pOcasO/	'fifty'
/saThi/	'sixty'	/sOturi/	'seventy'
/Osie/	'eighty'	/nObel/	'ninety'
/sOhO/sOhe/	'hundred'	/hOjarO/hOjare/	'thousand'
/lOkhyO/lOkhye/	'lakh'	etc. are used as cardinals.	

The combined numbers such as

(ekOdOsO – car/)	= /cOudO/	'fourteen'	
/egarO/	'eleven'	/OThOrO/	'eighteen'
/barO/	'twelve'	/pOcisi/	'twenty-five'
/bOyaLis/	'fourty two'	etc. are also used as cardinals in Oriya.	

Besides these number representing cardinals, /joDa/ 'pair', /hOLO/ 'pair', /DojOn/ 'dozen' etc. are also used as cardinals. For example

/dOsO jODa jOta/	'ten pairs of shoes'	
/pācO hOLO dhoti/	'five pairs of dhoti'	
/cari DOjOn kOdOLi/	'four dozens of bananas'	
Similarly /gochal/	'bundle'	/biRa/ 'bundle'
/pOLO/	'herd of'	/mēca/ 'bunch of'
/dOLO/	'herd of'	/goThO/ 'herd of' etc. are also used as

cardinal numerals in standard Oriya.

Fractionals

In Oriya the fractionals are expressed as adjectives in the following way:

/Odha – Odha bOyOsO/	'middle aged'
/Odha – Odha gLasO/	'half glass'
[saRhe – saRhe duiTa]	'two and half'
/pae – pae Dali/	'quarter of one kilogram pulse'
/cOuThe – cOuThe ambO/	'quarter of one mango'
/tinipa – tinipa cauLO/	'three quarter of one kilogram rice'
[deRhO – deRhO kilo Ota]	'one and half kilogram flour'
[ORhei – ORhei kilo aLu]	'two and half kilo potatoes'

Ordinals

Used for giving rank to the cardinals. In Oriya the ordinals are

/prOthOmO – prOthOmO sreNi/	'class I'
/prOthOma – prOthOma OSTOm/	'a type of ritual day'
[dwitiyO – dwitiyO dhaRi]	'second line'
/dwitiya – dwitiya jOnhO/	'second day crescent moon'
/trutiyo – trutiyo dinO/	'third day'
/trutiya – trutiya tithi/	'third day (auspicious)'
/cOturthO – cOturthO thOrO/	'fourth time'
/cOturthi – cOturthi bibhOktil/	'fourth case' etc.

Verb morphology

Verb

Finite verb

In Oriya, verb formation could be possible as finite and non-finite in construction. Hence, there are two kinds of verbal inflections in Oriya, (1) Finite verb inflection and (2) non-finite verb inflection.

According to Mahapatra (1995)-

Structurally, the finite verbs fall into three types

- (1) Simple Base – Tense – Person – number marker, that is
/bOs – il – i / 'I sat'

(2) Aspectual – Base – Aspects – Auxiliary – Tense – Person-number marker, that is

/bOs – u – th – il – i / 'I was sitting'

(3) Periphrastic – Base – Stem formatives – Tense – Person-number marker, that is

/bOs – i – pOR – il – i / 'I sat' (unexpectedly)

The verb base is divided into two types, copula and non-copula.

Copula bases are six in number. They are */OT-/*, */Och-/*, */tha-/*, */hO-/*, */lag-/*, */nūh-/* and */nāh-/*. These copula verbs do not take aspect and mood markers except */hO-/* and */lag-/*.

The remaining bases are non-copula. Non-copular bases are of three types, namely, simple, compound and complex.

A simple verb base can be a root or an extended root that is, */root – a /*. Hence the construction is:

/mū bOse/ 'I sit' */mū bOae/* 'I make him/her to sit'

The compound base consists of a verb base – thematic *i/a* – subsidiary. The opposition between 'root' and 'extended root' is neutralised before the thematic */-a/* morpheme. A thematic vowel must necessarily take a subsidiary verb. For example

/mū kOr – i pOka – il – i / 'I have done'
/eha kOr – a gO – l – a / 'this was done'

The complex type consists of (i) nominal – subsidiary, (ii) infinitive – subsidiary. For example

/biswas kOr – il – i / 'I believed'
/ja – l par – il – a / 'he was able to go'

Simple base

The roots have three functions as intransitive verb, transitive verb and diatransitive verb.

The intransitive verbs are:

<i>/jiba/</i>	'go'	<i>/soiba/</i>	'sleep'
<i>/uThiba/</i>	'get up'	<i>/bOsiba/</i>	'sit'
<i>/kandiba/</i>	'cry'	<i>/caliba/</i>	'walk'
<i>/kasiba/</i>	'cough'	<i>/dhāiba/</i>	'run'
<i>/phuTiba/</i>	'bloom'	<i>/bOhiba/</i>	'flow'
<i>/bhokiba/</i>	'barking' etc.		

Transitive verbs are-

<i>/dekhiba/</i>	'see'	<i>[pORhiba]</i>	'read'
<i>/mariba/</i>	'beat'	<i>/randhiba/</i>	'cook'
<i>/dhOriba/</i>	'catch'	<i>/aMkiba/</i>	'draw'
<i>/dhoiba/</i>	'wash'	<i>[kaRhiba]</i>	'take out'
<i>/goTaiba/</i>	'pick up'	<i>/phiMgiba/</i>	'throw'
<i>/sOpha kOriba/</i>	'wash'	<i>/bhOlO paiba/</i>	'love'

<i>/silaiβα/</i>	'stitch'		
Diatransitive verbs are-			
<i>/kiNiba/</i>	'buy'	<i>/bikiβα/</i>	'sell'
<i>/pOcariba/</i>	'ask'	<i>/pOThaiba/</i>	'send'

The expansion of the root by */-a/* may bring changes in the function of the root. That is an intransitive may become transitive and transitive may become diatransitive and so on. It may simply bring in semantic changes in which case it also changes the grammatical function of the verb. Example

<i>/mũ bhatO kha -e/</i>	'I eat rice (transitive verb)'
<i>/mũ taku bhatO khu-a-e/</i>	'I make him eat rice (diatransitive verb)'

The subsidiaries occurring with the finite verb are two types –general and specific. Subsidiaries like */par-/*, */sar-/* which may occur with all verbs are called general types and merely modify the meaning of the verb base. Example

<i>/mũ kha - e /</i>	'I eat'	<i>/mũ kha - i - par - e/</i>	'I can eat'
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The specific subsidiaries are restricted to the roots and function differently with the verb base. For example, */ja-/*, */pOD-/*, */uTh-/* occur generally with intransitive verb bases and others occur with transitives.

There are also a number of verb roots which function as verb bases. However, they can not occur without subsidiary. A root like */bhusuD-/* 'to collapse' etc. belong to this group. Example

<i>[bhusuRi pORiba]</i>	'to collapse'
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The non-nuclear portion of the finite verb consists of aspect and auxiliary – tense/mood – person – number marker.

Aspect – auxiliary

Morphologically this goes as one unit, that is, an aspectual morpheme must be followed by an auxiliary. There are two aspects in Oriya-

(i) imperfect - <i>i</i> and (ii) perfect - <i>u</i>	for example
<i>/kOri thili/</i> (perfect)	'I have done'
<i>/kOru thili/</i> (imperfect)	'I was doing'

The auxiliaries which occur after aspects are three in number, *-ch-*, *-thO-* and *-n-*. *-ch-* and *-thO-* both occur in present tense and mean 'definite' and 'indefinite' respectively. However *-n-* occurs as a negative auxiliary. Example

<i>/mũ kha - u - ch - i /</i>	'I am eating' (definite)
<i>/mũ kha - u - tha - e/</i>	'I do eat' (indefinite)
<i>/mũ kha - u - n - i/</i>	'I don't eat' (negative)

In addition to the above the other forms occur with verb /kha-/ are as follows:

/kha-/ 'to eat'	/mũ kha - e / 'I eat'
/mũ kha - u - ch - i/	'I am eating' (imperfect-definite present)
/mũ kha - i - ch - i/	'I have eaten' (perfect definite present)
/mũ kha - u - tha - e/	'I used to be eating' (imperfect-indefinite present)
/mũ kha - i - tha - e/	'I used to eat' (perfect-indefinite present)
/mũ kha - i - l - i/	'I ate' (simple past)
/mũ kha - u - th - i - l - i/	'I was eating' (imperfect-past)
/mũ kha - i - th - i - l - i/	'I had eaten' (perfect past)
/mũ kha - i - b - i/	'I will eat' (simple future)
/mũ kha - u - th - i - b - i/	'I would be eating' (imperfect future)
/mũ kha - i - th - i - b - i/	'I would have eaten' (perfect future)
/mũ kha - u - th - ant - i/	'if I would be eating' (imperfect conditional)
/mũ kha - i - th - ant - i/	'if I would have eaten' (perfect conditional)

As regards the negative auxiliary *n-/nO* it occurs after the aspects in the 'definite' present tense substituting the auxiliary /ch-/. Example

/mũ kha - u /i - ch - i/	'I am/have eating/eaten'
/mũ kha - u /i - n - i/	'I am/have not eating/eaten'
/mũ kha - u /i - nO - th - i/ib - i/	'I would/have not be eating/eaten'

expanded as-

/kha - u - nO - th - i/ - i/	/kha - i - nO - th - i/ - i/
/kha - u - nO - th - i/ - b - i/	/kha - i - nO - th - i/ - b - i/

Tense

There are four tenses in Oriya namely, past, present, future and conditional.

Present- unmarked

Past- /-l-/ occurs with *hO-*, *ja-*, *kOr-*, *mar-*, *de-*, *ne-*
and /-il-/ occurs in all other verbs.

Future- /-b-/ occurs with *hO-*, *de-*, *ne-*
and /-ib-/ occur in all other verbs.

Conditional- /-ant-/ occurs with mono-morphemic roots and subsidiaries/auxiliaries ending in /a-/

/-nt-/ occurs with /-dO-/ morphemic bases ending in /a-/ and /-Ont-/ occurs in all other verbs.

Mood

There are two moods in Oriya namely, imperative and optative.

Imperative

Imperative is restricted to second person only and optative is restricted to first and third persons.

Imperative-	non-honorific	(second person)
	familiar	(second person)
	honorific	(second person)

Non-honorific (second person)	-unmarked ϕ
Familiar (second person)	-O
Honorific (second person)	-Ontu/-antu--Ontu ~ntu

Example

/tu/ ja/	'you(non-honorific)go'	/(tume) ja -O/	'you(familiar) go'
/(apONO) ja -antu/	'(you-honorific) go'		

Optative

In first person, the present tense forms are used in the optative mood. Intonation change indicates the mood as distinct from a declarative sentence. Aspect and auxiliary can be added to the mood formations also. Example

/se jau/	'let him go'	/semane ja-antu/	'let them go' with third person and
/mî asipare/	'I may come' etc. with first person.		

Person-number marker

The following person-number markers are the closing morphemes of the finite verb. The contrastive markers are:

Person-number →

- I singular
- II singular
- III singular
- I plural (exclusive)
- I plural (inclusive)
- II plural
- III plural (ordinary)

I singular → -e / present/ -tha /auxiliary/
-i /in all other cases/

II singular → {u}

III singular → -e -present-
-O -auxiliary -tha-
-i -auxiliary -ch (tense morpheme)
-a -in all other cases-

I plural (exclusive) → {u}

I plural (inclusive)- -a -future tense morphemes-
-e-ē -in all other cases-

II plural (familiar) → {O}

III plural /(honorific singular)
-i -conditional tense-

-e	-future/ past tense-
-anti	-monomorphemic roots
	-subsidiaries ending in /a/-present auxiliary /-th-/
-Onti	-a closed syllable/ an open monosyllable
	final vowel -a- present
-nti	-in all other cases.

Negatives

There are three classes of negatives which are as follows

1. Copula class
2. Auxiliary class and
3. Negative verb – negation

The negation has been treated as Verb – Negative.

The negative morpheme *-ni* is realised in two ways.

1. Verb – *ni*
2. Verb – *nO*

Example

1. /mū jae/gOli/jibi ni/ 'I do not/did not/will not go'
 2. /mū ja - u/i -nO-th-il/ ib -i/ 'I was not going', 'I will not be going'
I had not gone', 'I will not have gone'
- /mū ja -u- nO - tha -e / 'I am not going'
- /(tume) ja - u- nO - tha - O / '(you) do not be going'

All the possible formations or complete paradigm of one verb /kOribal/ 'to do' is given below. The nucleus consists merely of the root *kOr-* and the possible non-nucleus aspects such as tense, mood, aspects and person numbers are illustrated below:

Root – person

/kOr -e/	'I do'
/kOr -u/	'we do'
/kOr -O/	'you do'
/kOr -e/	'he/she does'
/kOr -Onti/	'they do'

Root – past – person

/kOr -il- i/	'I did'
/kOr -il- u/	'you(singular) did'
/kOr -il- a/	'he/she did'
/kOr -il -u/	'we did (exclusive)'
/kOr -il -e/	'we did(inclusive)'
/kOr -il - O/	'you (plural) did'
/kOr -il-e/	'they did'

Root – future – person

/kOr -ib -i/	'I will do'
/kOr -ib - u/	'you (singular) will do'
/kOr -ib- O/	'he/she will do'
/kOr -ib - u/	'we will do (exclusive)'
/kOr -ib- a /	'we will do(inclusive)'
/kOr -ib - O/	'you (plural) will do'

/kOr -ib -e/ 'they will do'

Root – conditional – person

/kOr -Ont- i/ 'I would do'
 /kOr -Ont- u/ 'you(singular) would do'
 /kOr -Ont- a/ 'he/she would do'
 /kOr -Ont- w/ 'we would do(exclusive)'
 /kOr -Ont- e/ 'we would do (inclusive)'
 /kOr -Ont -O/ 'you (plural) would do'
 /kOr -Ont- e/ 'they would do'

Aspectual

Root – perfect – definite auxiliary – present – person

/kOr -i- ch -il/ 'I have done'
 /kOr -i- ch -u/ 'you (singular) have done'
 /kOr -i- ch -il/ 'he/she has done'
 /kOr -i- ch -u/ 'we have done (exclusive)'
 /kOr -i- ch -e/ 'we have done (inclusive)'
 /kOr -i- ch -O/ 'you(plural) have done'
 /kOr -i- ch- Ontil/ 'they have done'

Root – perfect – non definite auxiliary – present –person

/kOr -i- tha -e/ 'I am in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -u/ 'you (plural) in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -e/ 'he is in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -u/ 'we (exclusive) are in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -e/ 'we (inclusive) are in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -O/ 'you (plural) are in the habit of doing'
 /kOr -i- tha -antil/ 'they are in the habit of doing'

Root – imperfect – definite auxiliary – present – person

/kOr -u- ch -i/ 'I am doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -u/ 'you (singular) are doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -i/ 'he is doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -u/ 'we (exclusive) are doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -e/ 'we (inclusive) are doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -O/ 'you (plural) are doing'
 /kOr -u- ch -Ontil/ 'they are doing'

Root – imperfect – non-definite auxiliary – present – person

/kOr -u- tha- e/ 'I continue doing'
 /kOr -u- tha- u/ 'you(singular) continue doing'
 /kOr -u- tha- e/ 'he/she continues doing'
 /kOr -u- tha- u/ 'we(exclusive and inclusive) continue doing'
 /kOr -u- tha- O/ 'you(plural) continue doing'
 /kOr -u- tha- antil/ 'they continue doing'

Root – perfect – auxiliary – past –person

/kOr -i- th -il -i/ 'I had done'
 /kOr -i- th -il -u/ 'you(singular) had done'
 /kOr -i- th -il -a/ 'he/she had done'

<i>/kOr -i- th -il -u/</i>	'we (exclusive) had done'
<i>/kOr -i- th -il -e/</i>	'we (inclusive) had done'
<i>/kOr -i- th -il -O/</i>	'you(plural) had done'
<i>/kOr -i- th -il -e/</i>	'they had done'
Root – imperfect – auxiliary – past – person	
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -i/</i>	'I was doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -u/</i>	'you(singular) were doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -a/</i>	'he/she was doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -u/</i>	'we (exclusive) were doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -e/</i>	'we (inclusive) were doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -O/</i>	'you(plural) were doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -il -e/</i>	'they were doing'
Root – perfect – auxiliary – future – person	
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -i/</i>	'I will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -u/</i>	'you(singular) will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -O/</i>	'he/she will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -u/</i>	'we(exclusive) will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -a/</i>	'we (inclusive) will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -O/</i>	'you (plural) will have done'
<i>/kOr -i- thi -ib -e/</i>	'they will have done'
Root – imperfect – auxiliary – future – person	
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -i/</i>	'I will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -u/</i>	'you(singular) will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -O/</i>	'he/she will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -u/</i>	'we (exclusive) will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -a/</i>	'we (inclusive) will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -O/</i>	'you (plural) will be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- th -ib -e/</i>	'they will be doing'
Root – perfect – auxiliary – conditional – person	
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -i/</i>	'I would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -u/</i>	'you(singular) would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -a/</i>	'he/she would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -u/</i>	'we (exclusive) would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -e/</i>	'we (inclusive) would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -O/</i>	'you(plural) would have done'
<i>/kOr -i- tha -ant -e/</i>	'they would have done'
Root – imperfect – auxiliary – conditional – person	
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -i/</i>	'I would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -u/</i>	'you(singular) would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -a/</i>	'he/she would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -u/</i>	'we (exclusive) would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -e/</i>	'we (inclusive) would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -O/</i>	'you(plural) would be doing'
<i>/kOr -u- tha -ant -e/</i>	'they would be doing'

Non-finite verb

The non-finite verbs comprise of – infinitive, verbal noun and participle. Below are the markers of the non-finite categories:

Infinitive -ba/-iba. Example

/kOribal/	'to do'	/jibal/	'to go'
/soiba/	'to sleep'	/khaiba/	'to eat'

Verbal noun -baku. Example

/kOribaku/	'with a view to do'
/khaibaku/	'with a view to eat'

Participle -i, -u, -le/-ile and -uNu. Example

/khai/	'having eaten'	/mOle/	'if he/she dies'
/kOhu kOhu/	'while talking'	/jauNu/	'just after going'
/asile/	'if he comes' etc.		

Compound verb

The compound verbs are composition of (i) noun – verb (ii) verb – verb (iii) adjective – verb. Example

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---|---------------|
| i) | noun – verb | = | verb |
| | /cali jiba/ | | 'passed away' |
| ii) | verb – verb | = | verb |
| | /sari deba/ | | 'finished' |
| iii) | adjective – verb | = | verb |
| | /subhO deba/ | | 'inaugurate' |

Adverb

Adverbs precede the verbs in the sentential construction. Adverbs occur in three different ways in Oriya, namely, 1. adverb of manner, 2. adverb of direction and 3. adverb of time. Some examples are listed below.

Adverb of manner

/dhire/	'slowly'	/khusire/	'happily'
/jorOre/	'speedily' etc.		

Adverb of direction and place

/durO/	'far'	/bOhutO durO/	'far away'
/mOjhire/	'in between'	/pakhOre/	'near'
/utOrO/	'north'	/dOkhiNO/	'south'
/baharO/	'out side'	/jagare/	'in place'
/pOchOre/	'back side'	/agOre/	'in front of' etc.

Adverb of time

/sOkale/	'in morning'	/purbahnO/	'forenoon'
/OpOrahnO/	'afternoon'	/mOdhyahnO/	'noon'
/sOhubeLe/	'always'	/jete beLe/	'when'

/kete beLe/	'when'	/sete beLe/	'then'
/niti/	'daily'	/aji/	'to-day'
/kali/	'yesterday'	/ratire/	'in night'
/sOM'jOre/	'in evening'	/khOrabeLe/	'in the sunshine'
/sOptahOre/	'in week'	/bOrsOre/	'in year'
/sOmOyOre/	'in time'	/muhurttOre/	'in a second'
/prOtidin/	'every day'	/dinOre/	'in day time'
/masOre/	'in month' etc.		

Echo formation

In Oriya almost all grammatical classes have echo formations.

Noun

/luNO phuNO/	'salt etc.'	/bhikO phikO/	'alms etc.'
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Adjective

/sOrOLO phOrOLO/	'simple etc.'	/sOsta phOsta/	'cheap and like'
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Adverb

/dhirO phirO/	'slow and like'	/age phage/	'first and like'
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Pronoun

/ame phame/	'we and like'	/tu phu/	'you and all'
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Verb

/nacO phacO/	'dance and like'	/kandO phandO/	'crying and similar to'
/dhOrO phOrO/	'catch and like that'		

Indeclinable

/kintu phintu/	'but and all'	/mOdhyO phOdhyO/	'also and like'
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Non-finite verb

/khai phai/	'eaten and like that'	/jai phai/	'gone and like that'
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The rule could be formulated for echo formations in Oriya, as,

Echo forms $\rightarrow \# c \rightarrow \# ph$ (initial consonant becomes [ph])

Reduplication

Reduplication is either total or partial. It is repetition of base. In Oriya, any grammatical class could be totally reduplicated.

Noun

/dana dana/	'each seed'
-------------	-------------

Adjective

/bhOIO bhOIO/	'better ones'
---------------	---------------

Pronoun

/tu tu/	'you only'
---------	------------

Finite verb

/asuchi asuchi/	'yes! Coming'
-----------------	---------------

Non-finite

/kOru kOru/	'while doing'
-------------	---------------

Adverb

/dhire dhire/ 'slowly'

Indeclinable

/hā hā/ 'yes'

There are few reduplications used in Oriya in a semantically related paired constructions.

Example

<i>/basOnO – kusOnO/</i>	'utensils and household things'
<i>/khaiba – piiba/</i>	'eating and drinking'
<i>/sOsta – sundOrO/</i>	'cheap and beautiful'
<i>/dhire – sthire/</i>	'slowly and steadily'

Indeclinable

There are few words in Oriya which do not have inflected suffixes and are known as indeclinables. Postpositions, interjections, conjunctions and emphatic markers come under the category of indeclinables. Example

Postpositions

<i>/bhOLi/</i>	'like'	<i>/pOri/</i>	'like'
<i>/hele/</i>	'then'	<i>/sObu/</i>	'all'
<i>/sOhitO/</i>	'with'	<i>/sOMge/</i>	'with'
<i>/nimOnte/</i>	'for'	<i>/sathe/</i>	'with'
<i>/mOdhyO/</i>	'also'	<i>/Onte/</i>	'then'
<i>/sOhO/</i>	'with'	<i>/jakO/</i>	'all' etc.

Conjunctions

<i>/OtOebO/</i>	'therefore'	<i>/OthOba/</i>	'or'
<i>/Orthat/</i>	'so'	<i>/ahuri/</i>	'more'
<i>/ebOM/</i>	'and'	<i>/nOcel/</i>	'otherwise'
<i>/teNul/</i>	'so'	<i>/sutOraM/</i>	'so'
<i>/ObOsyO/</i>	'of course'	<i>/eNul/</i>	'so'
<i>/nOhele/</i>	'otherwise'	<i>/nOtuba/</i>	'otherwise'
<i>/kintul/</i>	'but'	<i>/tOtha/</i>	'and'
<i>/tebe/</i>	'then'	<i>/matrO/</i>	'but' etc.

Particles

Generally the particles in Oriya are of six types. These are

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|------|-------------------|----------------|
| (1) | Affirmative particle- | -tO- | <i>/kOretO/</i> | 'do, indeed' |
| (2) | Negative particle- | -ni- | <i>/kOruni/</i> | 'don't do' |
| (3) | Emphatic particle- | -hī- | <i>/kOribOhī/</i> | 'certainly do' |
| (4) | Interrogative- | -ki- | <i>/kOribOkī/</i> | 'will he do' |
| (5) | Request particle- | -na- | <i>/kOrOna/</i> | 'please do' |
| (6) | Conjunction particle- | -bi- | <i>/kOribObi/</i> | 'and do' etc. |

Syntax

Simple sentences

In Oriya the word-orders of the simple sentence are

1. S(ubject) – O(bject) – V(erb)
/ramO bhatO khauchi/ 'ram is eating rice'
2. S – V
/puO soichi/ 'son is sleeping'
3. S – O (direct object) – O (indirect object) – V
/minu somuku bOhi dela/ 'Minu gave the book to Sonu'
4. S – Adverb – V
/minu bhOI O kheLe/ 'Minu plays well'
5. S – O – O – V (causative)
/mû munu ku bhatO khuauchi/ 'I feed rice to Munu'
6. S – Adverb – O – V
/mû prOidinO Ophisku jae/ 'everyday I go to office' etc.

Simple sentences may be classified as:

- (i) Affirmative/ Declarative
- (ii) Interrogative
- (iii) Imperative
- (iv) Negative and
- (v) Causative

(i) **Affirmative/Declarative** sentences could be accounted by the presence of finite verb. In a sentence with a single noun phrase, the finite verb is known as intransitive verb and the one with more than one NP is called transitive and more than two NP is called diatransitive verb. Example

Intransitive

- /pilaTi kanduchi/* 'the child is crying'
/bOgOTi uRuchi/ 'the swan is flying'

Transitive

- /minu bhatO khauchi/* 'Minu is eating rice'
/sonu bOhi pORhuchi/ 'Sonu is reading a book'

Diatransitive

- /bapa bOjarOru pOriba aNile/* 'father brought vegetables from market'
/mo bhai mote TOMka pOThaila/ 'my brother sent me money'

(ii) Interrogative sentence

Interrogative sentences are of two types: (i) yes – no type and (ii) wh –type

(i) Yes – no type

These two can be derived from the positive frame. Every sentence type can be changed into an yes – no question by adding the interrogative particle */ki/* as a final constituent. It can be

dispensed with and a rising sentence intonation can indicate interrogation. Example

/bapa kali asibe ki?/	'will father come tomorrow?'
/bhai khaichu ki?/	'brother have you eaten?'
/tu jibuni ki?/	'wouldn't you go?'

Few sentences occur for yes-no answers without /ki-/. For example

/tOme tO aji jaunO?/	'are you not going to-day?'
/se kONO DakOrO nuhO/	'is not he a doctor?'
/taku nidO heuni na kONO?/	'does he get proper sleep or not?'

(ii) Wh-type

A wh- question word is a substitute in the place of the constituent to be questioned. The wh- word and the constituent belong to the same part of speech, the only difference being the interrogation. The positive frame does not undergo any other change by the substitution/addition of the interrogation constituent.

Sentences which occur with the question words such as /kONO/ 'what' [kuaRe] 'where' /kahiki/ 'why' /kie/ 'who' /kipOri/ 'how' /ketebeLe/ 'when' etc. are referred to as interrogative sentences in Oriya. Example

/tu kONO kOruchu ?/	'what are you doing?'
/munu kuaRe gOla ?/	'where did Munu go?'
/sonu kahiki jibO?/	'why will Sonu go?'
/kie tumOrO bhai?/	'who is your brother?'
/tOme kipOri asllo?/	'how did you come?'
/tu ketebeLe khaibu?/	'when will you eat?'

The sentences which occur with question intonation for questioning. For example

/tOme ghOrOku jibO?/	'you will go to home?'
/se corO nuhê?/	'he is not a thief?'

(iii) Imperative sentences

The imperative sentences are restricted to second person only. The subject may or may not be present but imperative is marked in the verb.

(NP nominative II person) V -imperative mood marker, Example

(tu/tume/apONO)	/ja/jaO/jaantul/
(you)	go

Optative sentences

The optative sentences are restricted to third and first person only. The optative sentences are constructed of

III person pronoun

NP - V - optative mood marker, Example

/se jau/jaantul/	'let him go'	/semane jaantul/	'let them go'
/mû bhutOrOku asipare/	'may I come in?'		
/bOhiguRikO thaw/	'let the books be there'		

Negative

Any affirmative sentence may be expanded to a negative sentence by the addition of a negative morpheme. In a normal simple sentence the negative marker occurs in the sentence final position in the context of present and future tense. But in the past tense the negative may precede the verb like in the optative sentences. In the reply sentences the negative may precede the construction or may occur both in the sentence initial and sentence final position. Example

/mū jae/	'I go'	/mu jaeni/nah̃/	'I do not go'
/se jau/	'let him go'	/se nO jau/	'let him not go'
/tOme ghOrOku jaunO/nah̃/	'you are not going home'		
/na, mū jibi/	'no, I will go'		
/na, mū jibini/nah̃/	'no, I will not go'		
/morO ekOtha mOne nO thila/	'this was not in my mind'		

Copula sentences

Copula sentences have copula verbs in the predicate position.

The six copula verbs are /Och-/ , /OT-/ , /tha-/ , /hO-/ , /nah-/ and /nuh-/ , among them /nah-/ and /nuh-/ are negative copula and /nuh-/ always corresponds to /OT-/ which functions as an auxiliary in present tense. Though /OT-/ is in less use or covert in nature in the equational sentences its negative counterpart /nuh-/ is always overt. Nevertheless, the speakers refer to /OT-/ as a frame of reference. When /nuh-/ replaces /OT-/ it forms negative copula sentence. Example

Equational sentence

/sita seThare Ochi/thae/
'Sita is there'
/sita bOhuaO sundOri (OTe)/
'Sita is very beautiful'
/sita JONe sekreTari (OTe)/
'Sita is a secretary'
/sita JONe JhiO (OTe)/
'Sita is a girl'

Negative copula sentence

/sita seThare nah̃/
'Sita is not there'
/sita bOhuaO sundOri nuhe/
'Sita is not very beautiful'
/sita JONe sekreTari nuhe/
'Sita is not a secretary'
/sita JONe JhiO nuhe/
'Sita is not a girl'

Complex sentences

In Oriya, complex sentences consist of one principal clause alongwith one or more subordinate clause (s). Below are presented the complex sentences with analysis of their constituent structures. For example

/jOdi tumOrO jiba dOrOkar ta hele agOru kOhibO/
'if your going is very much necessary then you will say before'

In this complex sentence, the principal or main clause occurs with finite verb as
/agOru kOhibO/ 'you will say before!'

Here the construction is adverb finite verb -future singular. The subordinate clause as

/jOdi tumOrO jiba dOrOkarO/	'if your going is necessary'
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is constructed of indeclinable - subject - infinitive - copula verb

Similar constructions occur as;

/jetebeLe ma ghOre pOhÔcibe setebeLe mû TyusOnO jibi/

'whenever mother arrives at home I will go for tuition'

Here in this construction- */mû TyusOnO jibi/* is a finite construction the principal clause which is the construction of

I person singular pronoun – noun (accusative), object – finite verb (*Ja* 'go').

The subordinate clause is -

/jete beLe ma ghOre pOhÔcibe/

It functions as (non-finite) or conditional construction since referring to the adverb of time */jetebeLe/* 'when'. Hence the construction of the sub-ordinate clause is /adverb (time) – subject (nominative) – noun (locative) – verb(non-finite, conditional). The complex sentences occur with complementizer as well. Example

/mû asakOruchi je ebOrsO bhOlO phOsOlO hebO/ 'I expect that there would be good crops this year'

The pattern of the construction is-

S_1 (Noun – verb) complementizer S_2 (Adverb – Adjective – noun – verb)

Here, S_2 functions as main clause or principal clause in the whole sentence.

/ebOrsO bhOlO phOsOlO hebO/ and the S_1 is the subordinate clause */mû asakOruchi/* in this complex sentence. The complementizer is */je/* 'that'. Similarly, complementizers */ki/* and */boli/* may also occur in the complex sentences. Example

/bapa kOhile ki aJi bhai asibe/ 'father told that brother will come to-day'

S_1 (Noun – verb) complementizer S_2 (Adverb – Noun – verb)

/sikhyOkO kOhile boli mû aJi asichi/ 'I came today because teacher told'

S_1 (Noun – Verb) complementizer S_2 (Noun – Adverb – verb)

S_1 are subordinate clauses in these constructions and

S_2 are finite or principal clause in these sentences.

Complex sentences occur with non-finite verb also. Example

/bhatO khai mû gâku gOlil/ 'I went to village after eating rice'

The construction as: (noun – verb (non-finite) – subject – person-number – noun (accusative) – finite verb)

/kamO kOri kOri thOkil gOlil/ 'I got tired after continuous work'

The construction as: (noun – verb (non-finite) – (compound finite verb)

Compound sentences

In Oriya compound sentences have more than one principal clause along with one or more subordinate clauses. In the following construction the compound sentences are represented as:

/ramO, mOdhu O syamO kOTOkO gOlil/ 'Ram, Madhu and Shyam went to Cuttack'

The sentence could be divided as:

/ramO kOTOkO gOlil/

'Ram went to Cuttack'

/syamO kOTOkO gOlil/

'Shayama went to Cuttack' and

/mOdhu kOTOkO gOlil/

'Madhu went to Cuttack'

/mita O sita a/i amO ghOre khaihe o rOhibe/ here the sentence has two subjects (Mita and Sita) occur with two finite verbs (/kha/ 'eat' and /rOh/ 'stay')

The construction for sentences are

First, (subject noun – subject noun – subject noun – object (noun) –finite verb)

Second (subject noun – subject noun – adverb(manner) – adverb (place) –(finite verb) – (finite verb)

Passive sentence

In Oriya in the passive construction the thematic vowel /-a/ takes two subsidiaries /ja-/ and /hO-/ and these are in free variation. Example

/bhatO khiagOla/ 'rice was eaten' /bhatO khia helal/ 'rice was eaten'
In contrast /bhatO khai helal/ 'it was possible to eat rice', where the thematic vowel is /-i/.

Sociolinguistic information

A brief sociolinguistic picture of oriya has been presented here which highlights the factors like language development as well as language use in intra-group and inter-group communication.

Oriya is a standardised language which serves as a tool of advanced civilization. It is claimed that the earliest literary activities in this language started from 12th century. As for its development the Oriya language in the natural process enriched itself by incorporating the Austric and Dravidian features vis-à-vis by adapting the Perso – Arabic and English elements along with its coexistence with the common features of neighbouring Indo – Aryan languages in the relic areas. Taking the dialects in its totality there has emerged a literary style of Oriya language which is ornamented with tatsama words (that is, the Sanskritised vocables) and complex structures as compared to the informal or the spoken style.

The language is exposed through its own script (roterogravito type) which is ultimately connected with the Brahmin script of Asokan edicts.

Oriya Language and its evolution

To account for the development of Oriya language a brief overview of its rich literary heritage is discussed.

As per early inscriptions, the language is told to date from the tenth century, although the palm leaf chronicles of Puri temple leave traces of the early Oriya prose in the twelfth century AD only. The first account of Oriya language was available in M.M. Chakraborty's "Notes on the language and literatures of Orissa" (published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (1897-98) but the scholars like Beams (1867), Hoernle (1880) took up a venture to establish Oriya as an independent language by virtue of its abstand (that is, linguistic distance) and also ausbau (that is, development) situation. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (Volume V part II) more or less confirmed this position but also reflected that fairly widespread missionary activity in Orissa led to the publication of a lot of teaching material, religious literature, grammar and dictionaries in Oriya. Further, since the language is accepted as a medium of education and administration a lot of literary activity has been generated among the scholars to strengthen the

worth and status of Oriya as a language of antiquity and original literature. As such, Oriya poetry dates back to fourteenth century AD with Sarla Das (the writer of *Chandipurana*, *Vilanka Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) and Bacha Das (the writer of *Kalasa Chautisa-34 verses*). The fifteenth century is shared by Arjuna Das (the writer of *Ram-Bibaha*) and Nilambara Das (the translator of *Jaimini Mahabharata* and *Padma Purana*). The sixteenth century Oriya literature is dominated by Pratap Rudra Deb (the Vaisnavite ruler), Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, Yashovanta, Ananta Das and Achyantananda Das. The sixteenth-eighteenth century is the era of translation work and rendering from Sanskrit. Ramchandra Pattanayak introduced novel in verse (*Barabali*). Dinakrishna Das (seventeenth century) the author of *Rasa Kallol* is considered as one of the greatest poets in Oriya. In the eighteenth century the poet Upendra Bhanja (1617-1720) who employed highly romantic theme (and wrote 42 books on love-romances) is considered as the greatest exponent of the sophisticated and artificial style and his works left lasting influence on Janaradana Kavisurya, Chakrapani Pattanaik, Krupasindhu, Bhikari Das, Biswanath Khuntia, Bhakta Charan Das, Yadumani Mahapatra and others.

In 1835, the first English school was started in Puri but school books in Oriya were published by the missionaries after 1860 only. The first Oriya types were cast by the missionaries at Serampore in 1836 and first Oriya journal *Utkal Dipika* was brought out in 1866.

The modern period of Oriya literature was dominated by the three great writers, namely, Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918) who had equal competence in poetry, novel, short stories, autobiography, journalism and translation (*Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *The Gita*, *Chandogya Upanishad* and *Chaa mana atha guntha*, the last being the most outstanding one); Madhusudhan (1853-1922) the skilful meterist and forceful prose writer and essayist (his *Utkalgatha* being the famous lyric of patriotism) and Radhanath Ray, the poet who blended form and meaning judiciously in poetry and compiled epic in blank verse. Utkalamani Pandit Gopabandhu Das (1877-1920), a poet, prose-writer and an effective public speaker founded a school at Puri where the scholars like Pandit Nilakantha Das, the writer of socio-literary history of Oriya people (*Odia Sahitya Karma Priam*), Kripasindhu Mishra, the editor of journals like *Satyabadi* and *Samaj* were the teachers. Modern drama on historical, religious and social theme started from Ramashankar Ray (1869-1920). During the third decade rationalist and non-sentimental approach to literature started under the influence of Rabindranath Tagore and *Sabuja* (green) group of writers (like that of *Sabuj patra* in Bengali by Pramatha Chaudhuri) consisting of Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, Baikunthanath Pattanayak, Harihar Mohanty, Harischandra Badala, Viswanath Kara and Annada Shankar Ray started the venture. The promising figures of the present day Oriya literature are Ramakanta Ratha, Pratibha Ray, Santanu Acharya, Guruprasad Mohanty, Sitakanta Mahapatra, Manoranjan Das and Manoj Das.

With the broad based realm of development of literature in Oriya the work on Oriya grammar also went on simultaneously. Thus, in 1831, Amos Sultan brought out *Introductory grammar of the Oriya language* meant for communication of the British Governors with the native subjects. T.J. Malthy's *The practical Handbook of the Oriya Language* (1874) gave primacy to spoken words over reading and writing. A. Anderson's *A grammar of Oriya language* (1959) was meant for classroom teaching. Some of the systematic description of Oriya language based upon the principles of historical and modern linguistics are – Origin and development of Bengali language (Chatterji, S. K., 1926) Mainsara Bhasa (Dhall G. B., 1953) Encyclopedia – Grana Mandala (Kanungo Binoda (1960-62) A historical phonology of Oriya (Majumdar P. C., 1970) Historical Oriya morphology (Mishra, Haripriya, 1975) Odia Bhasara itihas (Misra, Binayaka, 1927) Odia Bhasa vignana (Mohanty B. M., 1968. The evolution of Oriya language and script (Tripathy K. B., 1962). The Enclitic Definitive – Ti in Oriya (Tripathy K. B., 1959 – Indian

Linguistics Vol - 20, 109-111) Bengali - Oriya verb morphology - A contrastive study (Bhattacharya, Krishna, 1993) A report on the preliminary survey of Oriya dialects (Dasgupta, Dipankar, 1964 Bulletin of the ASI Calcutta Vol - XIII-3-4, 147-161) Odia bhastatuk prabandha (Mahapatra B. P. 1983) Odia bhasa bibhaba (Mahapatra B. P., 1995) verbs piece in Oriya (Mahapatra B. P., 1961) Dikhinanchaliya Odia (Mahapatra K.,1976) Odia Bhasa O lipi (Mahapatra , K 1977) Oriya verbs: phonology (Mohanty, Panchanan 1990 , Indian Journal of Linguistics Vol. XVII:2 ,32-43) Odia byakarana bicara (Mohanty B. L. 1998) odia bhastatva (Nandasharma, Gopinath, 1927, Reprint 1968) conversational Oriya (Pattanayak D. P. L. Das G. N. 1993). Further, a list of 78 titles has been provided by D. P. pattanayak in his article on Oriya in T. A. sebooks current Trends in Linguistics Vol-5 (1969) containing a detailed bibliography of Oriya linguistics and outstanding and critical works in Oriya literature. Out of about 50 dictionaries a few compiled as pramoda Abhidhana (in two parts) (deb P.C., 1942) utkala bhasartha Abhidhana (Misra, raghunath & Rev w Miller, 1968) sabdatatvabhodha Abhidhana (Nanda, Gopinath 1916) Oriya -Oriya, Oriya-English (Padhi, Binayaka , 1955) Bruhata odia Abhidhana (Oriya-English) (Padhi, B baidyanatha, 1964) students Diamond Dictionary (Vols-2) (Pattanayak J. M. & ray G. S., 1962-64) odia Bhasa Kosha (in seven volumes) (Prahmaj, Gopal chandra, 1931-1940) Utkala Abhidhana (Rao, Jagannath, 1915) Adhunik odia Abhidhana (Ratha, Nilakantha, 1957) ofia Abhidhana (Tripathy, Jagannatha, 1950) Sankshipta odia Abhidhana (Tripathy Jagannatha, 1962) are most remarkable.

The ventures so far discussed were at the individual level. The overall coverage of performances in the form of publications of the 'narrative' and 'non-narrative' literature may be quoted from one of the projects carried out by this organisation in mid eighty and the recent of which was published in the volume length of India 1989. Obviously these are not expensive. Out of the total of 5299 publication mentioned in the publication the narrative literature compares 1974 titles which are specifically categorised as poetry-407, plays 423, short stories-243, novels-72, translations into Oriya-368 and ideological writings-12. The non-narrative literature (informational and scientific) numbers about 3505 which comprise of popular non-narrative prose (elementary level)-97, refined non-narrative prose (elementary level)-97, refined non-narrative prose (secondary level)-156, learned non-narrative prose(university level)-55 and other non-narrative prose (unclassified) -3197.

As for periodicals in Oriya language, the number of publications are 386 which are daily, weekly and monthly. The statistics on the use of Oriya in mass media like radio being 15,447 minutes monthly from Cuttack, Jeypur and Sambalpur stations and 900 minutes from Delhi distributed in different programs like news, speech and so on and that of television altogether 645 minutes weekly are devoted to cover various programs from Sambalpur station. However, as noted Oriya is used in radio and television on a full time basis from the stations of Orissa and on a part-time basis from Calcutta. But in the domain of Judiciary i.e. in the higher level Courts of Justice, English continues to be the major vehicle of communication while in the lower level courts Oriya is used only in furnishing evidences. In the legislative transactions of the State and Union level offices, English still performs the major role as a written medium. In the state Legislative Assembly Oriya is allowed in plenary debates, in recording of debates and in the committee meetings. In the domain of education in schools, Oriya is used as teaching medium a) in 33,297 primary schools in grade-I to grade-IV, b) in 5,371 public or state schools and c) in 129 Degree Colleges and that the textbooks are available in Oriya language upto degree level. In the private manufacturing industries, Oriya is used in labeling of products in small concerns , in external

written communication of the industries with the State Government, in medium and small concerns, in verbal publicity in medium and small concerns and in the internal communication in small concerns (*Written languages of the world*, India, Mahapatra et al, 1989).

Language use in intra - group Communication

In the societal plane, the language use of Oriya in intra-group communication network is as follows:

In the home, and in the locality the Standard Oriya and the respective regional and social and Tribal dialects as Sambalpuri, Desia, Relli, Bhatra and Bhuyan are used in the informal communication while in the formal communication such as in writing of letters, greetings, ritualistic writings etc. Standard Oriya is commonly found to be used among the Oriya speakers irrespective of their categorization of age, sex and social status. Again among the Oriya speaking tribals the tribal variety is used in somewhat broken form in the home domain among the elders while among the younger generation communication comes down to the level of use of the respective regional variety of Oriya. However, in the formal level of interaction such as in the schools and colleges, the standard Oriya is used as the imperative teaching medium.

Language use in inter - group Communication

In inter-group situation while interacting with the outsiders or the non-Oriya speakers, the verbal communication network is controlled essentially by Oriya so far the common mass is concerned. Of course, among the moderately educated Oriyas, those serving as school-teachers, office assistants, etc. the medium of interaction is primarily Hindi in the inter - group communication. Here, the use of English remains in the code-mixing level only. Among the elite higher ups as professors, professionals (such as doctors, advocates, etc.), governmental and non-governmental officers and executives English takes over the role of medium in the communication network in inter-group situations. On the other hand, in the home domain often the elites, interact in Oriya with frequent code-switching in English where use of Hindi is marginal. (The section on Sociolinguistics was contributed by Dr. S. P. Dutta).

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SAMBALPURI DIALECT.

S. P. Datta

Affiliation

Sambalpuri is a regional dialect of Oriya language.

Location

The Sambalpuri dialect is spoken in the districts of Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Bolangir, Kalahandi and the Boudh sub-Division of Phulbani district of Orissa.

Speakers' strength

As per 1991 census the mother tongue "Sambalpuri" has been returned by 40,519 speakers in all India level. Below are presented a tabular chart of the state level distribution of speakers of Sambalpuri (the state of major return being presented) in 1991 census.

SAMBALPURI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	40,519	20,517	20,002
	R	26,999	13,633	13,366
	U	13,520	6,884	6,636
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	40,100	20,296	19,804
	R	26,758	13,507	13,251
	U	13,342	6,789	6,553

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental

Vowels

$\begin{matrix} i & & u \\ & e & (o) \\ & a & O \end{matrix}$

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop							
Unaspirated							
Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>D</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated							
Voiceless	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>Th</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Voiced	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>Dh</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Tapped			<i>r</i>				
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Semi-vowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Supersegmentals

Nasalisation / $\tilde{V}$ /

Phonemic description of vowels

/i/	Front high unrounded vowel.		
/ ilaci /	'cardamom'	/ iTa /	'brick/this'
/ cti /	'kite'	/ pila /	'boy'
/ jhuri /	'fish'		
/e/	Front mid unrounded vowel.		
/ sOmdhen /	'daughter-in-law's mother'	/ jue /	'son-in-law'
/ phen /	'foam'	/ dehe /	'body'
/a/	Central open lax and low vowel.		
/ aphu /	'opium'	/ ācar /	'pickle'
/ kaTh /	'word'	/ Dorha /	'swamp'
/u/	Back high rounded vowel.		
/ utren /	'slops'	/ uken /	'louse'
/ purkha /	'ancestors'	/ mamu /	'mother's brother'
/o/	Back mid rounded vowel.		
/ jor /	'brook/stream'	/ sor /	'current'
/ kado /	'mud'	/ sursō /	'mustard'
/ sajo /	'jewel/ornament'		
/O/	Back low rounded vowel.		
/ Ōdhar /	'darkness'	/ ObihaDi /	'spinster'
/ Osī /	'eighty'	/ sOla /	'brother's wife'

Phonemic description of consonants

/p/	Bilabial unaspirated unvoiced stop.		
/ pObOn /	'air'	/ pOsu /	'animal'
/ pOnjra /	'rib'	/ prOpat /	'waterfall'

/ph/	Bilabial aspirated unvoiced stop.	/phOusal/	'blister'
	/phen/ 'foam'	/gumphai/	'cave'
/b/	Bilabial unaspirated voiced stop.		
	/bODhi/ 'flood'	/badOl/	'cloud'
	/bedi/ 'alter'	/pOrbOl/	'mountain'
/bh/	Bilabial aspirated voiced stop.		
	/bhumikOmp/ 'earthquake'	/bhŌuri/	'whirlpool'
	/bhulta/ 'eyebrow'	/tOrbhuj/	'watermelon'
/t/	Dental unaspirated unvoiced stop.		
	/tOra/ 'star'	/tOlipa/	'sole of foot'
	/tala/ 'latch'	/bhut/	'ghost'
/th/	Dental aspirated unvoiced stop.		
	/thukbar/ 'spit'	/thali/	'dish'
	/thOnDa/ 'coldness'	/thana/	'police station'
/d/	Dental unaspirated voiced stop.		
	/dOda/ 'brother(elder)'	/dŌtra/	'uneven tooth'
	/dOrma/ 'fee'	/durbOlial/	'weak'
/dhl/	Dental aspirated voiced stop.		
	/dhandua/ 'harvest'	/dhuka pObOn/	'storm'
	/DhOnia/ 'green coriander'	/sOmdhi/	'daughter-in-law's father'
/T/	Retroflex unaspirated unvoiced stop.		
	/Tura/ 'orphan'	/Tuke/	'girl'
	/TēDa/ 'water wheel'	/bhaTO/	'sister's husband'
/Th/	Retroflex aspirated unvoiced stop.		
	/ThOt/ 'beak'	/ThOkua/	'deceit'
	/TheTar/ 'theatre'	/angThi/	'finger'
/D/	Retroflex unaspirated voiced stop.		
	/DOrha/ 'swamp'	/Dungri/	'hill'
	/lOhOda/ 'wave'	/cODOk/	'lightening'
/Dh/	Retroflex aspirated voiced stop.		
	/DhuDa/ 'toad'	/Dhēkisa/	'dhenki room'
	/Dhalbar/ 'pour out'	/guDhi/	'pebble'
/c/	Palatal unaspirated unvoiced stop or affricate.		
	/cOTan/ 'rock'	/ciā/	'young (of bird)'
	/cŌD/ 'chin'	/maica/	'eunuch'
/ch/	Palatal aspirated unvoiced stop or affricate.		
	/chua/ 'baby'	/chua/	'child'
	/chati/ 'chest'	/chur/	'hanging root of banyan'
/j/	Palatal unaspirated voiced stop or affricate.		
	/jor/ 'stream'	/jŌola/	'twin'
	/jam/ 'black gram'	/Oja/	'grand father'
/jh/	Palatal aspirated voiced stop or affricate.		
	/jhas/ 'flame'	/jhar/	'forest'
	/jhuri/ 'fish'	/maijhi/	'wife'

/k/	Velar unaspirated unvoiced stop.				
	/kOtri/	'blade'	/kulla/	'coal'	
	/kOphi/	'coffee'	/keu/	'fish-variety'	
/kh/	Velar aspirated unvoiced stop.				
	/khol/	'spring of water'	/khOrha/	'hare'	
	/khāsi/	'cough'	/khapni/	'lid'	
/g/	Velar unaspirated voiced stop.				
	/gOreldhuka/	'storm'	/gOdhia/	'hyena'	
	/OjgOr/	'python'	/hOga/	'human excrement'	
/gh/	Velar aspirated voiced stop.				
	/ghuDa/	'horse'	/ghuDi/	'mare'	
	/gha/	'scab/wound'	/singhen/	'mucus of nose'	
/m/	Bilabial voiced nasal.				
	/ma/	'mother'	/mai/hi/	'wife'	
	/maus/	'meat'	/mut/	'urine'	
/n/	Alveolar voiced nasal.				
	/nOlia/	'spring of water'	/punil/	'full moon light'	
	/kOnia/	'bride'	/naten/	'grand daughter'	
/l/	Alveolar voiced lateral				
	/luhu/	'tears of eyes'	/lok/	'people'	
	/lik/	'house egg'	/pila/	'boy'	
/r/	Alveolar voiced tapped.				
	/ranDi/	'widow'	/reDi/	'calf of leg'	
	/rOh/	'dwell/live at'	/kOra/	'hailstone'	
/s/	Alveolar voiceless fricative.				
	/suruj/	'sun'	/sOla/	'wife's brother'	
	/sira/	'vein'	/sOr/	'cream'	
/h/	Glottal voiced fricative.				
	/hOthar/	'weapon'	/hathicur/	'trunk'	
	/hathikhisa/	'tusk'	/hursil/	'whistle'	
/w/	Bilabial voiced semi-vowel.				
	/wajip/	'right'	/tOwa/	'frying pan'	
/y/	Palatal voiced semi-vowel.				
	/chaya/	'shadow'			

Phonemic contrasts : vowels

/i ~ u/	/kirmi/	'hookworm'	~	/kurmi/	'earthworm'
/i ~ e/	/til/	'till seed'	~	/tell/	'oil'
/a ~ O/	/kaTh/	'wood'	~	/khOT/	'bedstead'
/u ~ O/	/putla/	'scarecrow'	~	/pOlla jhaDa/	'dialhorrea'
/u ~ o/	/bhukh/	'hunger'	~	/bhokua/	'blunt'
	/ulabar/	'hang up'	~	/olabar/	'jump'
/o ~ O/	/gora/	'fair'	~	/gOra/	'egg'
	/roja/	'witchcraft'	~	/rOja/	'king'

Phonemic contrast : consonants

/p~b/	/pruthi/	'earth'	~	/brudhi/	'increase'
	/palTi/	'take off'	~	/balTi/	'balti'
/t~d/	/tOri/	'boat'	~	/dOri/	'carpenter'
	/tāt/	'loom'	~	/dāt/	'tooth'
/t~d/	/khōTi/	'anchor'	~	/khōDi/	'chalk'
	/khōTa/	'pillar'	~	/khōDa/	'sword'
/k~g/	/kOrOj/	'loan'	~	/gOrOj/	'howl'
	/kal/	'time'	~	/gal/	'check'
/c~j/	/cor/	'thief'	~	/jor/	'brook'
	/cia/	'bird(young ones)'	~	/jianal/	'hook worm'
/p~ph/	/pāg/	'turban'	~	/phag/	'phug-colour'
	/pOlOnk/	'decorated cot'	~	/phOlOk/	'edge'
/t~th/	/kōTa/	'story'	~	/kōtha/	'quilt'
/t~th/	/cimTi/	'pinch'	~	/cimTha/	'tongs'
/k~kh/	/kalil/	'ink'	~	/khalil/	'empty'
	/bhokual/	'blunt'	~	/bhukhl/	'hunger'
/c~ch/	/cua/	'well'(water)'	~	/chua/	'defile'
	/pac/	'ripe'	~	/pach/	'five'
/b~bh/	/bOr/	'bridegroom'	~	/bhOr/	'wasp/blackbee'
	/bat/	'gout'	~	/bhat/	'rice'
/d~dh/	/da/	'ginger'	~	/dha/	'half'
	/dan/	'donation'	~	/dhan/	'paddy'
/d~dh/	/dOrma/	'fence'	~	/dhOrma/	'religion'
	/hOrDa/	'myrobalm'	~	/sODha/	'rotten'
/g~gh/	/pag/	'weather'	~	/bagh/	'tiger'
	/guli/	'firing'	~	/ghuli/	'bivalve'
/j~jh/	/julka/	'niche'	~	/jhOrka/	'window'
	/jal/	'net'	~	/jhar/	'forest'
	/ph~bh/ / phOl/	'fruit'	~	/bhOl/	'good'
	/phOskal/	'false'	~	/bhuskal/	'fat'
/th~dh/	/thukbar/	'spit'	~	/dhukbar/	'fan'
	/thana/	'police station'	~	/dhan/	'paddy'
/kh~gh/	/khōTi/	'anchor'	~	/ghōTi/	'bell'
	/khōTa/	'acidity'	~	/ghōT/	'ceremonious pot'
/ch~jh/	/chuTeibar/	'limp'	~	/jhuTeibar/	'stumble'
	/chur/	'hanging root of banyan'	~	/jhur/	'fish'
/s~h/	/sODha/	'rotten'	~	/hOrDa/	'myrobalm'
	/sajol/	'jewel'	~	/hOjabar/	'loose/miss'
/l~n/	/lok/	'man/people'	~	/nOkh/	'nail'
/r~n/	/rani/	'queen'	~	/nanil/	'father's sister'
/m~n/	/ma/	'mother'	~	/nal/	'not'
	/mal/	'garland'	~	/nal/	'saliva'
/r~l/	/sari/	'myna'	~	/salil/	'wife's sister'
	/kOrra/	'knife'	~	/kOrla/	'bitter gourd'

Nasalisation of vowel

All the vowel phonemes are nasalized and their distribution in all positions – initial, medial and final – are infrequent. Below are presented their distribution in different position of a word.

/ɪ/	Medial	/jhikari/	'cricket/insect' /jh ik/	'porcupine'
		/pɪ Dha/	'sitting board'	
	Final	/maɪ/	'mother's brothers wife'	
/e/	Medial	/TēkOr/	'hornet/wasp' /kēcua/	'earthworm'
		/bhēDa/	'ram' /kēcho/	'tortoise'
	Final	/juē/	'son-in-law'	
/ā/	Initial	/ākuTh/	'toe' /ācar/	'pickle'
		/ākbar/	'draw' /āTheibar/	'knail'
	Medial	/chāc/	'shade' /sāut puo/	'step son'
		/mākOr/	'monkey' /cāTi/	'gnat/ant'
	Final	/pusiā puo/	'adopted child' /ciā/	'young(of bird)'
		/Diā/	'white ant'	
/ū/	Initial	/ūkhra/	'sugared popcorn' /ūcabar/	'lift up'
		/ūclabar/	'peel'	
	Medial	/ghūsri/	'jungle pig' /gūDia/	'mosquito'
		/khūTa/	'peg' /kūci/	'key'
	Final	/hū/	'hum'	
/ō/	Initial	/ōdhar/	'darkness' /ōrra/	'mole'
		/ōtnaDi/	'intestine' /ōTa/	'waist'
	Medial	/gōDar/	'bison' /sōD/	'bull'
		/bhōuri pObOn/	'whirlwind' /pōhOtia tara/	'morning star'
	Final	/gōgō/	'groan'	
/ō/	Final	/sursō/	'mustard'	

Phonemic contrast : nasalisation of vowels

/i – i/	/ɪ Ta/	'this' ~	/ɪ Ta/	'brick'
/u – ū/	/guDi/	'chicken pox' ~	/gūDia/	'mosquito'
/O – Ō/	/OTa/	'flour' ~	/ōTa/	'waist'
/a – ā/	/ga/	'body' ~	/gā/	'village'
	/akh/	'sugar candy' ~	/ākbar/	'curve'

Diphthongs

The diphthongs are 18 in number. These are- ie, ia, iO, ei, eu, ui, ue, ua, uo, uO, Oi, Ou, OO, Oe, ai, au, aa, ae. The diphthongs are oddly distributed in the three position – initial, medial and final. Below are exemplified the use of diphthongs in Sambalpuri dialect.

i followed by e, a and O

ie	Medial	/nOrieni/	'maid' /siesus/	'blotting paper'
	Final	/saThiei/	'sixty'	
ia	Initial	/iaD siaD/	'disarrange'	
	Medial	/jhiarti/	'niece' /Obhias/	'habit'
		/hOthiar/	'weapon'	
	Final	/nOlia /	'spring of water'	

iO	Final	/udhlial/	'elopment'	/pODial/	'ground'
		/ʃOnkia/	'moonlight'	/ciā/	'young of bird'
		/dutiO /	'second'		
e followed by i and u					
ei	Final	/nOndeil/	'husband's sister's husband'		
		/cOrei /	'bird'	/bileil/	'cat'
		/dObeil/	'medicine'		
eu	Medial	/neula musa/	'mongoose'	/kēuT/	'fisherman'
		/neuta/	'invitation'		
u followed by i, e, a, O					
ui	Medial	/kuili/	'cuckoo'	/puid/	'vagina'
		/kuila/	'coal'	/chuiibar/	'touch'
		/duiTa/	'two'	/suiibar/	'sleep'
	Final	/guinea musa/	'squirrel'		
		/mui/	'I'		
		/uell/	'onion'		
ue	Initial	/guēr/	'many'		
		/jue/	'fire'		
		/ua/	'rice' (sundried)		
ua	Initial	/juarO/	'high tide'	/juan/	'bachelor/young'
		/duar/	'terrace'	/juani/	'ajawan'
		/jual/	'yoke'	/ghOTual/	'boatman'
	Medial	/duat/	'inkpot'	/suad/	'taste'
		/bua/	'father'	/kumua/	'visiting relatives'
		/chua/	'baby'	/kēcua/	'earthworm'
	Final	/kakOtua/	'cockatoo'	/dhandua/	'harvest'
		/puO/	'son'		
		/aluO/	'light'		
uO	Final				
uO	Final				
O followed by i, u, a					
i	Final	/khOi/	'pop-rice'		
		/Ōusa/	'fruit pick hook'		
		/mOusi/	'mother's sister'		
u	Initial	/bhŌ uri/	'summerloo/ wind'		
		/phOusal/	'blister'	/dOuDi/	'rope'
		/kOThOu/	'wooden sandal'		
	Medial	/jŌŌla/	'twin'	/bhŌOr/	'black bee'
		/kŌŌlia/	'soft'		
		/bhŌes/	'shebuffalo'	/pŌekh/	'feather'
e	Medial	/bōesi/	'flute'	pŌeDO/	'tender coconut'
a followed by i, u, a and e					
ai	Initial	/al/	'mother'		
		/maiʃhi/	'woman'	/gai cOrua/	'shepherd'
		/mai/	'mother's brother's wife'		
	Final	/dhai/	'midwife'		

au	Initial	/aujei/	'cling'	/authOre/	'again'
	Medial	/sāutbhae/	'step brother'	/pauc/	'staircase'
aa		/bāus/	'bamboo'	/caul/	'rice'
		/rauDi/	'loud'		
	Medial	/kūana/	'what'		
	Initial	/aej/	'to-day'		
ae	Medial	/maeja/	'guava'		
		/raet/	'night'		
	Final	/chae/	'shade'	/bhae/	'brother'
		/gae/	'cow'		

Triphthongs: The triphthongs are two. These are - Oae and aue. Examples,

O followed by e a

ea	Final	/dOea/	'mercy/pity/sympathy'
		/kŌea/	'raw'

a followed by ue

aue	Final	/gaue/	'singer'
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Consonant clusters

In Sambalpuri dialect the consonant clusters occur maximally in the medial position while that in initial position is less and in final position is rare. The clusters are formed of 21 consonants as the first members of the sequence. These are *p, ph, b, t, th, d, dh, T, Th, D, k, kh, g, c, j, jh, s, r, l, m* and *n*. Below are presented the cluster patterns with example.

/p with t, T, D, r, l, s, n /

Initial	/pr-/	/pruthi/	'earth'	/prOtipOta/	'new moon day'
	/pr-/	/prusTa/	'page'		
Medial	/-pt-/	/hOpte/	'week'		
	/-pT-/	/cepTa/	'flatten'	/kOpTia/	'crooked'
	/-pD-/	/kOpDa/	'cloth'	/thapDi/	'clap'
	/-pr/	/mOhaprugOr/	'worship place'		
		/khOpra/	'tile'		
	/-pl-/	/khupli/	'skull'	/kOplabar/	'chew(food)'
	/-ps-/	/phOpsa/	'lung'		
	/-pn-/	/khapni/	'lid'	/sOpneibar/	'dream'
	/ph with l-/	/phuphli/	'toothless'		
	/b with r/	/brudhi/	'intellect'		
Medial					
Initial					
Medial					

Medial	/tk/	/ketki/	'Ketaki flower'	/pOtka/	'flag'
	/tu/	/apOtti/	'complain'		
	/tr/	/utren/	'slope'	/kOtri/	'ladle'
	/tl/	/palla/	'lean/dilute'	/pOtla jhaDa/	'diarrhoea'
	/tn/	/jOnabar/	'take care'	/ketni kete/	'enough'
	/th/ with /r, l/				
Medial	/thr/	/hOthra/	'hammer'		
	/thl/	/sOthli/	'season'		
	/d/ with /r, l, m/				
Initial	/dr/	/drusyO/	'sight'		
Medial	/dr/	/gudra goD/	'elephantiasis'	/bOdragi/	'temper'
	/dh/ with /l/				
Medial	/dhl/	/udhli/	'elopment'		
	/T/ with /k, n/				
Medial	/Tk/	/nak phuTki/	'nose ring'	/cOTkOn/	'slap'
		/OTheibar/	'choke'		
	/Tn/	/cOTni/	'chutney'		
	/th/ with /r/				
Medial	/thr/	/kuThri/	'room'	/OThrO/	'eighteen'
	/D/ with /D, k, r/				
Medial	/DD/	/chanpiDDa/	'roof'	/ghODDabar/	'snore'
	/Dk/	/aDkaThi/	'arch'	/khiDki/	'bolt of door or
shutter'		/aDke/	'at'		
	/Dr/	/chaDri/	'divorce'		
	/k/ with /t, d, D, k, s, r, l/				
Medial	/kt/	/tOkta/	'table'	/cukti/	'agreement'
	/kd/	/thukdani/	'spittoon'		
	/kk/	/dhOkka/	'collide'		
	/ks/	/riksa/	'rickshaw'		

		/kr/	/makra/	'insect'	/mOkraja/	'spider web'
		/kl/	/dOkli tukel/	'frock'		
		/kh/ with /r, n/				
Medial		/khr/	/gukhra/	'snake-variety'		
		/khn/	/rOkhni/	'mistress'		
		/g/ with /b, d, c/				
Medial		/gb/	/Dakbala/	'postman'		
		/gd/	/bhagdari/	'plough-share'	/mOgdOma/	'case'
		/gc/	/bOgca/	'garden'		
		/gh/ with /r/				
Initial		/ghr/	/ghruna/	'hatred'		
		/c/ with /k, r, l, n/				
Medial		/ck/	/hucki/	'hiccough/belch'		
		/cr/	/picra/	'eye-sand'		
		/cl/	/mucla/	'bolster/pillow'		
		/cn/	/bīcna/	'bed'		
		/j/ with /k, g, r, l, n/				
Medial		/jk/	/lajkura/	'shame'		
		/jg/	/rujgar/	'earn'		
		/jr/	/khujra/	'itch'		
		/jl/	/ujla/	'bright'		
		/jn/	/bhujni/	'arm'		
		/jh/ with /n/				
Medial		/jhn/	/fujhna/	'plan'		
/s/	with	/ p, t, th, T, Th, k, c, l, r, m, n /				
/sp/	Medial	/pusputro/	'adopted son'			
/st/	"	/hemdista/	'pestle'	/kusti kOsrOt/	'wrestling'	
		/hinOsta/	'insult/offend'			
	Final	/jObOrdOst/	'rape, urge'			
/sth/	Medial	/tirthosthan/	'pilgrimage'			
/sT/	"	/masTOst/	'teacher'			
	Final	/nOsT/	'destroy'			
/sTh/	Medial	/prustha/	'page'			
/sk/	"	/bhuska/	'fat, blister'			

/sc/	..	/pOscim/	'west'		
/sr/	Initial	/srung/	'cliff'		
	Medial	/ghusri/	'jungle pig'	/kOsrOt/	'exercise'
/sl/	..	/mOslal/	'spice'		
/sm/	..	/cOsmal/	'spectacle'		
/sn/	..	/kusnal/	'rice beer, liquorice'	/asni/	'mattress'

/r/ with /p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, D, k, kh, g, c, ch, s, h, r, l, m, n/

/rp/	Medial	/dOrpOn/	'mirror'	/kOrpur/	'camphor'
/rb/	..	/pOrbOt/	'mountain'	/duarbOndh/	'threshold'
/rph/	..	/phirphiri/	'spindle'		
/rbh/	..	/tOrbhuj/	'watermelon'		
/rt/	..	/surtal/	'nut-meg'	/kurta/	'dress'
/rth/	..	/tirthOsthan/	'pilgrim'		
/rd/	..	/murdar/	'dead body'		
/rdh/	..	/pardhi/	'hunt'		
/rd/	..	/kurda/	'whip'		
/rk/	..	/marki/	'epilepsy'		
/rkh/	..	/purkha/	'ancestors'		
/rg/	..	/durgO/	'fort'		
/rc/	..	/mirca/	'chilly'		
/rch/	..	/bOrcha/	'fallow land'		
/rs/	..	/bOrsa/	'rain'	/sursO/	'mustard'
		/pOrsOnsal/	'praise'	/dOrsOk/	'spectator'
/rh/	..	/gurhabar/	'roll up'		
/rr/	..	/Orra/	'male'		
/rl/	..	/makOrla/	'spider'		
/rm/	..	/kurmi/	'earthworm'		
/rn/	..	/jhOrnai/	'fountain'		

/l/ with /p, t, d, T, Th, k, g, c, j, h, l, n/

/lp/	Medial	/kOrpaTi/	'jaw'		
/lt/	..	/bhulta/	'eyebrow'		
/ld/	..	/hOldia bemari/	'jaundice'		
/lT/	..	/paTi/	'take off'		
	Final	/belT/	'belt'		
/lTh/	Medial	/geiThi/	'alumina'		
/lk/	..	/julka/	'niche'		
/lg/	..	/Olga/	'dispense/separate'		
/lc/	..	/belca/	'shovel'		
/lT/	..	/juljulia pOk/	'glow-worm'		
/lh/	..	/jOlha/	'cataract'		
/ll/	..	/talla/	'myna'		
/ln/	..	/belna/	'rolling bound'	/kheina/	'toy'

/m/ with /p, ph, b, d, dh, T, Th, D, h, r, l, n/

/mp/	Medial	/bhumikOmpi/	'earthquake'
/mph/	"	/gumpha/	'cave'
/mb/	"	/mOhOmhati/	'wax candle'
/md/	"	/hemdista/	'pestle'
/mdh/	"	/sOmdhi/	'daughter-in-law'
/mT/	"	/cimTi/	'pinch'
/mTh/	"	/cimTha/	'tongs'
/mD/	"	/cOmDa/	'skin'
/mh/	"	/kumhri/	'crocodile'
/mr/	Initial	/mrutai/	'death'
	Medial	/damra kua/	'jungle crow'
/ml/	"	/sOmLa kathi/	'beams'
/mn/	"	/cimni badli/	'small hat'

/n/ with /p, ph, t, d, dh, D, Dh, k, kh, g, gh, ch, j, jh, s, h, r, l, n, y/

/np/	Medial	/chanpiDDa/	'root'		
/nph/	"	/kanphuski/	'ear-ring'		
/nt/	"	/sOntusTi/	'satisfied'	/kintu/	'but'
	Final	/bOsOnt/	'spring'		
/nd/	Medial	/sundOr/	'beautiful'		
	Final	/bOnd/	'pond'		
/ndh/	Medial	/pindhā pindhī/	'clothing'	/sindhur/	'vermillion'
	Final	/pindh/	'put on'	/khOndhi/	'shoulder'
/nD/	Medial	/ranDi/	'widow'	/genDa/	'snail'
	Final	/banDi/	'penis'		
/nDh/	Medial	/DhOnDhOna machi/	'dragonfly'		
/nkl	"	/jOnkia/	'moonlight'	/mach rOnka/	'king fisher'
	Final	/pOlOnk/	'decorated cot'		
/nkh/	Medial	/pOnkhi/	'shieve'		
/ng/	"	/kiringa/	'worm'	/mOnga/	'loom'
	Final	/bhang/	'tobacco'	/srung/	'cliff'
/ngh/	Medial	/singhen/	'mucus'		
	Final	/jOngh/	'thigh'		
/nch/	Medial	/chOnchan/	'hawa'	/Onchi/	'apron'
/nj/	"	/lOnja tOral/	'comet'	/bhOnja/	'nephew'
	Final	/lenj/	'tail'		
/njh/	Medial	/pOnjha/	'paw'		
/ns/	"	/pOrsonsa/	'praise'		
/nh/	"	/pOnha/	'udder'		
/nr/	"	/panra/	'pan-seller'		
/nl/	"	/nOnda/	'naked'		
/nn/	"	/kennO/	'centipede'		
/ny/	"	/OnyO/	'other'		

/n/ with /dr, Dr, Dl, gT, gTh, gr, gl, jr/

/ndr/	Medial	/indrOdhOnu/	'rainbow'	/pOndrO/	'fifteen'
/nDr/	"	/penDra/	'panther'		
/nDl/	"	/hOnDla/	'pot'		
/ngT/	"	/genTi/	'limestone'		
/ngTh/	"	/angThi/	'finger'		
/ngr/	"	/bangra/	'short/dwarf'		
/ngl/	"	/jOngli/	'wild' (animal)		
/njr/	"	/pinjra/	'cage'	/pOnjra/	'rib'

The cluster patterns found in this dialect are presented below.

Initial clusters: Consonant - r - (hetero-organic)

Final clusters: a) Consonant - t, d, dh, T, D.

b) n - consonant

Medial clusters: a) Homo - organic- bb, tt, TT, kk, rr, ll, nn.

b) Hetero-organic-

1) p - consonants (t, T, D, r, l, s, n)

2) b - consonants (j, r, l)

3) t - consonants (k, r, l, n)

4) th - consonants (r, l)

5) d - consonants (r, l, m)

6) t - consonants (k, n)

7) D - consonants (k, r)

8) K - consonants (t, d, D, s, r, l)

9) kh - consonants (r, n)

10) g - consonants (b, d, c)

11) c - consonants (k, r, l, n)

12) j - consonants (k, g, r, l, n)

13) s - consonants (t, th, T, Th, k, c, r, l, m, n)

14) r - consonants (p, b, ph, bh, t, th, d, dh, D, k, kh,
g, c, ch, g, h, l, m, n)

15) l - consonants (p, t, d, T, Th, k, g, c, j, h, n)

16) m - consonants (p, ph, b, d, dh, T, Th, D, h, p, l, n)

17) n - consonants (p, ph, t, d, dh, D, Dh, k, kh, g, gh,
ch, j, jh, s, h, r, l, y)

Tri-member consonant clusters: These are as follows.

/n/ with /dr, Dr, Dl, gT, gTh, gr, gl, jr/.

Syllable

A Sambalpuri word may have both open and close syllables and thus, can end either in vowel or in consonant. In this dialect these are the possible syllabic patterns - V, VC, VCC, CV, CVC, CVCC and CCV.

Length

The length of vowel is not phonemic. But phonetically, length is predictable in the following cases.

1. Close syllables are essentially long in the mono-syllabic words and in the final position of the di-syllabic words. Such words are imperatives. Example [u:Th] 'get up' [kO:r] 'do' [bu:l] 'turn around and are' [aka:s] 'sky', [hOTha:t] 'suddenly' [bOdma:s] 'wicked'.
2. Words ending in vowels are long in the open syllable as in imperatives—example [ne:] 'take' [ga:] 'sing' [ja:] 'go' [pi:] 'drink' [utha:] 'raise' in onomatopoeics [Dho:] 'loud noise' [bho:bho] 'barking' and in certain pronominals and nominals [tu:] 'you' [se:] 'he/she' [gā:] 'village' [nā] 'name' etc.

The length fluctuates with the rhythm of utterances and as such are non-contrastive.

Length of vowels contrasts with the non-lengthened one in the situation- when identical vowels meet with syllables forming morpheme boundary. example

[pi:li] 'I drank' [si:li] 'I stitched'

Stress

Stress in Sambalpuri does not appear to be phonemic. Word when uttered in isolation is generally stressed and the initial syllable of each breath group bears stress. Example

/mor bOhigurakO ine Oche/ 'my books are here'
/mor pomane iskule jaichOn/ 'my sons have gone to school'
/ame sOmundOrku jhuri marijisil/ 'we go to the sea to catch fish'

The breath group may contain either one or more than one word.

Juncture

Junctures are syllabic or external. In syllabic juncture operates in between syllables (-) while in external juncture operates in between words. Syllable Juncture =

/kuk - ra/	'chicken'	/kuk - ra # jhol/	'chicken soup'
/mak - ra /	'spider'	/mak-ra # jar/	'spider web'
/gu - a /	'nut'	/gu - a # ka-til/	'nut-cracker'
/sukh - a /	'dry'	/sukh -a # mlrca/	'black pepper'

Intonation

Intonation is marked in sentential utterances. The intonation types are three as described below.

- a) Intonation in statement sentence. In it the rise and fall of the pitch is at equal level (→)
/mor guTe bhOes thila/ 'I had one she buffalo'
/pOtOrgurakO sagua ay/ 'the leaves are green'
- b) Intonation in question sentence and command sentence. In it, the sentence is marked by the rising pitch. (↗)

/tor na kāana ay ?/ 'what is your name ?'
/tui kāene rOhesu ?/ 'where do you stay?'

c) Intonation in exclamatory sentences. In it, the sentence is marked by the rise (↗) and fall (↘) in the pitch.

/baɣh/ ↘ 'tiger' /ʒsɔp/ ↘! 'snake'!

Morphology

Words in 'Sambalpuri dialect' are categorised as nouns, verbs and indeclinables. Of these, while indeclinables are the free morphemes, nouns and verbs undergo morphological process also forming the constituent structure as subjects + predicates of the simple sentences.

Noun morphology

Nouns

The nouns as 'form class' receive definiteness markers, number, case, postposition and numeral classifiers.

Gender

The genders are essentially lexical although in some cases of human and non-human, gender distinction is realised by the markers $-\phi$, $-a$ (masculine) and $-i$ (feminine)

In the nominals

A) $-\phi$ (masculine) : $-i$ (feminine)

Non-human

/monjur ϕ / 'peacock' : /monjuri/ 'pea-hen'
B) $-a$ (masculine) : $-i$ (feminine)

Human

/mousa/ 'mother's sister's husband' : /mou ϕ / 'mother's sister'
/buDha/ 'oldman' : /buDhi/ 'old woman'

Non-human

/bacha/ 'calf' : /bach ϕ / 'she-calf'
/ghūsra/ 'pig' : /ghūsri/ 'female-pig'

In the adjectivals

A) $-a$ (masculine) : $-i$ (feminine)
/Denga/ 'tall' : /Dengi/ 'tall'
/bangra/ 'short' : /bangri/ 'short'

Herein, gender distinction of the nominals is determined on the basis of use of markers to the attached adjectival bases.

Phrasal formation indicating femininity of the non-human nominals *mai-* 'being' prefixed to the masculine bases.

- c) Intonation in exclamatory sentences. In it, the sentence is marked by the rise (↗) and fall (↘) in the pitch.

/baghi/ ↘ 'tiger' /ʒsāp/ ↘! 'snake'!

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Phrasal formation indicating femininity of the non-human nominals *mai-* 'being' prefixed to the masculine bases.

/hathi/	'elephant'	:	/maī hathi/	'she-elephant'
/ghuDa/	'horse'	:	/maī ghuDa/	'mare'
/kukur/	'dog'	:	/maī kukur/	'bitch'

Sex- and kin- based gender distinctions are available mainly in the humans and the least to the non-humans and are indicated by the use of two different words:

Humans

/ba, bua/	'father'	:	/ma/	'mother'
/lok/	'man'	:	/maijhi/	'woman'
/bOr/	'husband'	:	/kOnia/	'wife'

Number

The two term numbers - singular and plural are realised by $-\phi$ (zero)- and *-gura* [with pleonastic *kO* by the Brahmins] for the non-humans and body - parts and $-\phi$ (zero) and *-mane* for the humans.

A. Non-humans

Singular		Plural
$-\phi$ (zero)		<i>-gurak</i> (Br) <i>-gura</i> (NBr)
/ghOr/	'house'	/ghOrgurakO(Br) ghOrgura(NBr)/ 'houses'
/pOtOr/	'leaf'	/pOtOrgurakO (Br) pOtOrgura(NBr) 'leaves'

B. Humans

Singular		Plural
$-\phi$		<i>-mane</i>
/lok (Br) luk (NBr)/	'man, person'	/lokmane (Br) lukmane (NBr)/ 'men, persons'
/chua/	'child, son'	/chuamane/ 'sons, children'

Also, pluralisation is indicated by the use of *-e* in case of humans

/pila/	'student'	:	/pile/	'students' (in address)
/lok/luk/	'person'	:	/loke/luke/	'persons'

Further, *-e* in respect indicate pluralisation

/masTrO/	'teacher'	:	/masTre/	'teachers'
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Definitive uses *-Ta* and *-Te*

The definitive marker *-Ta* and *-Te* are used with the nominals and adjectivals respectively in the singular:

Nominals

/kukurTa/	'the dog' (particular).	/DungriTa/	'the hill' (particular),
/kothniTa/	'the story' (particular)	/rupOTa/	'the pigeon' (particular)
/phOTa/	'the fruit' (particular)		

Adjectivals

/DengaTe/	'the tall one' (masculine)	/DengiTe/	'the tall one' (feminine)
/patlaTe/	'the thin one' (masculine)	/patliTe/	'the thin one' (feminine)

Also, *-Te* is used with some non-human nouns in sympathy.

/takuTe/	'the stone' (particular)	/ghOrTe/	'the house' (particular)
/noliaTe/	'the canal' (particular)	/kãthiTe/	'the wall' (particular)

The definitive markers *-Ta*, *-Te* are not used in the plural number. Instead, in the non-human nouns *-ko* is used by Brahmins to indicate definiteness in sympathy while indefiniteness in non-sympathy is indicated by the use of *-e* with the plural. Example

/ghOr/	'house'	:	/ghOrgurakO/	(definite)
/ghOrgurac/	'houses'			(indefinite)

Classifiers

A noun when enumerated receives classifier.

/jhOne luk/	'one men'	/duhijhOn luk/	'two men'
/jhOne maijhi/ maikina/	'one woman'		
/duhijhOn maijhi/maikina/	'two women'		
/bOstae caur/	'sack full of rice'		
/duhi bOsta caur/	'two sacks full of rice'		

The examples reflect the structure as

Numeral + Classifier + Noun → Numeral + Classifier + Noun.

Classifiers used with the nominals are either qualifiers or quantifiers of which the former is used with the count nouns while the latter with the mass nouns:

In the count nouns

/guTe luk/	'one man'	(guTe having allomorph <i>-Te</i>)
/lukTe/	'the man' (particular)	
/guTe ghOr/	'one house'	/ghOrTe/ 'the house' (particular)

In the mass nouns

/gilase paen/	'one glass of water' (with <i>-e</i> meaning 'one')
/duhigilas paen/	'two glasses of water' (quantifier <i>duhi</i> helps in counting the mass noun).

Cases

Structure of case forms is as follows :

Nominal base + pl. marker *-mane* [Hu] *gura* (kO) [NHu] + case markers/post positions.

Nominal bases for the nouns are single term that is direct, whereas for the pronominals they are either direct or oblique. Equally, the direct human pluraliser *-mane* > *-man* when used in oblique cases either in the nouns or in the pronouns. The non-human pluraliser *-gura* (kO) remains unchanged both in direct and oblique cases of the nouns or pronouns.

Cases

The cases are five and these have the markers as :

Accusative/Dative: * *-ku* (Br.) *-ke* (NBr)

	<i>/gOchku (Br.) gOchke (NBr)/</i>	'to the free'
	<i>/desku (Br.) deske (NBr)/</i>	'to the country'
Instrumental.	<i>-thi</i>	
	<i>/kOlOmthi lekho/</i>	'write by pen'
	<i>/cāti bupra bODhithi uhOligOla/</i>	'the ant also flown away by flood'
	<i>/-re hatre/</i>	'by hand' <i>/baDire/</i> 'by the stick'
Ablative.	<i>-nu</i>	
	<i>/gOchnu/</i>	'from the tree'
	<i>/raejnu/</i>	'from the state/kingdom'
	<i>--ū</i>	<i>/ghOrū/</i> 'from the house'
Genitive	<i>-r ~ Or ~ -kOr</i>	
	<i>-r</i> used with the open syllabic base	
	<i>-Or</i> used with the close syllabic base	
	<i>-kOr</i> used only with oblique plural base <i>-man-</i>	
	<i>/dehOr ba/</i>	'hair of the body' <i>/rOjar ghOr/</i> 'palace of the king'
Locative	<i>-thi</i> [<i>-thi</i> used with the open syllabic base]	
	<i>/Donga khOTithi bŌdha heiche/</i>	'the boat is tied with the anchor'
	<i>/bOsgura Odharatithi kam bŌnd kŌle/</i>	'the buses stopped in the midnight'
	<i>~ -ne</i> [used with the close syllabic base]	
	<i>/muŕ sŌmŌlpurne ghŌrTe bŌneithili/</i>	'I built the house in Sambalpur'
	<i>~ -e/ -ku/ -ke</i> [used with the close -syllabic base]	
	<i>/ghŌre/ghŌrku/ghŌrke/</i>	'in the house'
	<i>/i gŌche aumuŕ neirŌhē/</i>	'I won't live in this tree any more'
	<i>~ kŌ</i> [used with the open-syllabic base]	
	<i>/masŌkŌ tiriŕi diŕŌ/</i>	'there are thirty days in a month'

Postpositions

The postpositions which are nominal and participial in nature are simple and compound types. The simple-type postpositions are:

<i>/upre/</i>	'above'	<i>/ghurŌn upre Deŕ jŌ/</i>	'jump over the fence'
<i>/pasū/</i>	'from, near'	<i>/mŌr ghŌr pasū asŌ/</i>	'come from near my house'
<i>/pakhe/</i>	'near'	<i>/ghŌrTa nŌdi pakhe Ōche/</i>	'the house is by the river'
<i>/bele/</i>	'during'	<i>/dinbele mai-kukra cŌlabula kŌrsi/</i>	'the hen moves during the day time'
<i>/bhitre/bhitŌrke/</i>	'inside'	<i>/ghŌr bhitre/bhitŌrke jŌ/</i>	'go inside the house'
<i>/Thamu/</i>	'till/upto'	<i>/Ōdha raet Thamu u uŕagŌr rŌhela/</i>	'he remained awake till mid-night'
<i>/bhitru/</i>	'among'	<i>/jugua bhitru jŌnepŌche kudale/</i>	'one among the guards ran after it'
<i>/bhŌr/</i>	'full, althroughout'	<i>/mue dlinbhŌr suithili/</i>	'I slept the whole day'
<i>/dei/</i>	'by, through, with the help of'	<i>/surendrŌ saike ŌnucŌr dei DŌkei pŌthale/</i>	'they invited Surendra sai through a secret messenger'

Tenses

It is a four member class --- present, past, future and conditional.

Present tense {-is-} has two allomorphs.

{-is-} → {-s-} /occurs after simple and extended present/

[-is-] /occurs with auxiliary -th- in the present perfect
with auxiliary -tha- in the habitual present,
perfect and imperfect in the first person singular/

Past tense {-il-} has two allomorphs
 {-il-} [-l-] /occurs with the roots and subsidiaries as -hO, ja,
 kOr, mOr, de and ne/
 [-il-] /occurs elsewhere/

Future tense {-ib-} has four allomorphs.
 {-ib-} [-im-] /occurs with the roots -kha, so, pi, pODh, in the
 person/
 [-m-] /occurs with the roots and subsidiaries- hO, de, ne
 and as in the first person/
 [-b-] /occurs elsewhere (second and third person) with the
 roots and subsidiaries -hO, de, ne /
 [-ib-] /occurs elsewhere (second and third person) with the
 roots -kha, pi, so and pOdhi/

Conditional tense {-it-} has two allomorphs.
 {-it-} [-t-] /occurs in the conditional present/
 [-it-] /occurs elsewhere with auxiliary -th- in the perfect
 and imperfect conditional/

The Aspects

The aspects are two --- perfective and imperfective.

Perfective {-i-}
 realised before [Aux -ch-] /in the present definite tense/
 [Aux -th-] /in the present non-definite past and future conditional tense/
 [Aux -tha-] /in the habitual present tense/

Imperfective {-u-}
 realised before [Aux -ch-] /in the present tense/
 [Aux -th-] /in the present non-definite conditional past and
 future tense/
 [Aux -tha-] /in the habitual present tense/

Mood

There are two types of moods -imperative and optative. Imperative mood is used in the second person and is having the 3-term comparison while the optative mood is realised in the III person with 2-term comparison. Example

Imperative mood:

[-φ] /Unmarked (inferior)/
 [-O] /Familiar/
 [-m] /Honorific in open syllable ending in -a/

		[-On]	/Honorific in close syllable and in the open syllable ending in any vowel except -a/
Example	/ja/	'go' (Inferior - unmarked)	/kOr/ 'do'
	/ja-O/	'you go (Familiar)	/kOrO/ 'you do'
	/ja-n/	'you (Honorific) go'	/kOrOn/ 'you (Honorific) do'

Optative mood

		[-u]	/Non-Honorific - III person/
		[-n]	/Honorific III person in open syllable ending in -a/
		[-Om]	/Honorific III person in open syllable ending in any vowel except -nd in the close syllable/
Example	/jau/		'let him go' /koru/ 'let him do'
	/se/semame jan/		'let him/them go'
	/se/semame kOrOn/		'let him/them do'
	/se/semame jaithan/		'let him/them be going'
	/se/semame kOruthan/		'let him/them be doing'

Structure of finite verb

1.1 Simple tense-

1.2 Aspectual

Root + Aspect + Tense + Person

2.1 Simple mood

Root + Mood + Person

2.2 Aspectual

Root + Aspect + Auxiliary + Mood + Person

1.1 Simple tense -

Root + Tense + Person.

Present	kOr - sī	'I do' (singular)
	kOr - su	'you do' (singular)
	kOr - si	'he/she does' (singular)
	kOr - sū	'we do' (plural)
	kOr - sO	'you do' (plural)
	kOr - sOrn	'they do' (plural)
Past	kO - l - ī	'I did' (singular)
	kO - l - u	'you did' (singular)
	kO - l - a	'he/she did' (singular)
	kO - l - ū	'we did' (plural)
	kO - l - O	'you did' (plural)
	kO - l - e	'they did' (plural)
Future	kOr - m - i	'I will do' (singular)
	kOr - b - u	'you will do' (singular)
	kOr - b - a	'he/she will do' (singular)
	kOr - m - u	'we will do' (exclusive)(plural)
	kOr - m - a	'we will do' (inclusive) (plural)
	kOr - b - O	'you will do' (plural)
	kOr - b - e	'they will do' (plural)

Conditional	<i>kOr - t - ī</i>	'I would do' (singular)
	<i>kOr - t - u</i>	'you would do' (singular)
	<i>kOr - t - a</i>	'he/she would do' (singular)
	<i>kOr - t - ū</i>	'we would do' (plural)
	<i>kOr - t - O</i>	'you would do' (plural)
	<i>kOr - t - e</i>	'they would do' (plural)

1.2 Aspectual

Root + Aspect + Auxiliary + Person

Present imperfect	<i>kOr - u - ch - ē</i>	'I am doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - ch - u</i>	'you are doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - ch - e</i>	'he/she is doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - ch - ū</i>	'we are doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr - u - ch - O</i>	'you are doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr - u - ch - On</i>	'they are doing' (plural)

Present perfect	<i>kOr - i - ch - ē</i>	'I have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - ch - u</i>	'you have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - ch - e</i>	'he/she has done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - ch - ū</i>	'we have done' (plural)
	<i>kOr - i - ch - O</i>	'you have done' (plural)
	<i>kOr - i - ch - On</i>	'they have done' (plural)

Present indefinite imperfect	<i>kOr - u - tha - e</i>	'I used to doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - u</i>	'you used to doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - e</i>	'he/she used to doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - u</i>	'we used to doing' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - e</i>	'we used to doing' (plural) (inclusive)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - O</i>	'you used to doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr - u - tha - e</i>	'they used to doing' (plural)

Present indefinite perfect	<i>kOr - i - tha - e</i>	'I used to have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - u</i>	'you used to have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - e</i>	'he/she used to have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - u</i>	'we used to have done' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - e</i>	'we used to have done' (plural) (inclusive)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - O</i>	'you used to have done' (plural)
	<i>kOr - i - tha - e</i>	'they used to have done' (plural)

Past imperfect	<i>kOr - u - th - il - i</i>	'I was doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - th - il - u</i>	'you were doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - th - il - a</i>	'he/she were doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr - u - th - il - u</i>	'we were doing' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr - u - th - il - e</i>	'we were doing' (plural) (inclusive)

	<i>kOr-u-th-il-O</i>	'you were doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr-u-th-il-e</i>	'they were doing' (plural)
Past perfect	<i>kOr-i-th-il-i</i>	'I had done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-u</i>	'you had done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-a</i>	'he/she had done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-u</i>	'we had done' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-e</i>	'we had done' (plural) (inclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-O</i>	'you had done' (plural)
	<i>kOr-i-th-il-e</i>	'they had done' (plural)
Future imperfect	<i>kOr-u-th-im-i</i>	'I will be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-ib-u</i>	'you will be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-ib-a</i>	'he/she will be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-im-u</i>	'we will be doing' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr-u-th-im-a</i>	'we will be doing' (plural) (inclusive)
	<i>kOr-u-th-ib-O</i>	'you will be doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr-u-th-ib-e</i>	'they will be doing' (plural)
Future perfect	<i>kOr-i-th-im-i</i>	'I will have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-ib-u</i>	'you will have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-ib-a</i>	'he/she will have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-im-u</i>	'we will have done' (plural) (exclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-im-a</i>	'we will have done' (plural) (inclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-ib-O</i>	'you will have done' (plural)
	<i>kOr-i-th-ib-e</i>	'they will have done' (plural)
Conditional imperfect	<i>kOr-u-th-it-i</i>	'I would be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-u</i>	'you would be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-a</i>	'he/she would be doing' (singular)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-u</i>	'we would be doing' (plural) (Exclusive)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-a</i>	'we would be doing' (plural) (Inclusive)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-O</i>	'you would be doing' (plural)
	<i>kOr-u-th-it-e</i>	'they would be doing' (plural)
Conditional perfect	<i>kOr-i-th-it-i</i>	'I would have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-u</i>	'you would have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-a</i>	'he/she would have done' (singular)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-u</i>	'we would have done' (plural) (Exclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-a</i>	'we would have done' (plural) (Inclusive)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-O</i>	'you would have done' (plural)
	<i>kOr-i-th-it-e</i>	'they would have done' (plural)

Negatives

The negatives can be categorised into three. These are : 1. negative copula, 2. negative auxiliary and 3. negative verb formation verb + negation

The negative copula *neinO* substitutes the copula verb *ay* 'is' and occurs in the sentence-final position [Herein, use of *-nO* indicates double negation] Example

<i>/se kensi neinO/</i>	'he is nowhere'
<i>/eTa khaēbar bagir neinO/</i>	'this is not eatable'
<i>/mor kObar kOrbar neinO/</i>	'I do not have to work'

The negative auxiliary *-n-* replaces *-ch-* and occurs in the present definite tense.

Example

<i>/kha-u/-i-ch-ē/</i>	I am eating/I have eaten'
<i>/kha-u/-i-n-i/</i>	'I am/have not eating/eaten'

The negative morpheme is realised as *-ni* after the main verb and as *-nO* in between the main verb and the auxiliary.

<i>/muṭ jae /gOli /jimi ni/</i>	'I do not/did not/ will not go'
<i>/muṭ ja-u/-i-n- th-il/-im-i/</i>	'I was not going, I will not be going, I had not gone and I will not have gone'
<i>/muṭ ja-u/-i-nO -tha-e/</i>	'let me not keep on going/let me not have gone'

Emphatic *-nO*

The negative marker *-nO* is used for emphasis in the present and past tenses. Example
/se kensi nainO/neinO/ 'I became old indeed!'

Non-finite verb-type

The non-finite verb -types include Infinitives verbal nouns gerund and participles.

Infinitives

The Infinitive markers are *-ba - -ke* in place of standard Oriya *-ba* or *-iba*. Further, in Sambalpuri dialect examples of infinitive formation are available also with *-i*.

Infinitive with *-ba - -ke*

<i>/gal cOrbake jauchel/</i>	'(he) is going to graze the cow'
<i>/se kOrbake cahuchel/</i>	'he wants to do'

Infinitive with *-i*

<i>/ame sOmudrO ke jhuri mari jisū/</i>	'we go to the sea to catch fish'
<i>/mui tumOr sOnge kObar kOrijimi/</i>	'I will go with you to work'

Verbal noun

The Verbal nouns are formed with *-bar*

<i>/jOner kObar kOrbar kOtha/</i>	'one should go to find a job'
<i>/bOhut muṛia bhOrti hebar Oche/</i>	'many workers are to be employed'

Gerundial formation

The gerundial marker is *-i* that precedes the subsidiary verb *hO*.
/eTa kOrihesi/ 'it is possible to do' /eTa kOrihela/ 'it is possible to do'
/eTa kOriheba/ 'it will be possible to do'

Passive formation

Passive formation is attested through stem alteration being followed by the subsidiary *hO* in the construction. Example

/pilake khua hOuche/ 'the boy is being fed'
/tumOr kurta Tipa hOuche/ 'your shirt is stitched'.
/kObarTa kOra hela/ 'the work was done'

Compound verbs

The compound verbs are formed of $V_1 - V_1$ and $V_1 - V_2$. In $V_1 - V_1$ the first V_1 is either an independent morpheme or is having *-a* marker while in $V_1 - V_2$ the first V_1 is marked by *-i* or *-ei*. Example

$I - V_1$

/mar khaibO/ 'you will get beating' (II plural)
/ThaD hO/ 'stand' (II singular)
/de diO/ 'give away' (II plural)
/dhua hela/ 'was washed'

$V_1 - V_2$

/uhOli gOla/ 'got overwhelmed'
/kOhi dela/ 'said'
/kOhi pOkala/ 'blured out'
/kOhi uthila/ 'exclaimed'

Noun - subsidiary

/naT kOrbar/ 'act' /juhar kOrbar/ 'fold (arms)'
/phOnda kOrbar/ 'set a trap, /dhar kOrbar/ 'sharpen'

Adjective - subsidiary

/Thikna kOrbar/ 'arrange' /patla kOrbar/ 'dilute'
/khali kOrbar/ 'empty' /mela kOrbar/ 'open'

Onomatopoeitic - subsidiary

/ThOk thOk kOrbar/ 'knock' /phirphiri kOrbar/ 'alight'
/phOr phOr kOrbar/ 'flatter' /phÖ phÖ kOrbar/ 'hiss'

Denominative verbs

/dhOmkaBar/ 'threaten/frighten'
/dhukbar/ 'fan' /āTheibar/ 'kneel'
/rOngobar/ 'dye' /phOlbar/ 'bear' (fruit)

Derivative verbs

/hŌseibar/	'amuse/to cause to amuse'	
/kūdheibar	'embrace'	
/dekheibar/	'show'	/gOleibar/ 'sift (flower)'

Syntax

Order of words and phrases in a simple sentence

The constituent structure of a simple sentence is subject + predicate (S + P). The subject may consist of nominals (noun/pronoun) or NP presenting the head of the construction while the predicate may have finite verb, VP, nominals, NP, adjective, AP and pronominal adverb following the head of the construction.

Examples of word-orders and phrases of a simple sentence.

A. Subject (N) + predicate (V) [N+V]

Example

<i>kukur</i>	<i>bhuksi</i> 'the dog barks'
<i>cureimane</i>	<i>uDsOn</i> 'the birds fly'
<i>gaymane</i>	<i>cOruchOn</i> 'the cows are grazing'

B. Subject (N/Pr) + predicate (N+V) [N/Pr + N+V]

Example

<i>/kukurTa bileike bhukche/</i>	'the dog barks at the cat'
<i>/se amke dekhuche/</i>	'he is looking at me/he looks at me'
<i>/se ghOre Oche/</i>	'he is in the house'
<i>/semane take dekhuchOn/</i>	'they are looking at him'

Description on types of sentences

a) Interrogative sentence

Some of the structures of interrogative sentences are given below:

1. Interrogative(s) + V

Example

<i>/ke jane/</i>	'who knows'
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2. S + interrogative + V

Example

<i>/se kaenu asiche/</i>	'why has he come?'
--------------------------	--------------------

3. S (+ adverb) + interrogative (adjective/adverb) + V

Example

<i>/tume kaeje jauchO/</i>	'why are you going'
<i>/mui kaeje jimi/</i>	'why shall I go?'

4. S + interrogative (O) + O + V

Example

<i>/tui kai kObar kOrsū/</i>	'what do you do?'
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5. S + adverb + V + interrogative

Example

<i>/se senke jiba kay/</i>	'will he go there?'
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6. S + C (O) + O + V + interrogative

Example

/se tumOr bOhen ay kay/

'is she your sister?'

7. S + adverb + V + interrogative

Example

/semane ghOre OchON kay/

'are they in the house?'

8. S + O + interrogative (O) + V

Example

/tume iTa ketethi dObO/

'how much will you pay for it?'

b) Imperative sentence

V	:	/bOsO/	'sit down'	/uThO/	'rise'
Cv	:	/thaD hO/	'stand up'	/bOsi jO/	'sit down'
O + V	:	/iTa niO/	'take it'	/iTa dhOrO/	'hold it'
		/paenTike an/	'bring a little water'		
O + CV	:	/take Daki diO/	'call him'	/iTa bhangI diO/	'break it'
O + adverb + V:		/iTa tOle rOkhO/	'keep it below'		
		/iTa upOrke rOkhO/	'keep it above'		
O + adverb + CV:		/tOkta upre ThaD hO/	'stand up on the table'		
		/tOkta upre bOsi jO/	'sit on the table'		
O + C(O) + V :		/kOtha guTe kOho/	'speak a word'		
O + adverb + O + V		/pOthOr upre pad rOkhO/	'keep your feet up on the stone'		
O + PP + indirect + interrogative (adjective) + CV:		/iTar sOnge au kaeTa deidO/	'give some more alongwith it'		
O + PP + Negative + V:		/jue paske nei jO/	'do not go near fire'		
C(O) + O + PCPL + V:		/take na dhOrIkiri DakO/	'call him by name'		

C) Negative sentence

Negative in sentence – final position

S + adverb + negative + V	/se kensi neinO/	'he is (seen) nowhere'
C(O) + O + VN + negative + V / mor au buta kOrbar nain/		'I do not have to work'
O + negative + V + O + V:	/heTa nuhe iTaay/	'that is not (but) this one'

O + adjective + negative + V + O + V:

/iTa bhOl nainO seTa diO/ 'this is not good give that one'

Negative in sentence- medial position

S + negative + V:	/muĩ nei kOre/kOrbar/	'I shall not work'
	/muĩ nei jibar/	'I shall not go'
S + adverb + negative + V:	/muĩ aej nei asē/	'I shall not come to-day'
S + O + adverb + negative + V	/muĩ iTake kensi nei paili/	'I found it nowhere'
S + interrogative + M (adverb) + adverb + negative + V	/tui kaeje Thik belathi nei ailO/	'why did you not come in time'
S + O + negative + V	/muĩ buta nei kerē/	'I shall not work'

d) Causative sentence

S+indirect O+direct O +VN+PP+V

/muĩ take bOhĩ debar lagi kOhuche/kOheba/

'I told him to give book'

S+indirect O + direct O+V

/muĩ take gĩt guOluchē/

'I make her sing the song'

e) Medio-passive sentence

IndirectO +CV

/pilake khua hOuche/

'the boy is being fed'

O + CV

/gĩt gua hesĩ /

'the song is being sing'

f) Relative construction

1. S+relative verb → la [c(O)] +O+V

/se poDhla phOl gurak gOdala/

'he collected the fallen fruits'

2. Alternate → gen -r [c(O)] + C(O) [relative verb] definite art. -Ta +C(O) +O definite art. -Te+V:

/mor rOhesĩnTa bODhe ghOrTe/

'the house I live is big one'

Complex sentence

1. S+V+sub-ordinate (reason-specific)+CV(N+V):

/se aela je bhOl hela/

'it was good that he came'

2. S+indirect O → adjective -ki +V+S+indirect O adjective -ki+V:

/tume jetki debO mui setki nemĩ/

'as much as you give I shall take'

3. S+V(N-F) +O+V:

/se pODhĩthile pas kOrĩthĩla/

'if he had read he would have passed'

/se khOTle bhOl kOrba/

'if he works hard he will do well'

4. S+V(N-F)+S+V:

/gaDi uchurOhele ame paema/

'we shall get the train if it is late'

Compound sentence

Two sentence either independently occurring or are conjoined with the help of a co-ordinator. Examples of some of the compound sentences are presented below.

1. S+adverb+V → S+V

/tume ĩnke rOhO nui jĩmĩ/

'you stay here I shall go'

2. S+adverb+O+V+co-ordinator+adverb +N

/muĩ saDhe dOs baje gaDi cODhĩ au saDhe egarO baje Ophiske aeli/

'I got into the train at 10.30 O'clock and reached office at 11.30 O'clock'

3. S+adverb+co-ordinator

/se kael aela au pOleĩgOla/

'he came yesterday and went away'

DESIA (PROJA)

S.P. Datta

Location

The Desia (Proja) dialect is spoken mainly in the district of Koraput of Orissa state.

Speakers' Strength:

PROJA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	118,726	58,156	60,570
	R	113,805	55,815	57,990
	U	4,921	2,341	2,580
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	114,289	55,903	58,386
	R	109,368	53,562	55,806
	U	4,921	2,341	2,580

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

i *u*
 e *o*
 o
 a

Phonemic contrast

/i~e/	/ila/	'sickle'	~	/ela/	'happened'
	/ki/	'what'	~	/ke/	'who'
/e~a/	/ek/	'one'	~	/ak/	'all'
	/se/	'he'	~	/sa/	'companion'
/O~a/	/Oki/	'tongue'	~	/āki/	'eye'
	/koila/	'said'	~	/kaila/	'ate'
/O~u/	/Oja/	'habit'	~	/uja/	'right'
	/pOr/	'other'	~	/pur/	'flood'

Nasalization of vowels

/i~ĩ/	/iŋla/	'grind'	~	/iŋla/	'brick oven'
/e~ẽ/	/beŋ/	'pick up'	~	/beŋ/	'hunting'
/a~ã/	/aŋ/	'eight'	~	/aŋ/	'tight'
/u~ũ/	/kuŋ/	'pound'	~	/kuŋ/	'pillar'
/O~Ô/	/kOŋa/	'bitter'	~	/kOŋa/	'bell-metal'

Vowel length

Length is predictable in the monosyllabic words only in the structure. Hence length in monosyllabic words contrasts with non-monosyllabic ones. Example

/i ~ i:/	/dire/	'slowly'	~	/di:r/	'slow'
/a ~ a:/	/dari/	'unchaste woman'	~	/da:r/	'sharp'
	/sasul	'mother-in-law'	~	/sa:s/	'breath'
/u ~ u:/	/puli/	'niche'	~	/pu:l/	'flower'
	/guDi/	'trunk'	~	/gu:D/	'leg'
/o ~ o:/	/rogi/	'patient'	~	/ro:g/	'disease'
	/Doli/	'palanquin'	~	/Do:l/	'drum'
/O ~ O:/	/bOni/	'sister'	~	/bO:n/	'forest'
	/bOlual	'strong'	~	/bO:l/	'strength'

Phonemic description of vowels

/i/	Front unrounded high vowel.
/e/	Front unrounded mid vowel.
/u/	Back rounded high vowel.
/o/	Back rounded mid vowel.
/O/	Back rounded low vowel.
/a/	Central unrounded low vowel.

Phonemic distribution of vowels

Oral ~ Nasal	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	/ir/ 'fiber'	/bil/ 'hole'	---
/ĩ/	/ĩsa/ 'envy'	/DiJa/ 'eye-ball'	/sĩ/ 'sew'
/u/	/uR/ 'fly'	/bul/ 'roam'	---
/ũ/	/ũe/ 'high'	/duri/ 'mist'	/mũ/ 'face'
/e/	/eRu/ 'head'	/bet/ber/ 'sun'	/se/ 'he'
/ẽ/	---	/lẽJ/ 'tail'	/Dẽ/ 'jump'
/o/	/or/ 'wear'	/bol/ 'tell'	/po/ 'son'
/O/	/Oru/ 'cave'	/bOl/ 'good'	/kOeo/ 'owl'
/Õ/	/Õs/ 'duck'	/bÕra/ 'bumble bee'	/gÕ/ 'wheat'
/a/	/aT/ 'eight'	/sasul 'mother-in-law'	/sua/ 'millet'
/ã/	/ãT/ 'tight'	---	---

Consonants

p b	t d	T D	C J	k g	
	s				h
m	n			M	
	l				
	r	R			
w			y		

Supra segmental

Nasalization: /v/

Phonemic distribution of consonants

All consonants except /M R w y/ occur initially before vowels.

All consonants occur medially in between vowels and after or before another consonant.

All consonants except /w/ occur finally.

Phonemic description of consonants

/p/	voiceless bilabial stop	/s/	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
/b/	voiced bilabial stop	/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
/t/	voiceless dental stop	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/d/	voiced dental stop	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/ʈ/	voiceless retroflex stop	/ɱ/	voiced velar nasal
/ɖ/	voiced retroflex stop	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
/tʃ/	voiceless alveo-palatal stop	/r/	voiced alveolar flap
/dʒ/	voiced alveo-palatal stop	/ɽ/	voiced retroflexed flap
/k/	voiceless velar stop	/w/	voiced bilabial semivowel or continuant
/g/	voiced velar stop	/y/	voiced palatal semivowel or continuant.

Allophonic variations

/n/	has three allophones. It becomes		
[N]	before retroflexed D	[toND]	'month'
[M]	before alveolo-palatal	[sOMʃ]	'evening'
[n]	before dentals	[bOnd]	'pond'
/w/	has allophonic variant assuming the phonetic value of non-syllabic /u/	[Jwar]	'salutation'
	In other situation /w/ is maintained	[malwa]	'wild-cat'
/y/	has allophone with the phonetic value of non-syllabic /i/	[koia]	'ragi'
	In other situation /y/ is maintained.	[aya]	'mother'

Special phonological feature of Desia

1. Use of /h/ is optional.

(a) /h/ is seen to occur in the following

bihOn	'seed'	dOhī	'curd'
bahOr	'outside'	nahele	'otherwise'

(b) /h/ drops lengthening the vowel

kuuDi	'fog/mist'	kuula	'smoke'
paaD	'hill'	pāatia tara	'morning star'
mOom boti	'wax candle'	pōorbar	'swim'

(c) /h/ drops altogether in the initial position lengthening the following vowel:

a:t<hato	'hand'	a:D<haRo	'bone'
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a:r<haro 'necklace'
 aDpuTi<haRophuti 'chicken pox'
 anDi<haNDi 'pitcher'
 Oldi<hoLodi 'haldi(powder)'

a:ti<hati 'elephant'
 ODla<hoNDLa 'pitcher'
 orDa<horoDa 'myrobalm'

Diphthongs

/ie/	/pie/	'drinks'	/ao/	/kaOt/	'let them eat'
/io/	/biOr/	'to throw'	/au/	/kauRi/	'yoke'
/ia/	/bian/	'seed'	/ao/	/gao/	'sore'
/iu/	/jiuna/	'living'	/ui/	/mu:/	'I'
/io/	/pio/	'let him drink'	/ue/	/sue/	'sleeps'
/ei/	/tei/	'there'	/uo/	/suo/	'let him sleep'
/ea/	/seaR/	'that side'	/oi/	/koil/	'where'
/eu/	/kauT/	'fisherman'	/oe/	/goeRa/	'flee'
/Oe/	/Oera/	'cushion for pots'	/oOl/	/boOt/	'let them carry'
/Ou/	/mOut/	'prestige'	/oa/	/boali/	'bearer'
/Oo/	/kOaRa/	'shell'	/ou/	/kont/	'funny'
/ai/	/sai/	'porcupine'			

Triphthongs

/uai/	/juai/	'son-in-law'	/aia/	/Taia/	'peacock's feather'
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Consonant clusters

/PT/	/CiPTi/	'off-season paddy'	/Ts/	/pOTsi/	'crab'
/PD/	/kaPDu/	'careless'	/Tm/	/pOTmi/	'rot'
/pk/	/upka/	'floating'	/Tn/	/CaTna/	'basket'
/pn/	/dupni/	'incense'	/Tl/	/kaTlam/	'reward'
/pl/	/kupli/	'hillock'	/Tr/	/peTri/	'pregnant'
/pr/	/kupri/	'skull'	/Dk/	/bOnDka/	'fatty'
/be/	/dob Cera/	'pea'	/Dg/	/puDga/	'leaf-cup'
/bk/	/Obka/	'unmixed'	/Dl/	/gunDla/	'tangled'
/bs/	/gObsa/	'abortion'	/Dr/	/biDru/	'fleet'
/bn/	/habna/	'thought'	/Cn/	/oCna/	'bed'
/bl/	/tabla/	'brass-bowl'	/Cl/	/biCliya/	'slimy'
/br/	/lobra/	'greedy'	/Cr/	/KaCra/	'sweepings'
/bR/	/kubRa/	'hunch back'	/Jk/	/JeJka/	'complication'
/tk/	/utka/	'to jump'	/Jn/	/buJni/	'right hand'
/tm/	/tutmuRi/	'bitter gourd'	/Jl/	/biJli/	'lightning'
/tn/	/utna/	'resting on back'	/Jr/	/paJra/	'spring'
/tl/	/putla/	'eye-ball'	/kt/	/pokta/	'ripe'
/db/	/udba/	'rising'	/kT/	/ekTa/	'alone'
/dk/	/kOdka/	'rough'	/ks/	/kiksa/	'tusk'
/dn/	/gOdni/	'vaccination'	/kn/	/bakna/	'riddle'
/dl/	/kOdli/	'plantain'	/kl/	/sikli/	'chain'

/dr/	/hadra/	'ferocious'	/kr/	/Dokra/	'old man'
/Tk/	/pOTkar/	'fraud'	/gD/	/ragDil/	'loose'
/Tg/	/guTguTa/	'to cook'	/gs/	/bigs/	'bloom'
/gr/	/Dugra/	'jealous'	/M'T/	/beM'Ti/	'toad'
/sp/	/Ospani/	'dew'	/M'd/	/DiM'dinga/	'watery'
/st/	/susta/	'healthy'	/M'n/	/maM'ni/	'begging'
/sk/	/OskORa/	'dirt'	/M'R/	/paM'Ri/	'gate'
/sn/	/basna/	'odour'	/lp/	/telpu/	'lustrous'
/sl/	/nOsla/	'spoilt'	/lb/	/Culbul/	'shiver'
/sr/	/tOsri/	'wire'	/ld/	/Oldi/	'yellow'
/mp/	/jompur/	'heaven'	/lk/	/Olka/	'wave'
/md/	/somdi/	'relative'	/lg/	/sOlga/	'score'
/mT/	/kamTi/	'split bamboo'	/ls/	/Olsi/	'linseed'
/mD/	/kumDa/	'pumpkin'	/lm/	/Olma/	'white ant'
/mC/	/gamCa/	'skirt'	/rt/	/turtal/	'fresh'
/mk/	/Camka/	'shell'	/rb/	/torbuJ/	'water melon'
/ms/	/gumsa/	'blow with fist'	/rd/	/merda/	'ceiling'
/mn/	/Dumni/	'spoon'	/rD/	/birDa/	'bamboo lath'
/mr/	/Camra/	'cobbler'	/rg/	/nirgudi/	'ear ring'
/mR/	/dumRi/	'fatty woman'	/rs/	/korsi/	'cow-dung cake'
/np/	/Jonpa/	'jute'	/rm/	/kurma/	'heap'
/nb/	/sunburi/	'ghost'	/rn/	/girna/	'lizard'
/nt/	/mantil/	'respect'	/Rd/	/goRdi/	'ditch'
/nj/	/banja/	'nephew'	/Rk/	/kuRka/	'cup'
/nk/	/Onkla/	'ladle'	/Rn/	/baRni/	'broom'
/ng/	/kangul/	'ear wax'	/Rl/	/gaRla/	'fixed'
			/Rr/	/gaRra/	'ram'

Morphology

Number

The numbers in Desia are two – singular and plural and the three markers are $-\phi$ (singular) and $-mOne$ (plural) for the animate types and $-guDa$ (plural) for inanimate types. Examples

$-mOne$:

pila	:	pila mOne	'son	:	sons'
bOin	:	bOin mOne	'sister	:	sisters'
Ji	:	Ji mOne	'daughter	:	daughters'
lok	:	lok mOne	'person	:	persons'(people)
bai	:	bai mOne	'brother	:	brothers'
TOki	:	TOki mOne	'girl	:	girls'
alia	:	alia mOne	'servant	:	servants'
CODei	:	CODei mOne	'bird	:	birds'
sOnD	:	sOnD mOne	'bull	:	bulls'
gai	:	gai mOne	'cow	:	cows'

$-guDa$

aki	:	aki guDa	'eye	:	eyes'
at	:	at guDa	'hand	:	hands'

<i>sObOd</i>	:	<i>sObOd guDa</i>		'word	:	words'
<i>bOi</i>	:	<i>bOi guDa</i>		'book	:	books'
<i>pOl</i>	:	<i>pOl guDa</i>		'fruit	:	fruits'

Gender:

The genders are lexical. Examples of two tire nominal genders – Masculine and Feminine are:

bapa	'father'	ma,aya	'mother'
po	'son'	nuni,ji	'daughter'
munis	'husband'	maikina	'wife'
OnDra	'male'	maikina	'female'
pila	'boy'	nuni	'girl'

Case:

The cases are six i.e., Nominative, Accusative, Ablative, Genitive, Instrumental, and Locative.

The Nominative case does not bear any marker. The markers for the other cases are – ke 'to' (Accusative) -tu-, -ru 'from' (Ablative), -Or 'of' (Genitive) – re 'by' (instrumental) –e, -re, me 'in, at' (Locative) respectively.

Below are discussed the cases and their markers:

Accusative

-ke 'to'	<i>gendTake</i>	'to the ball'		
	<i>CODeike</i>	'to the bird'	<i>pilake</i>	'to the boy'
	<i>haike</i>	'to the brother'	<i>gOribmOnke</i>	'to the poor'
	<i>bOinmOnke</i>	'to the sisters'	<i>pODke</i>	'to the buffalo'
	<i>bileike</i>	'to the cat'	<i>Jike</i>	'to the daughter'
	<i>kone</i>	'to whom'		

Ablative

-Tu 'from'	<i>sie dinTu</i>	'from that day'		
-ru 'from'	<i>gāru</i>	'from the village'		
	<i>DuMgru</i>	'from the hill'	<i>gOCru</i>	'from the tree'
	<i>iskulru</i>	'from the school'	<i>bipOdru</i>	'from danger'
	<i>kiDkiru</i>	'from the window'		

Genitive

Genitive has two markers –r and -or and their occurrences are conditioned as follows

-Or 'of'	<i>kukurOr</i>	'of the dog'	<i>gOrOr</i>	'of the house'
	<i>lOdakOr</i>	'of Ladakh'	<i>biOr</i>	'of the pond'
	<i>masOr</i>	'of month'	<i>baTOr</i>	'of the road'
	<i>mai,lir</i>	'of the woman'	<i>pilar</i>	'of the son/child'
	<i>guDamOrOr</i>	'of the horses'	<i>gOCOr</i>	'of the tree'
	<i>saUkarOr</i>	'of the money lender'		

Instrumental

-re 'by'	<i>koLOmre</i>	'by the pen'
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Locative

Locative has three markers *-e*, *-me* and *-re* and their occurrences are conditioned as the following: *-e* occurs after closed syllabic bases and *-re* or *-me* occurs after open syllabic bases.

<i>-e</i>	<i>gOre</i>	'in the house'	<i>dOptOre</i>	'in the office'
	<i>kOTre</i>	'in the anchor'	<i>iskule</i>	'in the school'
<i>-re</i>	<i>Osubidare</i>	'in difficulties'	<i>darire</i>	'in the line'
	<i>bOsare</i>	'in the nest'	<i>bilre/pODiare</i>	'in the field'
	<i>bOgCare</i>	'in the garden'	<i>kuDiare</i>	'in the hut'
	<i>builgaDire</i>	'in the cart'	<i>gOCre pOrJaJatire</i>	'in the Parja caste'
	<i>COitOpOrObre</i>	'in the Chaitra festival'		
	<i>asar masOre</i>	'in the month of Asar'		
<i>-me</i>	<i>Jatime</i>	'in the caste'		

Compounds

<i>bai-bOin</i>	'brother and sister'
<i>dOn-sOmpOti</i>	'wealth'
<i>JOmi-baDi</i>	'landed property'
<i>Celi-menDia</i>	'goat and ram'
<i>Ji-bOin</i>	'daughter and sister'
<i>gā-lukO</i>	'inhabitant of the village'
<i>peTri-maikina</i>	'pregnant woman'
<i>dari(aNi)</i>	'an unchaste woman'
<i>kua-pia</i>	'eating and drinking'

Pronominals

Personal pronominal declensions

Pronominal bases

First person-	Sg. <i>mu-</i>	<i>mO-</i>	Sg. in first, second and third person are added with <i>-i</i> in first and second person <i>-i</i> and <i>-l-</i> in third person.	
	Pl. <i>am-</i>			
Second person-	Sg. <i>tu-</i>	<i>tO-</i>	thus, <i>mu-i>mui</i>	'I'
	Pl. <i>tum-</i>		<i>tu-i>tui</i>	'thou'
			<i>se-i>sle</i>	'she/he'
			<i>ha-i>hai</i>	'he/she'
Third person-	Sg. <i>se-, ha-, ta-</i>		Pl. first, second and third person are added with <i>mOne</i>	
	Pl.		Thus, <i>am-mOne>ammOne</i>	'we'
			<i>tum-mOne>tummOne</i>	'you'
			<i>sie-/hai-mOne>siemOnehaimOne</i>	'they'

Case

Nominative = - ϕ				
Accusative/ = - <i>ke</i>	<i>mOke</i>	'to me'	<i>tOke</i>	'to thou'
Dative	<i>take</i>	'to him/her'	<i>amke</i>	'to us'
	<i>tumke</i>	'to you'	<i>siemOnke/haimOnke</i>	
Genitive = - <i>kOr</i>	<i>siemOnkOr/haimOnkOr</i>	'their'		
	<i>-r</i>	<i>mOr</i>	'my'	<i>tOr</i> 'thou' <i>tar</i> 'his/her'
	<i>-Or</i>	<i>amOr</i>	'our'	<i>tumOr</i> 'your'

Herein, base(- pl. marker - *mOne*) - case markers form pronominal declension in the three personal pronouns.

Demonstrative pronoun

Proximate

	Singular		Plural
<i>i</i>	'this'	<i>i guDa</i>	'these'
<i>iTa</i>	'this only'	<i>iTamOn</i>	'these.'
Remote			
	Singular		Plural
<i>sie/hai</i>	'that'	<i>siguDa</i>	} 'those'
<i>si- -Ta</i>	'that'	<i>siTa mOne</i>	
<i>hai- -Ta</i>	'that'	<i>haiTamOne</i>	

Case markers

Nominative	- ϕ				
Accusative/	-ke	<i>iTake</i>	'to it'	<i>iTamOnke/iguDake</i>	'to those'
Dative		<i>siTake/haitake</i>	'to that'	<i>siTamOnke/haiTamOnke</i>	'to them'
Genitive	-r	<i>iTar</i>	'of this/it'	<i>siTar</i>	'of that'
	-kOr 'of'				
		<i>siTamOnkOr/haiTamOnkOr</i>	'of those'	<i>iTamOnkOr</i>	'of these'
Ablative.	-nu 'from'	<i>iTanu</i>	'from this'	<i>iTamOnnu</i>	'from these'
		<i>haiTanu/siTanu</i>	'from that'		
		<i>haiTamOn/siTamOnnu</i>	'from those'		

Interrogative pronoun

Base-	<i>kae, kis-, kon, kie</i>	pluralizer =	-mOne
- ϕ	'what' 'which' 'who'		
Nominative =	base - definitive -Ta		
	<i>kāeTa, kisTa, konTa</i>	'which'(sg.)	<i>konmOne</i> 'which(pl)'
	<i>kiemOne</i>	'who(pl)'	
Accusative =	base - -ke	Base - -e	
Dative	<i>kaeTake, kisTake, konTake</i>	<i>konmOnke</i>	'to which(pl)'
	'to which'		
	<i>kon - e</i>	'to whom'	
Genitive =	base - -Or/-kOr (when base ends in a consonant)		
	-r (when base ends in a vowel) Example		
	<i>kāeTar</i>	'of which'	<i>kisTar</i> 'of which'
	<i>konOr</i>	'of which'	<i>kar</i> 'whose'
	<i>konmOnkOr</i>	'whose'	

Relative pronoun

Base = *je-, jen-* 'who (Relative)'; pluralizer = -mOne

Cases

Nominative	=	- ϕ			
Accusative/ Dative	=	-ke	<i>Jeke</i>	'whom'	<i>JemOnke</i> 'whom(pl)'
Genitive	=	-kOr	<i>JekOr</i>	'whose'	<i>JemOnkOr/JenmOnkOr</i> 'whose(pl.)'

Adjectivals

The adjectives precede the nouns in the construction. Also, the adjectivals are derived of nominal base – adjectival markers:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (a) | Nominal base -- <i>ia</i> | |
| | <i>hal</i> -- <i>ia</i> > <i>halia</i> | 'tired' |
| | <i>durgOrdh</i> -- <i>ia</i> > <i>durgOrdhia</i> | 'stingy' |
| | <i>kOJOr</i> -- <i>ia</i> > <i>kOJria</i> | 'lazy' |
| | <i>budhi</i> -- <i>ia</i> > <i>budhia</i> | 'wise' |
| (b) | Nominal base -- <i>ua</i> | |
| | <i>laJ</i> -- <i>ua</i> > <i>laJua</i> | 'shy' |
| | <i>bOn</i> -- <i>ua</i> > <i>bOmua</i> | 'wild' |
| | <i>set</i> -- <i>ua</i> > <i>setua</i> | 'pale' |
| | <i>bOl</i> -- <i>ua</i> > <i>bOlua</i> | 'strong' |
| | <i>sag</i> -- <i>ua</i> > <i>sagua</i> | 'green' etc. |
| (c) | Nominal base -- <i>a</i> | |
| | <i>JuT</i> -- <i>a</i> > <i>JuTa</i> | 'false' |
| | <i>OskOr</i> -- <i>a</i> > <i>OskOra</i> | 'dirty' |
| | <i>tintil</i> -- <i>a</i> > <i>tintila</i> | 'damp' |
| | <i>dhObOl</i> -- <i>a</i> > <i>dhObola</i> | 'white' |
| | <i>keC keC</i> -- <i>a</i> > <i>keCkeCa</i> | 'ugly' etc. |
| (d) | Nominal base -- <i>i</i> | |
| | <i>JaT</i> -- <i>i</i> > <i>JaTi</i> | 'terrible' |
| | <i>lob</i> -- <i>i</i> > <i>lobi</i> | 'greedy' |
| | <i>kal</i> -- <i>i</i> > <i>kali</i> | 'empty' |
| | <i>Calak</i> -- <i>i</i> > <i>Calaki</i> | 'clever' |
| | <i>kOr</i> -- <i>i</i> > <i>kOri</i> | 'fair skinned' |

The adjectives are distinguished for two-tier genders – masculine and feminine. Example

Masculine	Feminine	
- <i>a</i>	- <i>i</i>	
<i>Timpa</i>	<i>Timpi</i>	'dwarf' (M/F)
<i>Denga</i>	<i>Dengi</i>	'tall' (M/F)
<i>buska</i>	<i>buski</i>	'fat' (M/F)
<i>kOnda</i>	<i>kundi</i>	'deaf' (M/F)
<i>JODa</i>	<i>JaDi</i>	'dumb' (M/F)
<i>pupla</i>	<i>pupli</i>	'toothless' (M/F)
<i>kOra</i>	<i>kOri</i>	'fair' (M/F)
- ϕ	- <i>i</i>	
<i>sundOr</i>	<i>sundri</i>	'beautiful' (M/F)
- <i>a</i>	- <i>uni</i>	
<i>Onda</i>	<i>Onduni</i>	'blind' (M/F)
<i>kala</i>	<i>kaluni</i>	'deaf' (M/F)

Postpositions

The postpositions are nominal and verbal types. These are:

<i>pOra</i>	'likely'	<i>tui Jibu pra</i>	'it is likely that you will go!'
<i>pOri</i>	'like'	<i>TOkar pOri</i>	'like son'
<i>sie mO pOri disuCe</i>	'he looks like me'		

<i>paĩ</i>	'for/with a view to'	<i>rOiba paĩ</i>	'with a view to live'
<i>JOgu</i>	'for'	<i>dOkaiTi pa ĩ</i>	'for robbery'
<i>JOge</i>	'big'	<i>buĩkOmpJOgu</i>	'for earthquake'
		<i>kamTa mOr JOge hebO</i>	'the work will be done by me'
<i>Jai</i>	'continuously, til'	<i>sie besi rat Jai paĩTi kola</i>	'he worked till late hours of night'
<i>lagi</i>	'for'	<i>maiJir lagi</i>	'for the wife'
<i>Tokar lagi</i>	'for the son'		
<i>deO kOrap lagi</i>	'for/owing to ill-health'		
<i>dei</i>	'by/ in exchange of'	<i>Dabu dei ginCi</i>	'(have) purchased by money'
<i>tOk</i>	'upto'	<i>aebar tOk</i>	'upto the time of arrival'
<i>ebtOk</i>	'till now'		
<i>sara</i>	'whole'	<i>se dinsara suitiha</i>	'he slept for whole day'
<i>pake</i>	'near'	<i>Joe pake JaO nai</i>	'don't go to fire'

Verb

The verb roots in Desia(Proja) are basically similar to Sambalpuri with specific phonological changes:

1. Aspirates are regularly *de*-aspirated in the voiced and unvoiced series.
2. *h* in the word- initial position and word- medial position are dropped.
3. The affricates *c, ch, j, jh* are reduced to *C, J* in the verb roots.
4. A few verb roots have altogether different formations. Example *bēTke Jibar* cf Sambalpuri, *pardhi kOrbar/sikar khelbar* 'to hunt', *taskOrbar* cf Sambalpuri, *hOlabar/cas kOrbar* 'to cultivate' etc.
5. The verb root *dekhbar* > *dOkbar* in Desia.
The verb paradigm of *OC* 'be' (present), *no/rOh* 'be' (past/future).

Present

I sg.	<i>OCi</i>	II sg.	<i>OCus</i>	III sg.	<i>OCe</i>
II pl.	<i>OCu</i>	II pl.	<i>OCO</i>	III pl.	<i>OCOu</i>

Past

I sg.	<i>tili</i> <i>rOeli</i>	II sg.	<i>tilus</i> <i>rOelus</i>	III sg.	<i>tila, rOela,</i> <i>-ela</i>
I pl.	<i>tilu,</i> <i>rOelu</i>	II pl.	<i>tilO</i> <i>rOelo</i>	III pl.	<i>tile, rOele</i> <i>-lOe</i>

Future

I sg.	<i>rOebi</i>	II sg.	<i>rOebus</i>	III sg.	<i>rOebO</i>
I pl.	<i>rOebu</i>	II pl.	<i>rOebO</i>	III pl.	<i>rOebe/bO</i>

Verb paradigm of negative auxiliary

[Negative marker *nO* (in present) *na* (in past) *nai* (in present, past and future) – *OC* (present) *ho/rOh* (past and future)].

Present

I sg.	<i>nO~nai OCi</i>	II sg.	<i>nO~naiOCus</i>	III sg.	<i>nO~naiOCe</i>
I pl.	<i>nO~naiOCu</i>	II pl.	<i>nO~naiOCO</i>	III pl.	<i>nO~naiOCOn</i>

Past

I sg.	<i>na~nai rOelli</i>	II sg.	<i>na~nai rOellus</i>	III sg.	<i>na~nai roela</i>
I pl.	<i>na~nai rOelu</i>	II pl.	<i>na~nai rOlelO</i>	III pl.	<i>na~nai rOele/Ōe</i>

Future

I sg.	<i>na~nai rOebi</i>	II sg.	<i>na~nai rOebus</i>	III sg.	<i>na~nai rOebO</i>
I pl.	<i>na~nai rOebu</i>	II pl.	<i>na~nai rOebO</i>	III pl.	<i>na~nai rOebe/bOe</i>

Personal terminations forming the auxiliary verbs

Present Tense marker

- ϕ - : *OC* - - ϕ - - personal markers

I sg.	- <i>i</i>	II sg.	- <i>us</i>	III sg.	- <i>e</i>
I pl.	- <i>u</i>	II pl.	- <i>O</i>	III pl.	- <i>On</i>

Past Tense marker

- *il* - > -*el* - by morphophonemic correspondence of -*O* (of *rO*<*rOh*) and - *i* - /- *il* - - personal markers:

I sg.	- <i>i</i>	II sg.	- <i>us</i>	III sg.	- <i>a</i>
I pl.	- <i>u</i>	II pl.	- <i>O</i>	III pl.	- <i>e/-Ōe</i>

Future Tense marker

- *ib* - > - *eb* - by morphophonemic correspondence of -*O* (of *rO*<*rOh*) and - *i* - of - *ib* - - personal markers:

I sg.	- <i>i</i>	II sg.	- <i>us</i>	III sg.	- <i>O</i>
I pl.	- <i>u</i>	II pl.	- <i>O</i>	III pl.	- <i>e/-Ōe</i>

Verb paradigm *kOr* 'do'

Simple present

Verb base *kOr* - - Tense marker - ϕ - - personal marker - *i* (1sg.) - *u* (1pl.) - *us* (2sg.) - - *O* (2pl.) - *e* (3sg.) - *On/Oe* (3pl.).

I sg.	<i>kOri</i>	'I do'	II sg.	<i>kOrus</i>	'thou does't'	III sg.	<i>kOre</i>	'he/she does'
I pl.	<i>kOru</i>	'we do'	II pl.	<i>kOrO</i>	'you do'	III pl.	<i>kOrOn~kOrŌe</i>	'they do'

Past

Verb base *kOr* > *kO* - tense marker - *il* - > - *l* - - personal markers - *i* (1sg.) - *u* (1pl.) - *us* (2sg.) - *O* (2pl.) - *a* (3sg.) - *e/Ōe* (3pl.)

I sg.	<i>kOli~</i>	II sg.	<i>kOlus~</i>	III sg.	<i>kOla~kOrla</i>
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I pl.	<i>kOrli</i> 'I did'	II pl.	<i>kOrlus</i> 'thou <i>kOlO-kOrlO</i> 'you did'	III pl.	'he/she did' didn't' <i>kOle-kOrle-kOrlÖe</i> 'they did'
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Future

Verb base *kOr* - tense marker - *ib* - > - *b* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *O* (IIIsg.) - *Öe* (IIIpl.)

I sg.	<i>kOrbi</i>	II sg.	<i>kOrbus</i>	III sg.	<i>kOrbO</i>
	'I shall do'		'thou will do'		'he/she will do'
I pl.	<i>kOrbu</i>	II pl.	<i>kOrbO</i>	III pl.	<i>kOrbÖe</i>
	'we shall do'		'you will do'		'they will do'

Imperfect

Present

Verb base *kOr* - Auxiliary - *OC* - > - *C* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *O* (IIIsg.) - *On* (IIIpl.)

I sg.	<i>kOrCi</i>	II sg.	<i>kOrCus</i>	III sg.	<i>kOrCO</i>
	'I am doing'		'thou are doing'		'he/she is doing'
I pl.	<i>kOrCu</i>	II pl.	<i>kOrCO</i>	III pl.	<i>kOrCON</i>
	'we are doing'		'you are doing'		'they are doing'

Past (compound formation)

Verb base - *kOr* - pre. ppl. - *te* - subsidiary *rOh* > - *rO* - past tense - *il* > - *el* by morpho phonemic - change with - *O* - of *rO* - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *Öe/-e* (IIIpl.)

Isg.	<i>kOrte roeli</i>	IIsg.	<i>kOrte roelus</i>	IIIsg.	<i>kOrte roela</i>
	'I was doing'		'thou were doing'		'he/she was doing'
I pl.	<i>kOrte rOelu</i>	IIpl.	<i>kOrte rOelo</i>	IIIpl.	<i>kOrte rOële-roelÖe</i>
	'we were doing'		'you were doing'		'they were doing'

Future (compound formation)

Verb base *kOr* - present participle - *te* - subsidiary - *rOh* > - *rO* - - - *ib* - > - *eb* - (because of morpho-phonemic change of *i* with - *O* - of *rO*) - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *O* (IIIsg.) and - *Öe* (IIIpl.).

I sg.	<i>kOrte rOebi</i>	II sg.	<i>kOrte roebus</i>	III sg.	<i>kOrte rOebO</i>
	'I will be doing'		'thou will be doing'		'he/she will be doing'
I pl.	<i>kOrte rOebu</i>	II pl.	<i>kOrte rOebO</i>	I pl.	<i>kOrte rOebÖe</i>
	'we will be doing'		'you will be doing'		'they will be doing'

Perfect

Present

Verb base - perfect - *i* - auxiliary *OC* - personal markers - *i* (I sg.) - *u* (I pl.) - *us* (II sg.) - *O* (II pl.) - *e* (III sg.) - *On* (III pl.)

I sg.	<i>kOri OCi</i>	II sg.	<i>kOri OCus</i>	III sg.	<i>kOri OCe</i>
	'I have done'		'thou have done'		'he/she has done'
I pl.	<i>kOri OCu</i>	II pl.	<i>kOri OCO</i>	III pl.	<i>kOri OCON</i>
	'we have done'		'you have done'		'they have done'

Past

Verb base *kOr* - - perfect - ϕ - (- *i* being dropped) - - *t* - < - *th* - (Auxiliary) - - *il* (past) - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *e/Oe* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOrtili</i> 'I had done'	II sg. <i>kOrtilus</i> 'thou had done'	III sg. <i>kOrtila</i> 'he/she had done'
I pl. <i>kOrtilu</i> 'we had done'	II pl. <i>kOrtilO</i> 'you had done'	III pl. <i>kOrtile-kOrtilOe</i> 'they had done'

Future

Verb base *kOr* - - perfect - ϕ - - - *t* - < - *th* - (Auxiliary) - - *ib* - (fut) - personal marker - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *O* (IIIsg.) - *Oe* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOrtibi</i> 'I would have done'	II sg. <i>kOrtibus</i> 'thou would't have done'	III sg. <i>kOrtibo</i> 'he/she would have done'
I pl. <i>kOrtibu</i> 'we would have done'	II pl. <i>kOrtibO</i> 'you would have done'	III pl. <i>kOrtibOe</i> 'they would have done'

Conditional present

Verb base *kOr* - - present - ϕ - - Auxiliary - ϕ - conditional - *t* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *O* (IIIsg.) - *Oe* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOrti</i> 'if I do'	IIsg. <i>kOrtus</i> 'if thou does't'	IIIsg. <i>kOrtO</i> 'if he/she does'
I pl. <i>kOrtu</i> 'if we do'	IIpl. <i>kOrtO</i> 'if you do'	IIIpl. <i>kOrtOe</i> 'if they do'

Perfect

Verb base *kOr* - - perfect - *i* - Auxiliary - *ta* - < - *tha* - conditional - *t* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *Oe* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOritati</i> 'if I did'	II sg. <i>kOritatus</i> 'if thou didst'	III sg. <i>kOritata</i> 'if he/she did'
I pl. <i>kOritatu</i> 'if we did'	IIpl. <i>kOritato</i> 'if you did'	IIIpl. <i>kOritatOe</i> 'if they did'

Imperfect

Verb base *kOr* - - imperfect - *u* - - Auxiliary - *ta* - < - *tha* - conditional - *t* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *Oe* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOrutati</i> 'if I was doing'	II sg. <i>kOrutatus</i> 'if thou art doing'	III sg. <i>kOrutata</i> 'if he/she was doing'
I pl. <i>kOrutatu</i> 'if we were doing'	II pl. <i>kOrutatO</i> 'if you were doing'	III pl. <i>kOrutatOe</i> 'if they were doing'

Extended present

Verb base *kOr* - - extended - *a* - - present - ϕ - personal markers - *e* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *e* (IIIsg.) - *On* (IIIpl.).

I sg. <i>kOrae</i> 'I make to do'	IIsg. <i>kOraus</i> 'thou make to do'	IIIsg. <i>kOrae</i> 'he/she makes to do'
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I pl.	<i>kOrau</i> 'we make to do'	IIpl.	<i>kOraO</i> 'you make to do'	IIIpl.	<i>kOraOn/kOran</i> 'they make to do'
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Past (non-passive simple)

Verb base *kOr* - - perfect - *i* - subsidiary - *de* - past - *il* ->- *l* - - personal markers - *i* (Isg.) - *u* (Ipl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *Öe* (IIIpl.).

I sg.	<i>kOrideli</i> 'I did'	IIsg.	<i>kOridelus</i> 'thou didn't'	IIIsg.	<i>kOridela</i> 'he/she did'
I pl.	<i>kOridelu</i> 'we did'	IIpl.	<i>kOridelO</i> 'you did'	IIIpl.	<i>kOridelÖe</i> 'they did'

Past (non-passive causative)

Verb base *kOr* - - causative - *a* ->- *e* - - perfect - *i* - subsidiary verb *de* - - - *il* ->- *l* - - personal markers - *i* (I sg.) - *u* (IIpl.) - *us* (IIsg.) - *O* (IIpl.) - *a* (IIIsg.) - *Öe* (IIIpl.).

I sg.	<i>kOreideli</i> 'I made to do'	II sg.	<i>kOreidelus</i> 'thou madest to do'	IIIsg.	<i>kOreidela</i> 'he/she made to do'
I pl.	<i>kOreidelu</i> 'we made to do'	II pl.	<i>kOreidelO</i> 'you made to do'	IIIpl.	<i>kOreidelÖe</i> 'they made to do'

Simple gerundive

Verb base *kOr* - - *i* - (gerundive) - subsidiary *ho* > *hu* > *u* before personal marker - *e* (in present tense) *ho* > *he* > *e* (in the past and future tenses).

Present

kOrihe < *kOri hue* 'it is possible to do'

Past

kOreila < *kOrihela* 'it was possible to do'

Future

kOriebo < *kOrihebo* 'it will be possible to do'

Causative gerundive

Verb base *kOr* - - causative - *e* - < - *a* - (before - *i*) - gerundive - *i* - subsidiary - *hO* - > - *hu* ->- *u* - before personal marker - *e* (in present tense) - *hO* ->- *he* ->- *e* - (in the past and future tenses).

Present

kOreiue < *kOreihue* 'it is possible to get it done'

Past

kOreila < *kOreihela* 'it was possible to get it done'

Future

kOrieibo < *kOreihebo* 'it will be possible to get it done'

Passive impersonal

Verb base *kOr* - - passive - *a* - - subsidiary *hO* > *hu* > *u* before personal marker - *e* (in present tense), *ho* > *he* > *e* (in the past and future tenses).

Present

kOraue < *kOrahue* 'it is done'

Past

kOraela < *kOrahela* 'it was done'

Future

kOraebo < *kOrahebo* 'it will be done'

Non-finite categories

Verbal noun verb base -- *ba*
kaibar 'to eat' *pibar* 'to drink'
Jibar 'to go' etc.

Infinitive verb base -- *ba* -- instrumental -- *ru*
JOD ebaru < *sam oriya jhOD hebar* 'because of storm'
 verb base -- *-ba* -- *-ke*
mu itake bOiTake debake (*deba* -- infinitive, *ke*) *kOuCi*
 'I am asking him to give the book'
mu itake guTe git bolbake kOuCi
 'I am requesting her to sing a song'

Participles

The participle markers are - *kiri* / - *kOri*, - *ki*, - *i*, - *a*, - *le*

Noun/adjective-- participle -- verb

<i>sOpha kiri</i> < - <i>kOri leka</i>	'write neatly'
<i>Jaikiri pOCarla</i>	'having gone (he) asked'
<i>COLabula/-i kiri ansu (ki)</i>	'have brought back after completion of grazing and walking together'
<i>dOkikiri</i>	'having seen'
<i>Dapi kirirOk</i>	'keep covered'
<i>misiri kiri kaibu</i>	'we shall eat together'
<i>run kori mOle</i>	'(people) died on account of debt'
<i>gini desi</i>	'(I) have purchased'
<i>kOmi Jisi</i>	'It has reduced'
<i>dOri an</i>	'you (sg) bring'
<i>pOlai Jibu</i>	'we shall go'
<i>buli buli aCi</i>	'coming (I) walking down'
<i>kaikai</i>	'having eaten'
<i>naC sOrla pOre</i>	'the dance having been over'
<i>sOmOe sOrla/kaTla pOre</i>	'the time having crossed'
<i>pODla pOlke</i>	'the fallen fruits'
<i>kam kOrle</i>	'after having done the work'
(conditional participle)	
<i>pODle</i>	'after one reads' (conditional participle)
<i>Tikbele aele</i>	'having come in proper time'
(conditional participle)	

Compound verb-formation

The compound verbs are formed of participle -- finite verb/subsidiary verb.

Verb (participle) -- subsidiary verb

<i>(pani) buDte rOele</i>	'drowned'
<i>kOri parlu</i>	'we could do'
<i>kOri dela</i>	'did'
<i>rOi gOla</i>	'stayed'
<i>(paT) pODte rOelu</i>	'started reading'
<i>pigi dela</i>	'threw away'

kOrte rOebi
uDi parte
aebare pare

'will continue to do'
 'could fly'
 'may/can come'

Negativization

The negative markers are *nO*, *na* and *nai*.

nO Negative – finite verb used in simple present and simple past

<i>muĩ paTh nO pODsi</i>	'I do not read'
<i>muĩ paiTi nO kOri</i>	'I do not work'
<i>tui paiTi nO kOru</i>	'you(sg) do not work'
<i>sie paiTi nO kOre</i>	'he/she does not work'
<i>tume paiTi nOkOrO</i>	'you do not work'
<i>siemOne paiTi nOkOre</i>	'they do not work'

-nO- verbal noun/participle – negative – - auxiliary/subsidiary- participle

<i>i paniTa pinO Oe</i>	'this water is not drinkable'
<i>iTa kai nO Oe</i>	'this is not eatable'
<i>i kamTake kei kOri nOpare</i>	'no body can do this work'
<i>i kamTake kie kOri nO parle</i>	'no body could do this work'
<i>mOr kamTa kOrbar nO tila</i>	'I did not have to do the work'

-nO- negative – auxiliary verb used in past tense

ram krustOke kOila matOr krustOr sOmOy nO tila 'Ram told Krishna
 but he(Krishna) had no time'

-nO- verb – negative – conditional used in perfect conditional.

mu i kam kOri nO tati 'I would not have done the work'

-na- negative – finite verb used in the past tense

<i>mu i kam na kOrli/kOli</i>	'I did not work'
<i>tum mOne kam na kOrIO</i>	'you did not work'(pl)
<i>am mOne kamTa na kOrlu</i>	'we did not work'
<i>sie kamTa na kOrla</i>	'he/she did not work'
<i>tui kamTake na kOlu</i>	'you did not do the work'(sg)
<i>tum mOne kamTake na kOIO</i>	'you did not do the work' (pl)

-na- participle – negative – auxiliary

<i>mOke kam kOrbake na Oe</i>	'I do not have to work'
<i>tOke kam kOrbake na Oe</i>	'you(sg) do not have to work'
<i>take kam kOrbake na Oe</i>	'he/she does not have to work'

na- negative – verb used in the present perfect.

mOngOlbar ratOru bOsguDa na CaliCe 'from Tuesday night the buses
 stopped running'

na- verbal noun – negative – auxiliary used in the imperative present

mO agOre CiDa na O 'do not stand before me'

nai- negative – auxiliary/finite verb used in present, past and future tenses'

<i>nai Jaisi</i>	'(I) do not go'
<i>nai Jali</i>	'(you) do not go (sg)'
<i>nai kOri</i>	'(I) have not done'
<i>nai kela</i>	'not happened'
<i>nai kOrbi</i>	'(I) shall not work'

<i>nai kOrbO</i>	'(he/she) will not work'
<i>nai kOrbu</i>	'(you) will not work' (sg)/we will not work'
<i>nai kOrbe</i>	(they) will not work'
-nai- present participle – negative – subsidiary verb used in simple past tense.	
<i>tui pODte nai rOelu</i>	'you(sg) did not work'
<i>am mOne pODte nai rOelu</i>	'we did not work'
<i>sie pODte nai rOela</i>	'he/she did not work'
<i>tum mOne pODte nai rOelo</i>	'you did not work'
-nai-past participle–negative– subsidiary verb/perfect verb – negative – conditional	
<i>mu i bOsi nai rOele mu i kam kOri nOtati</i>	'if I had not sat upon I would not have done the work'
- nai noun /verb –negative auxiliary used in simple present, past, future,present perfect and present imperative	
<i>bOl nai</i>	'not good'
<i>sie rOele kiCi Osubida nai</i>	'if she stays there is no difficulty'
<i>JOna nai</i>	'not known'
<i>mOr gā JOna nai make bi JOna nai</i>	'I do not know the name of my village,also I do not know my mother'
<i>kOri nai</i>	'(some thing) is not done here'
<i>mu i kamTake kOri nai</i>	'I have not done the work'
<i>kOri nau</i>	'havst not done(2sg)/have not done(1pl)'
<i>tui kamTa kOri nau</i>	'you(sg) havst not done the work'
<i>ammOne kamTa kOri nau</i>	'we have not done the work'
<i>JaO nai</i>	'do not go'
<i>samOy baOre JaO nai</i>	'do not go beyond time'
<i>kO nai</i>	'do not speak'
<i>raTu kOri kO nai</i>	'do not speak loudly'
<i>mu i bOsi nai rOele kamTa hObO nai</i>	'if I do not sit upon the work will not be done'

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RELLI

S. P. Datta

Location

The Relli dialect is spoken in the District of Vijayanagaram of Andhra Pradesh and adjoining Koraput district of Orissa. *

Speakers' Strength:

RELLI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	14,307	7,139	7,168
	R	4,025	2,025	2,000
	U	10,282	5,114	5,168
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	442	216	226
	R	135	60	75
	U	307	156	151

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental

Vowel

i
e
u
o
O
a

Consonant

p
b
t
d
T
D
k
g
c
j
v
s
r
l
n
m
w
y

Supra-segmental

1. / ~ / Nasalization is phonemic.

* *Relli returns from Andhra Pradesh in 1991 Census – 13,865*

2. Length is predictable in the monosyllabic words ending in close syllable.

Phonemic description and distribution :

Vowels

/ i / Front unrounded high Vowel.

/ pipDi / 'ant' / naipO / 'wife' / joĩ / 'son-in-law'

/ e / Front unrounded mid Vowel.

/ epul / 'apple' / rekka / 'wing' / role / 'water wheel'

/ a / Central unrounded low Vowel.

/ andarO / 'darkness' / pasO / 'ashes' / ba / 'a...'

/ u / Back rounded low vowel.

/ unine / 'wife's' / duli / 'dust' / boru / 'dawn'
'elder brother'

/ ula / 'flute'

/ o / Back rounded mid vowel.

/ oddo / 'swamp' / VoDu / 'bank of river' / poto / 'stone'

/ O / Back rounded low vowel.

/ OkaliTa / 'first' / gOyta / 'husband' / pasO / 'ashes'

Phonemic description and distribution

Consonants :

/ p / voiceless bilabial stop.

/ porto / 'hill' / divipOmu / 'island' / rapa / 'shovel'

/ b / voiceless bilabial stop.

- / bai / 'brother' / dubka / 'fat'
- / t / voiceless dental stop.
- / tupan(i) / 'cyclone' / tatalu / 'heat'
- / d / Voiced dental stop.
- / duli / 'dust' / andarO / 'darkness'
- / T / Voiceless retroflex stop.
- / Tipina / 'tiffin' / kerTalu / 'high tide'
- / Takua / 'stone fruit'
- / D / Voiced retroflex stop.
- / Denga / 'tall' / VaDgullu / 'hail'
- / k / Voiceless velar stop.
- / kakOro / 'cold' / Cukka / 'star'
- / g / Voiced Velar stop.
- / gayi / 'cow' / megO / 'cloud'
- / c / Voiceless palatal affricate.
- / cukka / 'star' / mancu / 'dew'
- / j / Voiced palatal affricate.
- / jO / 'daughter' / biajO korro / 'bridegroom'
- / v / Voiced labio-dental fricative.
- / voDu / 'bank of river' / bavae / 'brother's wife'
- / s / Voiceless alveolar fricative / sovda / 'sweet'
- / sulli / 'moss' / mOnusO / 'male'
- / /sasul / 'mother-in-law'
- / r / Voiced alveolar flap
- / roDu / 'road' / boru / 'dawn'
- / jar / 'net'

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral.

/lokkone/ 'finger nail' /duli/ 'dust'

/lagu/ 'back tuck'

/m/ Voiced bilabial nasal.

/megO/ 'cloud' /kerTamu/ 'wave'

/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal

/nia/ 'fire' /pani/ 'water'

/w/ voiced bilabial semi vowel

/wanta/ 'Waist' /dwOra/ 'by'

/worra/ 'garlic'

/y/ Voiced palatal semi vowel.

/yavOI/ 'fifty' /suryuDu/ 'sun'
/vokaya/ 'gourd'
/kaliya/ 'black'

Allophonic distribution of phonemes

The phonemes /s/, /l/ and /n/ have allophonic distribution. The alveolar fricative phoneme /s/ gets a) dentalised when precedes [t], b) retroflexed before [T]; the alveolar lateral phoneme /l/ gets a) dentalised before [d] and b) retroflexed before [T] and the alveolar nasal phoneme /n/ gets a) dentalised before [t,d], b) retroflexed before [T,D], c) velarised before [k,g] and d) velarised before [c,j]. Below are exemplified the allophonic distributions-

Phoneme

/s/ a) when occurring before [t]

/susti/ 'health' /bada kastaDu/ 'lazy'

b) when occurring before [T]

/kuSTu/ 'leprosy' /poSTmen/ 'peon'

c) in other situation -

/kasso/ 'cough' /casso/ 'harvest'

/sansari 'chaste woman' /gusiri/ 'pig'

/l/ a) when occurring before [d]

/oldi/ 'turmeric' /puladanDa/ 'garland'

b) when occurring before [T]

/lalTar/ 'lantern' /lOIto/ 'flame'

c) in other situation-

/mOrsOllO/ 'desert' /pollaga/ 'village'

/n/ a) when occurring before [t] and [d]

/jOntu/ 'beast' /danto/ 'teeth'

/sandam/ 'doubt' /nenda/ 'blame'

b) when occurring before [T, D]

/ganTa/	'hoir'	/sanTi/	'short'
/hinDi/	'silver'	/tunDo/	'beak'

c) when occurring before [k, g]

/punka/	'feather'	/penkulul/	'roof/tile'
/kangari/	'rape'	/sangare/	'with'

d) when occurring before [c, j]

/manchu/	'fog'	/pancOdara/	'sugar'
/lenjo/	'tail'	/ginja/	'clitoris'

e) in other situation-

/jonno/	'moon'	/konni/	'few/little'
/moji yennul/	'spine'	/ukini/	'body louse'

Diphthong:

Diphthongs are seventeen. These are

First member Second member

i	i, a, u
e	i, u
a	i, u, a, O
u	i, a, o, O
O	i, u, o
o	i

Example

ii	/niiDa/	'shade'		
ia	/nia/	'fire'	/bia nihilTa/	'bachelor'
iu	/piula batto bemari/	'epilepsy'		
ei	/jeil/	'imprisonment'		
eu	/keuni/	'elbow'		
ai	/aisu/	'ice'	/bai/	'brother' (younger)
au	/dāuso/	'gnat'	/Taurvelu/	'towel'
aua	/taua/	'hot plate'		
aO	/graOnumu/	'eclipse'		
ui	/kapuikaya/	'melon'		
ua	/bOnua/	'wild animal'	/sua/	'green pigeon'
uo	/kuo/	'well'		
uO	/enDuO sappO/	'chameleon'		
Oi	/yavOi/	'fifty'	/aravOi/	'sixty'
Ou	/sOutini/	'co-wife'	/kOugili/	'embrace'
OO	/pOOordine/	'day before yesterday'		
oi	/noi/	'fountain'	/boini/	'young sister'

Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are of two types a) homogeneous clusters . These are sixteen in number -pp, bb, tt, dd, TT, DD, kk, gg, cc, jj, ss, vv, ll, rr, mm, nn and

b) heterogeneous clusters . These are eighty-seven in number-

First member	Second member
<i>p</i>	<i>t, D, r, l, m</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d, k, r</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>r, m, y</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>r, m</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>k, l, m, n</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>t, T, g, l</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>T, D, s, r, n</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>d, D, l</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>p, t, T, k, v, r, l, m, n</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>d, D, r, l, n, y</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>p, b, t, d, T, k, g, c, v, s, m, n, y</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>p, d, T, k, g, c, v, s, m, n, y</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>p, b, T, c, j, r, n</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>b, t, d, T, D, k, g, c, j, s, r, m</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>n</i>

The two member consonant clusters are essentially medial and rarely initial.

Three member consonant clusters are six in number. They are- *sTr, ntr, ndr, -nDk-, -ndr-, -ngD-* and formations are

First member Second and third members

<i>s</i>	<i>Tr</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>tr, dr, Dk, Dr, gD.</i>

Example

Two-member consonant clusters

Initial clusters

<i>pr-</i>	<i>/prema/</i>	'affection'	<i>/prema paDuvarO/</i>	'love'
<i>tr-</i>	<i>/tras/</i>	'balance'		
<i>dr-</i>	<i>/draksa/</i>	'grape'		
<i>vy-</i>	<i>/vyapasgati/</i>	'memory'		
<i>sT-</i>	<i>/sTeju/</i>	'stage'		
<i>sr-</i>	<i>/sravOnOm/</i>	'month of Sravana'		
<i>sl-</i>	<i>/slapu/</i>	'ceiling'		
<i>sn-</i>	<i>/snehituDu/</i>	'affection/attachment'		

Medial clusters

Homogeneous clusters

<i>-pp-</i>	<i>/appa/</i>	'elder sister'	<i>/sappO/</i>	'snake'
<i>-bb-</i>	<i>/mabbu/</i>	'mist'	<i>/guDla gubba/</i>	'black bee'
<i>-tt-</i>	<i>/jatti/</i>	'caste'	<i>/butto/</i>	'demon'
<i>-dd-</i>	<i>/oddo/</i>	'lake'	<i>/duddo/</i>	'milk'
<i>-TT-</i>	<i>/yeTTe/</i>	'here'	<i>/maTTi/</i>	'clay'
<i>-DD-</i>	<i>/boDDo porto/</i>	'rock'	<i>/boDDu/</i>	'navel'
<i>-kk-</i>	<i>/mego cukka/</i>	'comet'	<i>/mekka/</i>	'goat'

-gg-	/baggo/	'leopard'	/saggo/	'vegetable'
-cc-	/piccemOpO/	'insanity'	/icca/	'wish'
-jj-	/gajji/	'scab'	/majjiga/	'buttermilk'
-vv-	/davvOi/	'seventy'		
-ss-	/kasso/	'cough/hiccough'	/rassi/	'aniseed'
-rr-	/korro/	'boy/son'	/sorro/	'crocodile'
-ll-	/bollo/	'god'	/pollaga/	'village'
-mm-	/Dimmo/	'egg'	/Dimma/	'eyelid'
-nn-	/sanni gaTTu/	'brook'	/vennu/	'butter'

Medial clusters

Heterogenous clusters

-pt-	/gupto/	'secret'		
-pD-	/pipDi/	'ant'	/cepDa/	'cataract'
-pt-	/kaTTTo cepli/	'wooden sandals'		
-pm-	/Opman/	'insult'		
-bd-	/sebdamu/	'sound'		
-bk-	/dubka/	'fat'		
-br-	/ubrI/	'breath'	/subrumuga/	'neatly'
-tr-	/gatro/	'mud'	/potropo/	'nephew'
-tm-	/jitmu/	'fees'		
-ty-	/pOtyemu/	'treatment'		
-dr-	/gadra/	'pillow'	/podre/	'out of'
-dm-	/godma/	'wheat'		
-Tk-	/iTka/	'brick'	/kiTkili/	'window'
-Tl-	/boTla augili/	'toe'	/keTlavaru/	'arrow'
-Tm-	/kuTmiri/	'corriander seed'		
-Tn-	/paTnamu/	'city'		
-Dt-	/saDti/	'leave'		
-DT-	/peDTa/	'baldness'	/boDTa/	'big'
-kT-	/ekTu/	'theatre'	/kiTki/	'window'
-kD-	/cikDi/	'beans'	/kakDi/	'cucumber'
-ks-	/paksi/	'bird'	/pariksa/	'examination'
-kr-	/cakro/	'wheel'		
-kn-	/rakni/	'mistress'		
-gd-	/pogduTa/	'praise'		
-gD-	/dogDi/	'blanket'		
-gl-	/boglu/	'fuel'		
-ck-	/pickavulu/	'phelgm'	/pickavelu/	'testicle'
-vd-	/sovda/	'sweet'	/covda/	'fourteen'
-vD-	/davDa/	'jaw'	/pati sovDa/	'Rota-fish'
-vr-	/misigivro/	'embrace'	/senkivro/	'sneeze'
-vl-	/sovla/	'sixteen'		
-vn-	/govnu/	'frock'		
-sp-	/aspitiri/	'hospital'		
-sk-	/doskaya/	'scare crow'	/maskoria/	'deceit'
-sv-	/asvinOm/	'month of Asvina'		

-sr-	/unrika/	'jube(berry)'	/kOsrat/	'exercise'
-sl-	/mosla/	'spice'	/gisleTa/	'razor'
-sm-	/casma/	'spectacle'	/jasmin/	'jasmine'
-sn-	/pesnu/	'grinder'	/asni/	'bed cover'
-rp-	/korpulu/	'boil'	/korpu/	'wound'
-rb-	/bOrboTi/	'string bean'	/garbo/	'pride'
-rt-	/porto/	'hill'	/martalu/	'wrinkle'
-rd-	/vordulu/	'flood'	/borda/	'mud'
-rT-	/korTu/	'court'	/velanakorTa/	'ridicule'
-rk-	/jarku/	'window'	/pirki/	'timid'
-rg-	/murgalu/	'foam'	/pergu/	'curd'
-rc-	/kurci/	'chair'		
-rv-	/asirvad/	'blessing'		
-rs-	/tersapa/	'mast'		
-rm-	/vormu/	'week'	/jOrmo/	'birth'
-rn-	/purna/	'old'	/darni/	'unchaste woman'
-ry-	/daryo/	'courage'	/maryada/	'respect'
-lp-	/talpaga/	'turban'	/pulpu/	'acidity'
-lk-	/nalkomu/	'new moon night'	/silku/	'silk'
-lg-	/pOlgunOm/	'month of Falguna'		
-lv-	/alvaTu/	'habit'	/telvi/	'intention'
-ls-	/alsumine/	'late'		
-lr-	/salra/	'weaver'	/tilra/	'woman'
-lm-	/talmu/	'lock'		
-mp-	/rampama/	'saw'	/umparuku/	'upwards'
-mb-	/rambu/	'jar'	/kambili/	'carpet'
-mT-	/cimTa/	'tongs'		
-mc-	/camca/	'spoon'	/kamei/	'whip'
-mj-	/kamju/	'duck'		
-mr-	/bemria/	'ill'		
-mn-	/kamna gacco/	'palm tree'		
-nb-	/sanbuti/	'sympathy'		
-ns-	/dOnsu/	'bow/quiver'	/ponso/	'jackfruit'
-nr-	/vonra/	'man'	/Onragayi/	'bullock'
-nm-	/jOnmo/	'birth'		
-yn-	/guara mayna/	'myna'		

Three-member consonant clusters

-sTr-	/mesTrO/	'teacher'		
-ntr-	/montra/	'oldman'	/mantrOm/	'charm'
-ndr-	/candruDu/	'moon'	/dondra/	'lizard'
-nDk	/benDkaya/	'lady's finger'		
-nDr-	/ponDra aDDo/	'rib'		
-ngD-	/kongDa/	'crab'		

Phonological peculiarities

1. $O > a, o$ Oriya -*O-* > Relli -*a-*
bOikunTho > *bay kunTo* 'heaven'
gOndhOkO > *gandamu* 'sulpher'
2. $O > i$ Oriya -*O-* > Relli -*i-*
kuTumbO > *kuTubimu* 'descendent'
jOrimOna > *jirimana* 'penalty'
3. $O > u$ Oriya -*O-* > Relli -*u-*, -*o-*
cOndrO > *candruDu* 'moon'
sObO > *sobu* 'all'
4. $O > o$ Oriya -*O-* > Relli -*o-*
agO dantO > *agarodanto* 'front tooth'
osO > *oso* 'medicine'
5. Insertion of vowel breaking consonant cluster
dvipOmu > *divipamu* 'island'
picka > *picika* 'butterfly'
6. Loss of aspiration
meghO > *meo* 'cloud'
OndharO > *andaro* 'darkness'
7. Loss of -*h-*
 Oriya -*h-* > Relli - ϕ -
hrOdO > *oddo* 'lake'
hathi > *atti* 'elephant'
8. Telugu element (a) formation of homogeneous clusters and
 (b) use of word final -*u*
penmu < *pen* 'pen'
sTampu < *stamp* 'postage'
taluku < *talukO* 'tehsil'
kopinu < *kOupinO* 'loin cloth'

Morphology

Noun

Nouns are distinguished by two-tier numbers (singular and plural), two tier lexical genders (masculine and feminine) and six tier cases (nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative). Below are discussed the use of numbers, genders and cases with the nominal bases.

Number

The numbers are two – singular and plural, the pluraliser being -*ne*.

Numbers	Markers
Singular	- ϕ
Plural	- <i>ne</i>

Human

<i>/korra/</i>	'boy'	<i>/korrane/</i>	'boys'
<i>/pilla/</i>	'child'	<i>/pillane/</i>	'children'

Non-human

<i>/gOro/</i>	'house'	<i>/gOrone/</i>	'houses'
<i>/polOga/</i>	'fruit'	<i>/polOgane/</i>	'fruits'

Gender

The gender is not grammatical one. However, lexical distinction of gender is masculine and feminine types. Below are exemplified the lexical gender-types.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>/korra/</i>	'boy'	<i>/tilra pilla/</i>	'girl'
<i>/gOyta/</i>	'husband'	<i>/naipO/</i>	'wife'
<i>/menDa/</i>	'billy goat'	<i>/mekka/</i>	'goat'

Some adjectives have gender distinction realised through the use of grammatical markers

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>-o, -aTa, -uTa, -iTā</i>		<i>-inTi</i>	
<i>/picaTa/</i>	'dumb'	<i>/picinTi/</i>	'dumb'
<i>/sevuduTa/</i>	'deaf-mute'	<i>/sevudinTi/</i>	'deaf-mute'
<i>/totra/</i>	'stammerer'	<i>/totrinTi/</i>	'stammerer'
<i>/guniTa/</i>	'hunchback'	<i>/guninTi/</i>	'hunchback'

Exception- Common word for masculine and feminine adjectives - */Denga/* 'tall' (masculine/feminine), */sanTi/* 'short' (masculine/feminine), */soru/* 'lean' (masculine/feminine), *dubka* 'fat' (masculine/feminine), */kaliya/* 'black' (masculine/feminine), etc.

Case

Cases are six. These are nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. Of the cases nominative is the base itself, and the rest have the following markers:

Nominative $-\phi$; accusative *-ku*; instrumental *-dwOra*; ablative *-nunDi/tai*; genitive *-Ta (-rO)* and locative- *pakOre, -re, -e, pakku aDuku*.

Below are exemplified the use of case markers:

Cases	Case Markers	Examples	
Nominative	$-\phi$	<i>/gOro/</i>	'house' <i>/korra/</i>
Accusative	<i>-ku</i>	<i>/gOroku/</i> <i>/korraKu/</i>	'to the house'
Instrumental	<i>dwOra</i>	<i>/gOrodwOra/</i> <i>/korradwOra/</i>	'to the boy'
Ablative	<i>nunDi, tai</i>	<i>/gOromunDi/</i> <i>/korranunDi/</i>	'by the house'
Genitive	<i>Ta (rO)</i>	<i>/gOroTa (rO)/</i> <i>/korraTa(rO)/</i>	'by the boy'
			'from the house'
			'from the boy'
			'of the house'
			'of the boy'

Locative	-e, -re	/gOrore/	'in the house'
		/gāce/	'in the tree'
	<i>pakku</i>	/gOropakku/pakOre/aDukul/	'near/
	<i>pakOre</i>		in the house'
	<i>aDuku</i>	/korrapakOre/aDukul/	'at the boy / near the boy'

Pronoun

Pronouns are of five types. These are personal, demonstrative, interrogative, relative and reflexive.

The personal pronouns are realised in (i) three persons - first, second and third, and (ii) two numbers -singular and plural.

The demonstrative pronouns are of proximate and remote types. Functionally, the demonstratives serve as adjectivals and adverbials.

The pronouns in general have six cases of which three have post-positional uses.

Below are presented the system of pronominal formation one after another:

Personal pronouns

Pronominal bases

First person singular.	<i>mi</i> (<i>mi</i> also changes to <i>me</i> due to the influence of the following -e reducing -i- > -e-)
	<i>mo</i>
Plural	<i>am</i>
Second person singular	<i>tu</i>
	<i>te</i> (<i>tu</i> > <i>te</i> due to the influence of the following -e)
	<i>to</i>
Plural	<i>tum</i>
Third person singular	<i>se</i> rarely used third person honorific
	<i>ta</i> <i>ank</i>
Plural	<i>tauk</i> pluraliser <i>ne</i> > <i>nu</i> .

Cases

The following three cases take their respective suffixes immediately after the base.

Nominative	singular- ϕ	plural	-o-
Accusative	singular- <i>te</i>	plural	-(u) <i>ku</i>
	singular - <i>ku</i> (in third person honorific)		
Genitive	singular- <i>rO</i>	plural	- <i>rO</i>

The following three cases are formed by adding the genitive suffix to the base and then the respective case suffix.

Instrumental	singular <i>dwOra</i>	plural	<i>dwOra</i>
Ablative	singular <i>tai, unuDī</i>	plural	<i>tai nunDī</i>
Locative	singular <i>pakOre</i>	plural	<i>pakOre</i>
	<i>aDuku</i>		<i>aDuku</i>

Formation of pronominal declension: bases – case markers / postposition

Nominative

Singular - ϕ

/mi/	'I'
/tu/	'thou'
/se/	'he/she'

plural -e

/ame/amme/	'we'
/tume/tumme/	'you'
/tanke/	'they'

Accusative

Singular -te

/mete/mette/	'to me'
/tete/	'to thee'
/takul/	'to him/her'

plural -(u) ku

/amukul/	'to us'
/tumukul/	'to you'
/tanukul/	'to them'

Genitive

Singular(genitive-r) -Ta

-r used in open syllable

/mo(Ta)/	'mine'
/to(Ta)/	'thine'
/ta(Ta)/	'his/her'

plural(genitive-Or) -Ta

-Or used in close syllable

/amO(Ta)/	'ours'
/tumO(Ta)/	'yours'
/tankO(Ta)/	'their'

Instrumental

Singular(genitive-r) -dwOra

/mo dwOra/	'by me'
/to dwOra/	'by thee'
/ta dwOra/	'by him/her'

plural(genitive-Or) -dwOra

/amO dwOra/	'by us'
/tumO dwOra/	'by you'
/tankO dwOra/	'by them'

Ablative

Singular(genitive-r) -tai/nunDi

/motai/nunDi/	'from me'
/totai/nunDi/	'from thee'

plural(genitive-Or) -tai/nunDi

/amOtai/nunDi/	'from us'
/tumOtai/nunDi/	'from you'

Locative

Singular(genitive-r) -pakOre/ aDuku

/mo pakOre/aDukul/	'at me'
/to pakOre/aDukul/	'at thee'
/ta pakOre/aDukul/	'at him/her'

plural(genitive-Or) -tai/nunDi

/amO pakOre/aDukul/	'at us'
/tumO pakOre/aDukul/	'at you'
/tankO pakOre/aDukul/	'at them'

Demonstrative pronouns

Pronominal bases

Proximate	/yaDa/	'this'	remote /saDa/	'that'
Pluraliser	ne			
Singular	/yaDa/	'this'	plural /yaDane/	'these'
Singular	/saDa/	'that'	plural /saDane/	'those'

Case markers

Case markers used with the demonstrative pronouns are the following-

Nominative	- ϕ	
Accusative	-ku	
Genitive	-r/-Or	
	In open syllable	-r
	In close syllable	-Or
Genitive	-r/-Or -dwOra-	instrumental

Genitive	-r/-Or -tai/nunDi-	ablative
Genitive	-r/Or -pakOre/aDuku-	locative

The two other pronouns, viz. interrogative and relative (which are person-specific and object-specific) have the following bases:

kese, ka (singular); *kaMg* (plural); *jese, ja* (singular); *jaMg*(plural) respectively. The bases receive the case markers as ϕ (in nominative), *-ku* (in accusative), *-r* occurring after open syllabic base and *-Or* occurring after close-syllabic base with the definite article *-Ta* (in genitive); genitive marker *-r/-Or -dwOra* (instrumental), *-tai/nunDi* (in ablative), *pakOre/aDuku* (in locative).

In the reflexive pronoun, the oblique base receives the definite article *-Ta*. Example

/mOTa/	'of mine'	/tOTa/	'of your own'
/taTa/	'of his own'		

Postposition

Postpositions are either nominal or verbal type. Below are exemplified the use of postpositions.

Nominal postposition

/bintOre/	'inside'	/mo pone gOrobintOre accel	'my son is inside the house'
/pakOre/	'near to'	/se mo pakOre aylisi/	'he comes to me'
/tai/	'from'	/baDirO tai a/	'come from the house'
/umpare/	'above'	/Tebul umpare tanDO/	'sit on the table'
/dagiri/	'near'	/mi gOccoku dagirire aucil/	'I am near the tree'
/suTu/	'round'	/gOrosuTu bullu/	'go round the house'
/varaku/	'till'	/aji varaku se paiTi wOinani/	'the work is not done till today'
/sOmu/	'for'	/mo naipOka sOmu na sunnane ni auinci/	'I have bought new ornaments for my wife'
/sangare/	'with'	/ta sangare guTe kolitalla/	'there was a quarrel with me'
/valla/	'for/due'	/mo valla seTTe koli isi/	'on account of me, there was a quarrel'
		/bu kampu valla gOrore pODi jesil/	'houses collapsed due to earthquake'

Verbal postpositions

/agare/	'before'	/tu ayla agareku mi ainci/	'I came before you come'
/taravOta/	'after'	/se ayla taravOta mi jamance/	'I shall go after he comes'

Adjective

Formation of adjectives

Adjectivals are formed by addition of the following affixes with the base:

-i	/dami/	'costly'	/kali/	'empty'
	/kicci/	'few'	/konni/	'few'
-ia	/telavia/	'clever'		
-ila	/tentila/	'drenched/wet'	/asila/	'funny'

-iya	/kaliya/	'black'		
-inTi	/sevudinTi/	'deaf/mute' (feminine)		
	/tatriniTi/	'stammerer' (feminine)		
-e	/parre/	'narrow'	/guTTe/	'alone'
-a	/casta/	'cheap'	/sukka/	'dry'
	/bota/	'stingy'	/sama/	'equal'
-an	/saman/	'flat'		
-u	/sobu/	'all'	/gelu/	'damp'
	/calu/	'enough'	/accu/	'good'
-ua	/telivitakua/	'innocent'		
-o	/bolla/	'good'	/lajjo/	'shy'
-Om	/sahasOm/	'brave'	/mantrOm/	'charm'
-Da/Ta	/saDDa/	'bad'	/boDTa/	'big'
	/purnaTa/	'old'	/caDDa/	'cooked'
-Du	/OstuDu/	'honest'	/snehituDu/	'dear'
-Ti	/sanTi/	'little'		
-ki	/yettiki/	'high'	/murriki/	'dirty'
-kiri	/purtikiri/	'full'		
-ka	/dubaka/	'stout'	/dubka/	'fat'
-ga	/niddaga/	'thickness'	/sorrunga/	'thin'
-gu	/velugu/	'light'		
-ra	/vOnkara/	'curved'		
-la	/mOrla/	'dead'	/murigijella/	'rotten'
-ma	/sadama/	'enough'		
-mu	/paksapatumu/	'partiality'	/bOlomu/	'strength'
-va	/sOtuvu/	'strong'		
-yO	/pujyO/	'virtue'		

Semantic categories of adjective

Adjectives as attributes precede the nouns in the construction. Semantically, the adjectives are of qualitative and quantitative types denoting quality and quantity of the noun. Below are exemplified the adjective types:

Qualitative

/kaliya sappo/	'black snake'	/nelam mego/	'blue sky'
/butu kakOro/	'much cold'	/roMga tilra pilla/	'fair skinned woman'
/puttu korra/	'naughty boy'	/ando manOm/	'blind man'
/paccila cinta panDu/	'ripe tamarind'	/vade puDugi/	'very light'

Quantitative

/kicci manOm/	'few men'	/butu korro/	'many boys'
/puTe/konni duddO/	'some milk'		

Gender distinction

The adjectives bear concordance with nouns in case of distinction of gender. The gender types masculine and feminine are realised by the following markers:

Gender markers

Masculine		Feminine	
	-iTa		-inTi
Example	/piccaTa/		/piceinTi/
	/gumiTa/		/guninTi/
	/sevuduTa/		/sevudinTi/
	-o		-inti
	/soTaTa/		/soTTinTi/
	/ando/		/andinTi/
	-a		-inTi
	/totra/		/totrinTi/
	'dumb'		'dumb'
	'hunchback'		'hunchback'
	'deaf-mute'		'deaf-mute'
	'cripple'		'cripple'
	'blind'		'blind'
	'stammerer'		'stammerer'

Numeral

Numerals as adjectivals occur before the nouns in the construction. Below are exemplified the numeral types with examples:

Cardinal Integral

/guTe/guTTe/	'one'	/dera/	'two'
/tinTa/	'three'	/cara/	'four'
/pauca/pauce/	'five'	/soTa/	'six'
/satara/	'seven'	/aTTa/	'eight'
/nava/	'nine'	/sOsTa/	'ten'
/gerra/	'eleven'	/bara/	'twelve'
/tesara/	'thirteen'	/covda/	'fourteen'
/pOndara/	'fifteen'	/sovla/	'sixteen'
/sattara/	'seventeen'	/aTTara/	'eighteen'
/unis/	'nineteen'	/kuDi/	'twenty'
/muppai/	'thirty'	/nalapi/	'forty'
/yavOi/	'fifty'	/aravOi/	'sixty'
/davvOi/	'seventy'	/yanavOi/	'eighty'
/tOmbOi/	'ninety'	/vOnda/nuru/	'hundred'

Cardinal - Fractional

/apu/sagumu/	'½'	/guTTenara/	'1½'
/guTTem pavu/	'1¼'	/muppau/	'¾'

Ordinal

/OkaTila/agrayla/	'first'	/diTa/dera/	'second'
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Aggregative

-e	/guTTe/	'alone/only one'	
-o	/dero/	'the two/	/caro/
-vo	/muruvo/	'the hundredth'	'the four'

Multiplicative

/guTe pavu duddo/	'one fourth of a sheer of milk'
/dera hessa/	'two shares'

Classifiers

/gutti/	'bunch' (used with natural objects)
/guTe pullOgutti/	'a bunch of flower'
/dannogutti/	'a bunch of paddy plant'
/jutta/	'bunch' (used with human body parts)
/ba/Ojutta/	'a bunch of hair'

Verb

In Relli, the verb stems are formed either with vowel or consonant that is either in open syllable or in close syllable. Below are exemplified the verb stems:

VC	/a y/	'come'	/ub/	'shake'
	/ug/	'stagger'	/uT/	'climb/wake up'
	/uD/	'fly'	/up/	'nod'
	/ag/	'step on'	/Os/	'laugh'
VCV	/uTa/	'raise'		
VCVC	/uduk/	'wash'	/usar/	'alight'
	/usup/	'feed'		
VCVCVC	/Opukin/	'deny'		
VCVCVVC	/uhineig/	'imagine'		
VCC	/acc/anc/	'become'		
VCCVC	/antic/	'tie' (make a net)/anciD/		'comb'
CV	/de/	'give/offer/pay'/je/		'go'
	/pi/	'drink'		
CVV	/sti/	'embroider'	/dol/	'wash'
	/kai/	'eat'	/kOil/	'answer'
CVVC	/sui/	'knit/sew'	/pOOOr/	'swim'
CVC	/boy/	'carry'	/soy/	'sleep'
	/kor/	'continue/do'	/pak/	'crawl'
	/nap/	'measure'	/ras/	'paint/write'
	/sin/	'hear'	/gin/	'buy'
CVVCCV	/kOugil/	'embrace'		
CVVCV	/maDei/	'chase'	/paTau/	'send'
	/cOraul/	'graze'	/bOnaul/	'shave'
	/susei/	'soak'		
CVCVC	/vOtur/	'shrink'	/darig/	'carry(waist)/grip'
	/masip/	'erase'	/misig/	'mix/dissolve'
CVCC	/nacc/	'act/play'	/tapr/	'arrange'
	/vOne/	'bend/stoop'	/band/	'bind'
	/tull/	'pick'	/gucc/	'pinch/press'
CVCCC	/dondr/	'bark/chirp'		

Auxiliary verb base

	Present	Past	Future/conditional
I Person	-anc	-tam	-tone
II/III Person	-acc	-tav	-tos
Personal markers			

	Present		Past		Future/conditional	
	Sg.	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
I Person	-i	-u	-i	-u	-i	-u
II Person	-u	-o	-u	-o	-u	-o
III Person	-i	-e	-i	-i	-i	-e

Auxiliary verb		/ancuvaro/		'to be'		Future/conditional	
		Present		Past		Future/conditional	
		Sg.	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
I Person		-anci	-ancu	-tammi	-tamm	-to hei	-to nev
II Person		-accu	-acco	-tavu	-tavo	-to su	-to so
III Person		-acci	-acce	-tavi	-tavo	-toso	-tose

Negative auxiliary

It is marked by -ni
Present/Past

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
I Person	ni-- ϕ	ni - ntu	ϕ	-ntu
II Person	nim- ϕ	ni - nto	ϕ	-nto
III Person	ni - ϕ	ni - nte	ϕ	--

Negative paradigm

	Present/past		Future/conditional	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
I Person	ni	nintu	tanni	tannantu
II Person	ni	ninto	tannu	tannOvO
III Person	ni	ninte	tanni	tannante

System of negativization

In the context of negativization, the negative marker *ni* and its paradigmatic sets are used invariably in the sentence final position and after the verb. Below are exemplified the system of negativization:

/mi korinci/	>	/me kernani/
'I did/I have done'		'I did not do/I have not done'
/se gOre acci/	>	/se gOre ni/
'he is in the house'		'he is not in the house'
/se pyadenTa/	>	/se pyadenTu ni/
'he is poor'		'he is not poor'
/korra telivileTa/	>	/korra telivileTa ni/
'the boy is intelligent'		'the boy is not intelligent'

Finite verb

The finite verbs receive (a) the tense markers as -i- (present tense singular), - ϕ (present tense plural), -li- (past tense singular), -pi (past tense plural), -u- (future tense singular), -pu (future tense plural), -int- (conditional singular), -taint/-tait- (conditional tense plural) and (b) the aspect markers as -i- (perfect), -u/-kamTa- (imperfect).

The tenses and the aspects are realised in three persons (first, second and third) each divided into singular and plural. The person markers are *-i* and *-u* (in first person singular and plural), *-u* and *-o* (in second person singular and plural) and *-i* and *-e* (in third person singular and plural) and *-i* and *-e* (in second person singular and plural) with exception only to the conditional perfect marker in the third person singular which is *-a* instead of *-i*.

The tenses when added with aspect markers form periphrastic tenses and are very much dependent on the use of auxiliary verb in the construction. Below are presented a set of auxiliary verbs used in different tenses and in different persons:

Auxiliary verb

I Person-			
Present, past, future	<i>-ne-</i>	I Person present, imperfect	
<i>ane-</i>			
Past perfect, future perfect		II and II Person present, imperfect	<i>-acc</i>
II and III Person-present, past			
Future	<i>-s-</i>	I Person future, imperfect	<i>-tonc-</i>
Past perfect future perfect		Conditional imperfect	
		II and III Person future imperfect	
		Conditional imperfect	<i>-tos-</i>
		I Person past perfect	<i>-tam-</i>
		II and III past perfect	<i>-tall-</i>
		Person	<i>-tav-</i>

Verb paradigm

Since gender is not a grammatical category, it is not marked in finite verbs. Verb base *kor* 'to do'

	Past	Present/ Present perfect	Future
I Singular	<i>kor-li-ne-i</i>	<i>kor-i-ne-i</i>	<i>kor-u-ne-i</i>
I Plural	<i>kor-li-ne-u</i>	<i>kor-i-ne-u</i>	<i>kor-u-ne-u</i>
II Singular	<i>kor-li-s-u</i>	<i>kor-i-s-u</i>	<i>kor-u-s-u</i>
II Plural	<i>kor-li-s-o</i>	<i>kor-i-s-o</i>	<i>kor-u-s-o</i>
IIISingular	<i>kor-li-s-i</i>	<i>kor-i-s-i</i>	<i>kor-u-s-e</i>
	Conditional Present	Past perfect	Future perfect
I Singular	<i>kor-int-φ-i</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-ne-i</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-ne-i</i>
I Plural	<i>kor-int-φ-u</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-ne-u</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-ne-u</i>
I Singular	<i>kor-int-φ-u</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-s-u</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-s-u</i>
II Plural	<i>kor-int-φ-o</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-s-o</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-s-o</i>
IIISingular	<i>kor-int-φ-i</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-s-i</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-s-i</i>
IIPlural	<i>kor-int-φ-e</i>	<i>kor-i-pi-s-e</i>	<i>kor-i-pu-s-e</i>
	Conditional perfect	Present imperfect	
I Singular	<i>kor-i-pi-taint-i</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-i</i>	
I Plural	<i>kor-i-pi-taint-u</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-u</i>	
II Singular	<i>kor-i-pi-ta-u</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-u</i>	

II Plural	<i>kor-i-pi-ta-o</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-o</i>
IIISingular	<i>kor-i-pi-ta-i</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-i</i>
IIIPlural	<i>kor-i-pi-ta-e</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-acc-e</i>
	Past imperfect	Future imperfect/ Conditional imperfect
I Singular	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tam(m)-i</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tonc-i</i>
I Plural	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tam(m)-u</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tonc-u</i>
II Singular	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tal(l)/tav-u</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tos-u</i>
II Plural	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tal(l)/tav-o</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tos-o</i>
IIISingular	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tal(l)/tav-i</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tos-i</i>
IIIPlural	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-tal(l)/tav-e</i>	<i>kor-φ-u-kunta-kos-e</i>

Non-finite verb

Non-finite verbs comprise of infinitive, verbal noun, gerund and participle of which the last is realised in three terms:

1. present participle, 2. past participle and 3. relative participle

Below are exemplified the non-finite verbal types:

Infinitive -iva, -uva, -ite.

a) -iva

<i>/siiva/</i>	'to knit'	<i>/masigiva/</i>	'to mix'
<i>/kadigiva/</i>	'to take'	<i>/darigiva/</i>	'to hold'

b) -uva

<i>/naccuva/</i>	'to act'	<i>/koruva/</i>	'to do'
<i>/vOncuva/</i>	'to bend'	<i>/loguva/</i>	'to push'

c) -ite

<i>/accu pustakumu cadivite sulul</i>	'printed books are easy to read'
<i>/guTe pustakumu se dellapana korte taku mi pocerlincil</i>	
'I ask him to make her give a book'	

Verbal noun -uva (infinitive) - rO; -iva (infinitive) - rO

a) -ivarO

<i>/siivarO/</i>	'act of knitting'	<i>/masigivarO/</i>	'act of mixing'
<i>/gimivarO/</i>	'act of buying'	<i>/bosivarO/</i>	'act of sitting'

b) -uvarO

<i>/naccuvarO/</i>	'act of acting'	<i>/koruvarO/</i>	'act of doing'
<i>/pusuvarO/</i>	'act of growing'	<i>/diguvarO/</i>	'act of watching'

Gerund

Gerundial marker -valasi- conveys the sense of nominal or adjectival use of the verb:

<i>/mi aivalasi ancel</i>	'I ought to come'
<i>/se goDo bikkavalasi accil</i>	'that horse is to be sold'
<i>/yaDa kaivalasi nil</i>	'this water is not drinkable'
<i>/mete paiti koravalasi nil</i>	'I do not have to work'

Participle

The participles are realised in three terms - present participle, past participle and relative participle. Below are exemplified the formation:

Present participle -i

/perru dari Dakku/

'call him by name'

/gOrOku jel terraga a/

'go home and come back'

Past participle -a, -i, -kiri

/mi taku digite jalabele se soykunTa talla/

'he was sleeping when I went to see him'

/katti se taita kani se jobbu poDi/esi/

'she would have been there yesterday but she fell sick'

/kukoro billiku dikkiri dondurlisi/

'the dog barked at the cat'

Relative participle -la

/yebbe aylalenke kese/

'who are these men who came just now'

/tu Dakkelalenkala aise/

'all of whom you called have come'

Compound verbs

Compound verbs are formed of a) noun - verb and b) participle - verb.

Below are exemplified the formation of compound verbs.

a) Noun - Verb /kOr/

/boka kOr/

-

'bore / rebound / dig'

/mokalu kOr/

-

'demolish / wreck / destroy'

/istiri kOr/

-

'iron / press (clothes)'

/tOyar kOr/

-

'make, prepare'

b) Participle - Verb /kOr/

/gaTTi kOr/

-

'collect / gather'

/sariga kOr/

-

'set upright, erect'

/munigi kOr/

-

'drawn'

Participle - Verb /je/

/munigi je/

-

'sink'

/serri je/

-

'settle (out of a liquid)'

/roki je/

-

'stop (cease doing something)'

/poDi je/

-

'stumble, collapse'

System of relativization

The relative participle marker -la is added with verb to give a sense of relativization.

/mi digila mOnusO seTe accil/

'the man I saw was present there'

/to kOtalaila korra guTe DakTarul/

'the boy you talked is a doctor'

/mete sayOmu kOrlaTa seyaka/

'he is that man who helped me'

/mo pakku ailalenke mete yarakani/

'those who have come to me are not known to me'

/me kOtalailanta ta ma/

'the lady I talked is her mother'

Passivization

Passive form is not generally used. However, below are presented a few sentences reflecting the sense of passivization.

/mi paiTi korlinei/ 'I do the work'	>	/vaDa paiTi mo attore morO vaDisi/ 'the work is done by me'
/se pustukumu cadivilisi/ 'she reads the book'	>	/se pustukumuta dwOra cadavOvaDisi/ 'the book is read by her'
/se cellakaku/paksiku marikaishi/ 'he killed the bird'	>	/se cellaka/paksita altore marikainaDisi/ 'the bird is killed by him'

Reflexivization

Sense of reflexivization is conveyed by the use of *-aka* with the pronominal base:

/miaka sOyumukiri yaDa korinei/ 'I did it myself'	
/seyaka sOyukukiri yaDa digisi/ 'she saw it herself'	
/seyaka sOyumukiri bi dunnisi/ 'he ploughs the field himself'	
/seyaka sOyumukiri anikiri sOyumukiri bikilisi/ 'he brings the fruits and sells himself'	

Causativization

Causatives are formed of main verb – subsidiary verb / *de* / wherein the causative base is often a reduced base. That is,

/pilla duddo kailisi/ 'the child drinks milk'	>	/ma pilluku duddu kucidellisi/ 'mother feeds the child'
/se baTTo digilisi/ 'he sees the way'	>	/mi taku baTTo digei dinci/ 'I am showing him the way'

Moods

Moods are three – indicative, imperative and optative. Indicative mood is any simple sentence. Below are exemplified the two other moods.

Imperative mood

/sette yekkuvo sepukOta laitava/ 'do not speak for so long period'
/sette gaTTikiri kOta laitana/ 'do not speak so loudly'

Optative mood

/bagO mOntuDu taku mellu sayumu korOmance/ 'may God help him'
/se gOroku/goTTiki bajemuru/ 'let him go home'

Adverb

Adverbs are modifiers of verbs. These precede the verbs in the construction. Semantically, adverbs are categorised as adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner.

Below are presented the formative affixes helping in the formation of adverb.

Adverbial affix -i

/nimpadi/ 'slowly'	/dusi/ 'day time'
-----------------------	----------------------

Adverbial affix -e

/tete/ 'as much as'	/yebbe/ 'now'
/alumine/ 'late'	/yette/ 'now'

Adverbial affix -a	/torga/bega/	'quick'	/ganTa/	'hour'
Adverbial affix -auka	/kebbauka/	'sometimes'		
Adverbial affix -alla	/rojalla/	'daily/all the day'		
Adverbial affix -u	/sulu/	'easy'	/sOkalu/	'morning'
Adverbial affix -o	/sonjo/	'evening'	/pakko/	'fortnight'
Adverbial affix -tu	/aguntul	'before'		
Adverbial affix -Ta	/pounaTa/	'yonder'	/tondorga/	'fast (quick)'
Adverbial affix -ki	/kalliki/	'tomorrow'	/seTTiki/	'where'
Adverbial affix -kiri	/gaTTikiri/	'loudly'		
Adverbial affix -ka	/inka/	'still'		
Adverbial affix -ku	/yaDuku saduku/	'here and there'	/varuku/	'still'
Adverbial affix -ga	/subrumuga/	'neatly'	/aDgu/	'across'
Adverbial affix -mu	/vormu/	'week'		

Particle

1. Connective	/inka/	'and'	/ni/	'or'	/je/	'that'
2. Adversative	/kani/	'but'	/inkaru/			'still'
3. Exceptive	/syakiri noyne/	'otherwise'	/noykunTa/			'without'
4. Concessive	/ayne/	'so'	/tapakunda/ayne/			'thus'
5. Adverbial	/varaku/	'till'	/knkamu/			'untill'
6. Causal	/vallasil	'due to/ on account of'				
7. Relative	/jese/	'which'				

Clitics

1. Definite	-Ta	/paTa pullo/	'five flowers'
		/paTa gayil	'five cows'
	-Te	/guTe gayil	'one cow'
2. Indefinite	-se	/se rOja/	'a king'
		/se manama/	'a man'
		/se pauimOnusO/manawa/	'servant'

Echo-formation in nouns and verbs

Consonant + Vowel in the first syllable is replaced by gi- to form the echo words as shown in the examples below.

Nominal word

/cOulOgil/O/	'rice, etc.'	/pennO	ginnO/	'pen, etc.'
/polisgilis/	'police, etc.'	/pani	gini/	'water, etc.'

Verbal word

/jelligilli/	'going and the like'
/dikkigikki/	'seeing and the like'
/kOivarO givarO/	'convincing and the like'
/telsi gilsi/	'being convinced and the like'

Syntax

A simple sentence is constituted of subject + predicate. A subject may be nominal (noun + pronoun) or noun phrase, that represents the head of the construction while the predicates may be finite verbs alone or verb phrases nominals, noun phrase, adjective, adjectival phrase and a pronominal adverb that follow the head of the construction.

Below is presented the order of words and phrases of a simple sentence

Construction: noun + verb

/kukoro dondurus/	'the dog barks'
/celakane uDlise/	'the birds fly'

Construction: noun + noun (object) + verb

/gayi gasso kailisi/	'the cow grazes'
/gayine duddo delise/	'the cows give milk'

Construction: noun + adjective + verb

/akune pacca acci/	'the leaves are green'
/poroto yetiki acci/	'the wall is high'

Construction: noun + adverb + verb

/sappO yaDuku saDuku kadulus/	'the snake moves zig zag'
/akune gOccorOtai poDilisi/	'leaves fall from the tree'

Construction: noun + noun + adverbial phrase + verb

/celaka gOcco umpare bOirisi/	'the bird sits on the tree'
-------------------------------	-----------------------------

Construction: noun + noun (object) + participle + verb

/kukoro billiku dikkiri dondurlisi/	'the dog barks at the cat'
-------------------------------------	----------------------------

Construction: noun (pronoun) + adverb + verb

/se gOre acci/	'he is in the house'
/se yeTe acci/	'she is here'

Construction: noun (pronoun) + verb

/tu bajesul/	'you went away'
--------------	-----------------

Construction of adjectival phrases

Noun + adjective + adjective:

/korra boda telivilata/	'very clever boy'
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Adjective + noun + adjective:

/tilra pillu boda somanipoTa/	'very lazy girl'
-------------------------------	------------------

Adjective + adjective + noun:

/boDa tan kath/	'very hard wood'
/boDa bollo pillu/	'very good boy'
/boDa daTTumila mego/	'very dark cloud' (heap of dark cloud)

Description of types of sentences

Interrogative sentences

Subject + interrogative (object) + verb-

/tu kera bolisu/kOisu/

'what did you say?'

/tete kera kovala/

'what do you want?'

Subject + interrogative + adverb + verb

/tu kebbuku uTusu/

'when do you get up?'

/tu kebbuku jellisu/

'when are you going?'

Imperative sentence

Verb-

/tando/

'stand up'

/utu/

'rise'

/bosu/

'sit down'

Noun (object) + verb-

/yaDabangu/

'break it'

/gassokaDapu/

'remove the grass'

/talapu pitu/kadu/

'open the door'

/talapu musipO/

'close the door'

Complementary object + object + verb

/guTe kOta lagu/

'speak a word'

/tume dilenke pani pilisO/

'you both drink water'

Negative sentence

Subject + noun (object) + verb + negation

/mi paiTi kornani/

'I did not do the work'

/mi roTTi kayva/ani /

'I have not eaten the bread'

/bovonolenke mOso kayninte/

'brahmins did not eat meat'

Causative sentence

Subject + object + relative + participle + causative + aspect + verb

/mi goDo dOunDila panu korukunTa accil/ 'I am making the horse run'

Subject + object + relative participle + causative + verb

/mi godo dOunDila panu korineil/ 'I have made the horse run'

Subject + object + object + relative participle + causative + aspect + verb

/tauke paudealume goDonḡ dOunDila panu korukunTa accel/

'they are making the horse run in the races'

BHATRI

Tapati Ghosh

Introduction

Family affiliation

Bhatri is spoken essentially in the Chhattisgarhi* belt. The tribe name is Bhatta in Madhya Pradesh whereas they are known as Bhottada or Dhotada. Grierson found the affiliation of Bhatri more with Oriya than with Chhattisgarhi variety of Hindi and hence he treated Bhatri as a dialect of Oriya.

Location

The mother tongue Bhatri is returned from the Koraput district of Orissa and from the adjoining district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh.

Speaker's Strength

Bhatri as a mother tongue is returned by 218,073 speakers in 1991 census. The demographic composition of the mother tongue as per 1991 census is like the below:

BHATRI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	218,073	108,658	109,415
	R	211,329	105,317	106,012
	U	6,744	3,341	3,403
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	64,032	32,078	31,954
	R	62,344	31,272	31,072
	U	1,688	806	882

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

vowels

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

* Bhatri returns from Madhya Pradesh in 1991 census is 153,978

Supra segmental

Nasalization / ~ / of vowel is phonemic.

Consonants

<i>p</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>
						<i>C</i>	<i>J</i>
						<i>Ch</i>	<i>Jh</i>
		<i>s</i>					
<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>M</i>	<i>h</i>
		<i>l</i>					
		<i>r</i>					
						<i>y</i>	

Phonology

Vowels

Bhatri is basically a five-vowel dialect. The basic vowel phonemes are / i, e, a, u and O /. The vowel 'o' of standard Oriya mostly corresponds to 'O'. Only in a few examples 'o' occurs as exception to the system. Such examples are

/dhob/	'washerman'	/Tok/	'girl'
/lok/	'man'	/jor/	'brook' etc.

Phonemic distribution

	Initial		medial		final	
/i/	/iT/	'this'	/pila/	'son'	/kuhuDi/	'fog, most'
	/iguDa/	'those'	/sitOr/	'cold'	/rakDi/	'ash'
					/hali/	'sand'
/e/	/ethane/	'here'	/Deria/	'left handed'	/haele/	'female'
	/egara/	'eleven'	/phen/	'foam'	/sOse/	'thirsty'
/a/	/aT/	'eight'	/maTi/	'clay'	/bOrsa/	'rain'
	/akas/	'sky'	/Jhas/	'flame'	/dhaNgra/	'bachelor'
			/haD/	'bone'	/ba/	'father'
/u/	/utren/	'slope'	/Tura/	'orphan(m)'	/suru/	'lean'
	/uT/	'camel'	/kuTra/	'antelope'	/pOsu/	'beast'
/O/	/Oda/	'ginger'	/gOla/	'throat'	/gOdho/	'donkey'
	/OJa/	'mother's father'	/bOya/	'insanity'	/kOdho/	'bud'
	/OtaguDa/	'flour'				
/~/	/ākuT/	'toe'	/pŌkh/	'feather'	/mOrubhū/	'desert'
	/ānDra/	'young ones of the bird'	/gūpha/	'cave'	/mu/	'I'
			/kūCi/	'key'		

/i/ and /e/ mostly occur in medial and final positions rather than in initial position.

/a/ and /u/ occur in all the three positions of initial, medial and final.

/O/ occurs more in initial and medial positions and less in final position.

Supra-segmental phoneme / ~ / occurs more medially than initially and finally.

Consonants

Bhatri has altogether 28 consonant phonemes including one semi-vowel as /y/. Among the consonants, 16 are stops, 4 affricates, 2 fricatives, 3 nasals and one each in lateral and trill sounds.

Phonemic distribution

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/p/	/pap/	'sin'	/papuli/	'claw'	/bOrOp/	'snow'
	/pani/	'water'	/pāpOD/	'papad'	/sap/	'snake'
	/pOkhOn/	'stone'			/bhāp/	'steam'
/ph/	/phusli/	'blister'	/phirphiri/	'spindle'		
	/phOr/	'fruit'	/lephapa/	'envelop'		
/b/	/ba/	'father'	/DObra/	'swamp'	/gOrOb/	'prolapsis'
	/beTa/	'son'	/sabun/	'soap'	/gOrib/	'poor'
/bh/	/bhalu/	'bear'	/sObhe/	'all'	/jibh/	'tongue'
	/bhitre/	'in'				
/t/	/tarā/	'star'	/ata/	'mother's brother's wife'	/sat/	'seven'
	/tel/	'oil'	/nati/	'grandson'	/dāt/	'tooth'
/th/	/thuk/	'spit'	/bOtha/	'pain'	/rOth/	'chariot'
	/ThOli/	'beg'	/kOtha/	'story'	/nOth/	'nose ornament'
/d/	/dOs/	'accused'	/nOdi/	'river'	/sud/	'interest'
	/dada/	'elder brother'	/gOda/	'club'	/kud/	'island'
/dh/	/dhuli/	'dust'	/gOdho/	'donkey'	/bOudh/	'pond'
	/dhOrti/	'earth'			/kOndh/	'arm pit/shoulder'
/T/	/TOki/	'girl'	/kuTra/	'antelope'	/peT/	'belly'
	/TekOr/	'hornet'	/bhOTa/	'low-tide'	/kuOT/	'cot'
/Th/			/OThu/	'knee'	/aTh/	'eight'
			/uThan/	'tumour'	/piTh/	'back'
			/ciThi/	'letter'		
/D/	/DuNgri/	'hill'	/kuhuDi/	'fog, mist'	/pāpOD/	'papad'
	/DObra/	'swamp'	/gODar/	'bison'		
/Dh/	/DhOli/	'drum'	/muDhi/	'parched rice'		
	/DhOlkin/	'drummer'	/buDha/	'oldman'		
	/Dhekun/	'bed bug'				
/k/	/kan/	'ear'	/akas/	'sky'	/nak/	'nose'
	/kadO/	'mud'	/kaka/	'father's younger brother'		
			/kakOr/	'dew'		
/kh/	/khOni/	'mines'	/pOkhOn/	'stone'	/dukh/	'pain'
	/khOrā/	'sunshines'	/ukhra/	'sugard poprice'	/kākh/	'waist'
/g/	/gOrOl/	'poison'	/OgOna/	'yard'	/pag/	'turban'
	/gur/	'gur, molasses'	/bOga/	'crane'	/sOrOg/	'heaven'
	/gar/	'egg'				

/gh/	/ghOr/	'room'	/ghuTghuTe/	'suspicion'	/bagh/	'tiger'
	/ghuNghOT/	'veil'				
	/ghas/	'grass'				
/C/	/COOr/	'thief'	/peCa/	'owl'	/pāC/	'five'
	/COTia/	'sparrow'	/aCar/	'pickle'	/CamOC/	'spoon'
			/kūCia/	'front tuck'		
/Ch/	/Cheli/	'goat'	/maChua/	'fisherman'	/gOCh/	'tree'
	/Chāe/	'shade'				
/J/	/Jāala/	'twin'	/JulJuliapok/	'glow worm'	/JahaJ/	'ship'
	/Jila/	'alive'	/raiJ/	'kingdom'		
	/JOnOm/	'birth'	/kOJO/	'collyrium'		
/Jh/	/Jhas/	'ray, flame'	/sāJh/	'evening'		
	/JhaDa/	'diarrhoea'				
/s/	/sala/	'brother-in-law'	/bOrsa/	'rain'	/sās/	'breath'
	/siul/	'moss'	/Jhas/	'flame'		
/h/	/hat/	'hand'	/bOhO/	'daughter-in-law'		
	/haūdar/	'hyena'				
/m/	/mOrOd/	'husband'	/mama/	'mother's brother'	/kuTum/	'relative'
	/manus/	'man'	/bemari/	'diseases'	/ghuliJam/	'berry'
					/kOIOM/	'pen'
/n/	/nak/	'nose'	/Cimni/	'small bat'	/gOrhOn/	'eclipse'
	/naten/	'grand daughter'	/kuhuni/	'elbow'	/Dhekun/	'bed bug'
/M/			/aMTi/	'ring'	/siM/	'horn'
			/siMha/	'lion'		
/l/	/lal/	'red'	/baTil/	'bucket'	/Ja/	'net'
	/lOta/	'creeper'	/tala/	'lock'	/dOlal/	'broker'
/r/	/rOkhni/	'mistress'	/taral/	'star'	/Jor/	'stream'
	/ranDi/	'widow'	/para/	'green pigeon'	/bhŌOr/	'black'
bee'						
	/rasi/	'linseed'				
/y/			/bOya/	'insanity'	/āy/	'he/she'
			/āymOn/	'they'	/ekday/	'in one breath'
			/mayal/	'love, compassion'	/ay/	'be'
			/kOleya/	'fox'		

Allophonic distribution

Bhatri has got allophonic variations in consonantal system, such as, /l/ > [L], /n/ > [N] etc.

/l/ and /n/ are some what retroflexed phonemes when they are preceded by a retroflex phoneme.

Example

/ulTa/	'opposite'	/geITi/	'aluminium'
/bhenDi/	'lady's finger'	/rOnDua/	'widower'

Diphthongs

Diphthongs in Bhatri are available in a number of words as follows

/ae/	/baele/	'woman'	/Chāe/	'shade'	
/ai/	/rai J/	'kingdom'	/eklai/	'alone'	
/Oe/	/Ōela/	'myrobalm'	/pOela/	'first'	/kŌea/ 'tamarind'
/Ou/	/sOukin/	'narrow'	/sOutbeTa/	'stepson'	/mOusi/ 'aunt/mother's sister'
/eu/	/seu/	'apple'	/deur/	'husband's younger brother'	
/ei/	/bODheī/	'carpenter'	/miThei/	'sweet'	
/ui/	/bhui/	'ground'			
/ue/	/Juei/	'son-in-law'	/Jue/	'light, fire'	

Consonant clusters

Among the types of homogenous and heterogenous clusters, Bhatri has got the latter type only. Following are the instances.

/pl/	/tOpla/	'heat'		
/bJ/	/kObJa/	'hinge'		
/tl/	/ketli/	'kettle'	/putli/	'toy'
/tr/	/mOrti din/	'full moon light'	/sOtra/	'mother-in-law'
/th/	/hOthra/	'hammer'		
/dl/	/badli/	'bat'		
/dr/	/bOdri/	'cloud'	/padri/	'clergy man'
/Tr/	/kuTra/	'antelope'	/peTri/	'pregnancy'
/Dr/	/gODra/	'ram'	/peDra/	'leopard'
/kr/	/kukra/	'chicken'	/kŌkRa/	'crab'
/kD/	/rakDi/	'ash'	/sŌkDi/	'defiled rice'
/ks/	/baksal/	'box'	/maksal/	'spider'
/khr/	/gokhra/	'cobra'		
/mdh/	/sOmdhi/	'daughter-in-law's father'		
/mn/	/Cimni/	'small bat'	/kamni/	'jasmine'
/mr/	/Omrut phOr/	'papaya'	/Camri/	'skim'
/nd/	/sendur/	'vermillion'		
/ndh/	/kOndh/	'shoulder'	/andhar/	'dark'
/nD/	/CanDi/	'ant'	/ranDi/	'widow'
/ng/	/rengal/	'sal'	/dhangra/	'young man, bachelor'
/sr/	/susra/	'wife's elder brother'	/ghusra/	'pig'

Syllabic structure

In Bhatri all the three types of words belonging to mono-syllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic structure are characterised by closed and open variety.

Mono-syllabic closed-syllable

/JOri/	'brook'	/sOri/	'current'
/Jhas/	'flame'	/kudi/	'island'

Mono-syllabic open-syllable

/ba/	'father'	/gha/	'wound'
------	----------	-------	---------

Disyllabic closed-syllable

/kakOr/	'dew'	/gOrhOn/	'eclipse'
/Juar/	'high tide'		

Disyllabic open-syllable

/bODhi/	'flood'	/Dungril/	'hill'
/kado/	'mud'		

Polysyllabic closed-syllable

/nOnaber/	'childhood'	/musakOl/	'trap'
/ghODabal/	'mane'		

Polysyllabic open-syllable

/TOTughODa/	'pony'	/kuhuDi/	'fog, mist'
/TeTenga/	'grasshopper'	/maikukra/	'hen'

Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic changes in Bhatri word structures are found in (i) some nominal words such as:

/nOna/	'male child' - i >	/nOni/	'female child'
/kuba/	'hunchback male' - i >	/kubi/	'hunchback female' etc.

(ii) in some verbal forms in past tense,

/rOh > rO -il > -el -t > rOeli > rOli	'I am'
kOr -il > el > -l -a > kOrla > kOlla > kOla	'he did'
kOr -ib > -bi > -b -i > kOrbi	'I shall do'

Morphology**Noun**

Bhatri nouns are distinguished by (i) gender, (ii) number and (iii) case.

Gender

The Bhatri nouns are characterised by two-tier genders viz. masculine and feminine. The markers used are

- i (added to the word ending in vowel -a).
- ani (added to an open syllabic word ending in -a and to a closed syllabic word).
- n (added to a word ending in vowel -i for having their female counterpart).

a) -i

Masculine

/nOna/	'child'
/Tura/	'orphan'
/Denga/	'tall'
/thOtra/	'stammerer'

Feminine

/nOni/	'child'
/Turi/	'orphan'
/Dengi/	'tall'
/thOtri/	'stammerer'

/kubal/ 'hunchback'
/patla/ 'lean'

/kubl/ 'hunchback'
/patll/ 'lean'

b) -ani

Masculine		Female	
/JeTh/	'brother-in-law(elder)'	/JeThani/	'sister-in-law(elder)'
/deur/	'brother-in-law(younger)'	/deurani/	'sister-in-law(younger)'
/guDia/	'sweet maker'(m)	/guDiani/	'sweet maker'(f)
/halia/	'labourer'	/haliani/	'labourer'
/budhia/	'wise'	/budhiani/	'wise'

c) -n

Masculine		Feminine	
/sunari/	'goldsmith'	/sunarin/	'goldsmith'
/nati/	'grand son'	/natin/	'grand daughter'
/mali/	'gardener'	/malin/	'gardener'
/dhobi/	'washerman'	/dhobin/	'washerwoman'
/sOmdhi/	'son-in-law's father'	/sOmdhin/	'son-in-law's mother'

The other type is seen in natural pairs.

Masculine		Feminine	
/OJa/	'grand father'	/ayi/	'grand mother'
/bua/	'father'	/aya/	'mother'
/bhail/	'brother'	/bOhin/	'sister'
/dula/	'bridegroom'	/baele/	'bride'
/pila/	'boy'	/TOki/	'girl'
/sanD/	'bull, ox'	/gal/	'cow'
/gOnJa/	'cock'	/kukDa/	'hen'
/buka/	'biligoat'	/chelia/	'she goat'

Number

The nominals in Bhatia are distinct with two-tier numbers, viz.. i) singular, and ii) plural. The singular number has - ϕ marker, while, for pluralization, two-tier markers, viz. a) -guDa, and b) -mOn are added to the base.

a) -guDa is added in case of non-human beings. Example

/gOCh guDa/	'the trees'	/ghOr guDa/	'the houses'
/hatguDa/	'the handi'	/CeDe guDa/	'birds'
/gae guDa/	'cows'		

b) -mOn is added to the base to denote the plural form for human base. Example

/beTamOn/	'sons'	/beTimOn/	'daughters'
/nOnamOn/	'children'		

Thus, the plural forms of Bhatia nouns are exemplified below:

Singular		Plural	
/nOna/	'child'	/nOnamOn/	'children'
/beTa/	'son'	/beTamOn/	'sons'
/TOki/	'girl'	/TOkimOn/	'girls'
/lOk/	'man'	/lOkmOn/	'men'

Case

Bhatri nouns are inflected for six cases, viz.: i) nominative, ii) accusative/dative, iii) instrumental, iv) ablative, v) genitive and vi) locative.

The markers for these different cases are exemplified below:

	Marker	Examples	
Nominative	- ϕ	/kukurTa buksi aCe/	'the dog barks'
Accusative/dative	-ke	/ghOrke/	'to the house'
		/nOnake/	'to the child'
Instrumental	-le/-dei/-ne	/mOr le/dei/ne/	'by me'
		/Caku le/	'with knife'
Ablative	-le/-Thanu	/gOCh le/	'from tree'
		/akas Thanu/	'from the sky'
Genitive	-r/-kOr/-Or	/ghOrOr/	'of the room'
		/barOr/	'of the fence'
		/admir/	'of a man'
		/lokmOnOngkOr/	'of men/persons'
Locative	-e/-ane/-ne	/ghOre/	'in the room'
		/pODiane/	'in/on the field'

Pronouns

The pronouns in Bhatri may be classed as the following, viz.: i) personal pronoun, ii) demonstrative pronoun, iii) relative pronoun and iv) interrogative pronoun.

Personal pronouns are inflected for (a) person, (b) numbers and (c) case, where, the pronominal bases are distinguished by a) three persons, viz.: first, second and the third, b) two numbers – singular and plural and c) six cases, viz.: nominative (- ϕ); accusative/dative (-ke); instrumental (-le, -dei); ablative (-le, -Thanu); genitive (-r, -Or, -kOr) and locative (-ne).

Personal pronoun

The personal pronouns are declined as the following:

base + number marker + case marker.

Cases	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mu - $\bar{i}$	am - $\bar{i}$ ham - $\bar{i}$	tu - $\bar{i}$	tOm - $\bar{i}$ tum - $\bar{i}$ tOm-i-mOn	$\bar{a}$ - $\bar{i}$ h $\bar{a}$ - $\bar{i}$	$\bar{a}$ - $\bar{i}$ h $\bar{a}$ -l-mOn
Accusative/ Dative	mO -ke	am -ke ham-ke	tO-ke	tOm-i-mOn -ke	$\bar{a}$ -ke h $\bar{a}$ -ke ta-ke	$\bar{a}$ jmOn-ke h $\bar{a}$ i-mOn- ke
Instrumental	mO-r- le/dei	am-Or- le/dei	tO-r-e/dei	tum-Or-le /dei tOm-Or-le/ /dei	ta-r-le/dei	(h) $\bar{a}$ i- mOnkOr- le/dei
Ablative	mO-r-le/ Thanu	am-Or-le/ Thanu	tO-r-le/ Thanu	tum-Or-le ~Thanu tOm-Or-le ~Thanu	ta-r-le ~Thanu	(h) $\bar{a}$ i-mOn -kOr-le ~Thanu
Genitive	mO-r	am -Or	tO-r	tOm-Or tum-Or	ta-r h $\bar{a}$ i-Or	(h) $\bar{a}$ i-mOn -kOr-
Locative	mO-r-ne	am-Or-ne	tO-r-ne	tum-Or-ne tOm-Or-ne	ta-r-ne	(h) $\bar{a}$ i-mOn -kOr-ne

Here in, as noted from the table, the following personal pronominal bases, plural markers, and the case-markers help formation of personal pronominal declension.

(a) Bases-	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>mul, mO-</i>	<i>am-, ham-</i>
Second person	<i>tui, tO-</i>	<i>tOm-, tum-</i>
Third person	<i>āi, hāi, ā-</i> <i>ha- ta-</i>	<i>āi, hāi</i>
(b) Plural marker	<i>-mOn</i> (first person, second person and third person)	
(c) Case markers		

Nominative	base	- <i>-i</i>	
Accusative/Dative	base	- <i>-ke</i>	
Instrumental	base	genitive <i>-r/- Or/- kOr</i>	- <i>-le -dei</i>
Ablative	base	genitive <i>-r/ -Or/ -kOr</i>	- <i>-le~ Thamu</i>
Genitive	base	genitive <i>-r/ -Or/ -kOr</i>	
Locative	base	genitive <i>-r/ -Or/ -kOr</i>	- <i>-ne</i>

Demonstrative pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are characterised by two categories, viz. (i) Proximate and (ii) Remote and each of these is distinguished by two-tier numbers- singular, and plural only. Example

Proximate		Remote	
singular	plural	singular	plural
<i>eTa</i>	<i>e-sObu-JakO</i> 'these all'	<i>āiTa</i>	<i>āi - sObu- JakO</i>

With the singular bases *e-* and *āi-*, the classifier *-Ta* is added. The plural counter-parts are formed with double pluralisers *-sObu*, and *-JakO*.

<i>/e - -sObu - -JakO/</i>	'these all'
<i>/āi - -sObu - -JakO/</i>	'those all'

Relative pronoun

Relative pronouns are inflected for i) two-tier numbers -singular and plural, and ii) three-tier cases - nominative, accusative/dative and genitive.

Following is the declension.

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>Ja/jOn (h) āy</i>	<i>Je-mOn (h) āymOn</i>
Accusative/dative	<i>Ja -ke (h) ā-ke/ta -ke</i>	<i>Je -mOn -ke (h) āymOn -ke</i>
Genitive	<i>Ja -r hāTOr/Ta-r</i>	<i>Je-mOn -kOr (h) āymOn-kOr</i>

Note: Here in, the chart shows the following:

- (a) Bases- *Ja, JOn, Je*
hāy, ā, ta, hāTOr
- (b) Plural marker- *mOn*
- (c) Case markers- nominative *-ϕ* accusative/dative- *ke*
genitive *-r, -Or, -kOr*

In the genitive case *-r* occurs with the open syllabic base.
-r/-kOr occurs with the close syllabic base.

Interrogative pronoun

The interrogative pronouns are distinguished by three-tier cases: nominative, accusative/dative and genitive. The declension runs as follows:

Cases	Formations			
Nominative-	/ka-i/	'what'	/kon/	'who'
Accusative/dative-	/ka - ke/	'whom'		
Genitive-	/ka-r, ka-kOr/	'whose'		

Here in, the interrogative pronominal forms show the following analysis:

a) bases	ka	
b) case markers	nominative	-i
	accusative/dative	-ke
	genitive	-r-kOr

Classifier

The classifiers in Bhatri are used in two-tier formations, viz.,

- i) -Ta (added to generally the non-human nouns and nominal forms specifically used in the sense of inferiority). Example

/ghoDaTa/	'horse'	/gOChTa/	'tree'
/kaThTa/	'piece of wood'	/kitabTa/	'book'
/nOnaTa/	'baby'	/pilaTa/	'boy'

- ii) -JhOn (generally added to human-nouns). Example

/tOmI duiJhOn/	'you two'	/konJhOn builgaDi le aela?/	'who came by bullock cart'
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Verbs

Verbs in Bhatri are distinguished by two broad categories of formations i) simple and ii) compound.

- i) Simple verb formations consist of – present perfect (definite); past indefinite, future indefinite, conditional and imperative (in first person plural and second person plural).

- ii) Present indefinite and imperfect; present perfect (non-definite); past perfect; past-imperfect, future perfect, future imperfect and imperative (first person singular, third person singular and plural) are formed by compound verb formation.

Besides these, the auxiliary verbs (both positive and negative) which are generally conjugated in three-tier indefinite tenses- present, past and future come under simple verb formation type.

In negative auxiliary verb formations, negative marker precedes the auxiliary base. Below are discussed the different categories of verbs one by one:

Auxiliary verb

Auxiliary verbs in Bhatri are distinct by a) three-tier persons, b) two-tier numbers and c) three-tier tenses.

The conjugation of the auxiliary verb runs as follows:

Base + tense marker + person-number marker.

For instance: /ac/ 'to be' < Och

Present : base - ϕ -(tense marker) -- person-number-marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	$aC - \phi - i$ aCi	$aC - \phi - u > aCu$
Second person	$aC - \phi - is$ $aCis$	$aC - \phi - Os > aCOs$
Third person	$aC - \phi - e$ aCe	$aC - \phi - et/Ot > aCet/aCOt$

For present tense, the marker $-\phi$ and the person/number markers are:

	Singular	Plural
First person	$-i$	$-u$
Second person	$-is$	$-Os$
Third person	$-e$	$-et/-Ot$

Past: Base - tense marker $-il-$ > $-el-$ - person-number marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	$rO - -el - i$	$rO - el - -u$
Second person	$rO - -el - is$	$rO - el - -Os$
Third person	$rO - -el - a$	$rO - el - -\ddot{O}e$

Note: Base - $rOh-$ > $rO-$ (another base for ac)

Past -tense marker $-il$ > $-el$ (used in all the three persons)

Person-number marker in past tense

	Singular	Plural
First person	$-i$	$-u$
Second person	$-is$	$-Os$
Third person	$-a$	$-\ddot{O}e$

Future: (base + tense marker $-ib$ > $-eb$ - es -- person-number marker).

	Singular	Plural
First person	$rO - -ib > eb - i$	$rO - -ib > eb - -u$
Second person	$rO - -ib > eb - -u/is$	$rO - -ib > eb - -Os$
Third person	$rO - -es - i$	$rO - -ib > eb - -a$

Tense markers for future i) $-ib$ > $-eb$ - [for first person (singular + plural), for second person (singular + plural) and third person (plural) only] and

ii) $-s-$ (for third person singular after open-syllabic -verb base).

Person-number markers for future tense

	Singular	Plural
First person	$-i$	$-u$
Second person	$-u/is$	$-Os$
Third person	$-i$	$-a$

Finite verb

The formation of finite verbs in Bhatri mainly consists of two types, viz.,

- i) simple formations [includes – present perfect (definite); past-indefinite, future-indefinite, conditional and imperative (in first person plural, second person singular and plural)] and
- ii) compound formations [includes – present indefinite and present imperfect, present perfect (non-definite), past perfect, past imperfect, future perfect, future imperfect and imperative (first person singular, third person singular and plural)]

Thus, in Bhatri the conjugation of the finite verb is distinguished by-

- 1) Three-tier persons –first person, second person and third person.
- 2) Two-tier numbers- singular and plural and
- 3) Eight variety of tenses, viz.,
 - i) indefinite (present , past, future)
 - ii) imperfect (present, past , future)
 - iii) perfect (present, past, future)
 - iv) non-definite (present)
 - v) conditional
 - vi) imperative
 - vii) extended tense
 - viii) pre-stem.

The conjugation of the finite-verb is exemplified below.

/kOr/ 'to do'

Indefinite / Imperfect: present

(main verb – future marker *-ib* > *-bi* > *-b-s* – person-number marker –subsidiary verb – tense marker – person-number marker)

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -ib > -bi -b i aC -φ -i</i>	<i>kOr -ib > -bi > -bi -u aC -φ -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -ib > -bi -b i aC -φ -is</i>	<i>kOr -ib > -bi > -bi -a -aC -φ -Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -s -i -aC -φ -e</i>	<i>kOr -ib > -bi -a aC -φ -Ot</i>

The formations of present indefinite, imperfect are of compound types consisting of main verb with

- i) future tense marker - *-ib* > *-bi*- (by metathesis) > *-b* (by apocope)
- ii) person/number markers as,

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>
Third person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>

And for subsidiary verb, following markers are added to-

- i) Tense marker (present) - *φ*-
- ii) Person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-e</i>	<i>-Ot</i>

Present-perfect: Base – tense marker *-il* – person-number marker *kOr* ‘to do’

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -il -i > kOlli > kOli</i>	<i>kOr -il -u > kOllu > kOlu</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -il -is > kOllis > kOlis</i>	<i>kOr -il -Os > kOllOs > kOlOs</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -il -a > kOlla > kOla</i>	<i>kOr -il -Ōe > kOllŌe > kOlŌe</i>

In present-perfect, the formations are of simple type consisting of following markers:

- Tense-marker *-il > -l* (by morphophonemic change)
- Person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

- ri > -il > -l* (by morphophonemic change)

Present-perfect (non-definite)

Base – participle – subsidiary verb *rOh* – tense marker – person-number marker */kOr/* ‘to do’

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -i</i>	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -s</i>	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -e</i>	<i>kOr -te -rOh -ua -Ot</i>

The present-perfect (non-definite) formations are of compound-type consisting of markers as follows)

- The participle *-te* (added to main verb)
- Tense marker *-ua* (added to subsidiary verb *rOh*)
- Person/number markers (added to subsidiary verb – tense-marker)

<i>-i</i> (first person singular)	<i>-u</i> (first person plural)
<i>-is > s</i> (second person singular)	<i>-Os</i> (second person plural)
<i>-e</i> (third person singular)	<i>-Ot</i> (third person plural)

Past-indefinite

(base– tense marker *-il > -l* – person-number marker */kOr/* ‘to do’)

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -il -l -i > kOlli > kOli</i>	<i>kOr -il > -l -u > kOllu > kOlu</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -il > -l -is > kOllis > kOlis</i>	<i>kOr -il > -l -Os > kOllOs > kOlOs</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -il > -l -a > kOlla > kOla</i>	<i>kOr -il > -l -Ōe > kOllŌe > kOlŌe</i>

The formations in past-indefinite tense are of simple type having markers as follows:

- Tense-marker *-il > -l* (by morphophonemic change)
- rl > -ll > -l* (by morphophonemic change)
- Person markers/number markers.

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

Past-imperfect

main verb – participle – subsidiary verb *rOh->rO-il->el* – person-number marker /*kOr*/ 'to do'

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -te- rOh->rO-il->el-i</i>	<i>kOr -te- rOh->rO-il->el -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -te- rOh->rO-il->el-is</i>	<i>kOr -te- rOh->rO-il->el-Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -te- rOh->rO-il->el-a</i>	<i>kOr-te- rOh->rO-il->el-Ōe</i>

Note: The formations in past-imperfect tense are of compound-category having following markers:

- participle - *-te-* (added to main verb).
- tense-marker - *-il->el-* (added to subsidiary verb *rOh->rO-*)
- person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

Past perfect

Main verb – participle – subsidiary verb *de -il->-el-* – person-number marker.

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr (-i) de -il->-el-i</i>	<i>kOr (-i) - de -il->-el u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr (-i) de -il->-el-is</i>	<i>kOr (-i) de -il->-el- Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr - (-i) -de -il->-el- a</i>	<i>kOr (-i) de -il->-el-Ōe</i>

The formation in past perfect tense comes under compound-variety consisting of

- Main verb and past perfect tense marker *-i*
- Subsidiary verb and past tense marker *-il->-el-* person-number marker.
- Person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

Future-indefinite

Base – tense marker *-ib->-bi->-b-* – person-number marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -ib->-bi->-b -i</i>	<i>kOr -ib->-bi->-b- u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -ib->-bi->-b- is</i>	<i>kOr -ib->-bi->-b -Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -s-i</i>	<i>kOr -ib->-bi->-b- Ōe</i>

Future-indefinite formations are of simple type having markers as following:

- Tense marker - *-ib->-bi* (by metathesis) *-b* (morphophonemic change) ~ *-s*.
- Person-number markers:

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

Future-imperfect

(main verb – participle *-te* – subsidiary verb *rOh > rO* – tense marker *-ib > bi > -b ~ s* (person-number marker))

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -te- rOh > rO ib > -b-i</i>	<i>kOr -te- rO -ib > -bi -> -b- -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -te rOh , rO -ib > -b-is</i>	<i>kOr -te- rO -ib > -bi- > -b-Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -te rOh > -rO-is -i</i>	<i>kOr -te rO -ib- > -bi- > -b-Ōe</i>

In future imperfect tense, the formations are of compound-type consisting of :

- main verb – participle *-te*
- subsidiary verb *rOh- > -rO-*
- tense-marker- *ib- > -bi-* (by metathesis) *> -b-* (by morphophonemic- change *- - s*)
- person-number-marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-e</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ōe</i>

Future-perfect

Main verb –infinitive *-ke* – subsidiary verb *sOk* tense marker-*ϕ* – person-number marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -ke -sOk -i</i>	<i>kOr -ke- -sOk -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -ke - sOk -is</i>	<i>kOr -ke - - sOk -Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -ke -sOk -e</i>	<i>kOr -ke -sOk -Ot</i>

The formations of future-perfect tense are of compound –variety, having the construction as

- main verb and infinitive *-ke*
- subsidiary verb *sOk* tense marker *-ϕ* – person-number marker.
- person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-e</i>	<i>-Ot</i>

Conditional tense

(base – tense marker *-t-* – person-number marker)

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOr -t- -i</i>	<i>kOr -t- -u</i>
Second person	<i>kOr -t- -is</i>	<i>kOr -t- -Os</i>
Third person	<i>kOr -t- -O</i>	<i>kOr -t- Ōe</i>

Formations in conditional tense are of simple category reflecting following markers:

- tense-marker markers *-t-*
- person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	-i	-u
Second person	-is	-Os
Third person	-O	-Ōe

Imperative

Present

Main verb – infinitive marker – subsidiary verb – person marker.

/kOr/ 'to do' (impersonal)

- 1) kOr – -ke – subsidiary verb *de* > *di* person marker -Os (by morphophonemic change).
- 2) kOr (to denote order)

Thus, the formations in imperative are of compound category having the markers as given below.

- i) main verb - infinitive -ke
- ii) subsidiary verb/ *de* > *di* (by morphophonemic change)
- iii) person-marker- -Os
- iv) only base (main verb) form is used to denote order.

Extended –Base

Extended Base -a –present perfect -il-> -el— person-number marker.

	Singular	Plural
First person	kOr -a -il- > -el- -i	kOr -a -il- > -el- -u
Second person	kOr -a -il- > -el- -is	kOr -a -il- > -el- -Os
Third person	kOr -a -il- > -el- -a	kOr -a -il- > -el- -ae

In extended tense, the following markers are added to the base for having formations:

Extended tense marker - a
 Present perfect-marker- -il->-el-
 Person- number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	-i	-u
Second person	-is	-Os
Third person	-a	-ae

Pre-stems

Present Main verb base - infinitive -ke – subsidiary verb sOk- tense marker

kOr - ke sOk -i

Past

kOr -ke sOk -ti

Future

kOr -ke – sOk -ib > -bi

Pre-stem formations are of compound variety and distinguished by three-tier tenses(present, past and future) having following markers

Infinitive- - ke (added to main verb)

Tense markers

(added to subsidiary verb)

Present-	-i
Past-	-ti
Future-	-ib- > -bi- (by metathetic change).

Negative auxiliary

In the negative auxiliary verb formations, the negative-markers like *na nai ni* precede the positive auxiliary verb formations to refer the negative counterpart.

The negative auxiliary verb formations are characterised by three-tier tenses (present, past and future); three-tier persons (first person, second person, third person) and two -tier numbers (singular and plural). Thus, the conjugation for negative-auxiliary-verb runs as follows:

Negative-auxiliary-verb: negative marker – base – tense marker – person – number marker.

Present

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>na - aC - ϕ - i</i>	<i>na - aC - ϕ - u</i>
Second person	<i>na - aC - ϕ - is</i>	<i>na - aC - ϕ - Os</i>
Third person	<i>na - aC - ϕ - e</i> <i>ni - ϕ - ay</i>	<i>na - aC - ϕ - Ot</i>

In present tense, the negative-auxiliary has negative-markers - *na*, *ni*.

na - precedes the base *aC* 'to be' while, *ni* - precedes *hoe > ae* in third person singular, when *hoe > ae* (by apheresis) is the base-form for third person singular.

Present tense marker - ϕ

Person-number-markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-e</i>	<i>-Ot</i>

Past

Negative marker – base *rOh > rO* – tense marker *-il->-el* – person number marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>na - rO - el - i</i>	<i>na - r - el - u</i>
Second person	<i>na - rO - el - is</i>	<i>na - r - el - Os</i>
Third person	<i>na - rO - el - a</i>	<i>na - r - el - $\tilde{O}e$ / rOl$\tilde{O}e$</i>

In past tense, negative auxiliary verb formations have,

- negative marker - *na*-
- past tense marker- *-il->-el*- (by morphophonemic change)
- base - *rOh > -rO-* (by apocope) (another base for *aC*)
- person-number markers

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
Second person	<i>-is</i>	<i>-Os</i>
Third person	<i>-a</i>	<i>-$\tilde{O}e$</i>

Future

Negative marker – base *-rOh->-rO-* – tense marker *-ib->-eb-* s – person – number marker

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>na - rO - eb - i</i>	<i>na - rO - eb - u</i>
Second person	<i>na - rO - eb - u/is</i>	<i>na - rO - eb - Os</i>
Third person	<i>na - rO - s - i</i>	<i>na - rO - eb - a</i>

In future tense, negative-auxiliary-formations have,

- i) negative marker- *na-*
- ii) base - *rOh-* > *rO-* (by apocope) (alternative form for *aC* 'to be')
- iii) tense marker - *-ib-* > *-eb-* (by morphophonemic change) - *s-* future tense marker
-eb- is used in first person, second person and third person (plural) while, *-s-* in (third person singular)
- iv) person-number markers. First person singular *-i*, first person plural *-u*, second person singular *-u* / *-ls*, second person (plural) *-Os*, third person singular *-i*, third person plural *-a*

Participles

Participles are of four categories, viz. i) present participle ii) past-participle, iii) conditional participle and iv) relative participle.

Marker	Example
<i>-i</i> (present participle)	<i>/Ja-i/</i> 'going', <i>/kOr-i/</i> 'doing'
<i>-e</i> (past participle)	<i>/an - i/</i> 'bringing'
<i>-ke</i> (past participle)	<i>/nOMgOt Jae/</i> 'entering'
<i>-le</i> (conditional participle)	<i>/bhukhe/</i> 'being hungry'
<i>-la</i> (relative participle)	<i>/kOrke/</i> 'having done'
	<i>/Jitle/</i> 'in case of winning'
	<i>/hele/</i> 'being', 'becoming'
	<i>/nangOr phadla/</i> 'ploughing'
	<i>/khaela/</i> 'eating'
	<i>/girta/</i> 'falling'
	<i>/sOrla/</i> 'at the time of completion/finishing'

Verbal noun

Following markers are used to denote verbal nouns.

Markers	Examples
<i>-a</i>	<i>/asa-Jaha/</i> 'access'
<i>-bar</i>	<i>/marapeTa/</i> 'beating'
	<i>/hoebar/</i> 'becoming'
	<i>/pODaibar/</i> 'teaching'
	<i>/Jibaebar/</i> 'giving company'
<i>-ti</i>	<i>/naCti/</i> 'dancing'
	<i>/girti/</i> 'falling'

Infinitives

<i>-te</i>	'to'	<i>/milte/</i>	'to get'	<i>/khaete/</i>	'to eat'
		<i>/bicar kOrte/</i>	'to judge'	<i>/sOrte/</i>	'to finish'
<i>-ba</i>	'to'	<i>/Jiba/</i>	'to go'	<i>/khaeba/</i>	'to eat'

Postposition

Postpositions may be categorised into i) nominal and ii) adverbial

Nominal

Marker		Examples
-kaJe	'for'	/khaeba kaJe/ 'for eating' /pODaiba kaJe/ 'for teaching' /Dokra kaJe/ 'for the oldman'

Adverbial

dae	'at the time of'	/dhOrba dae/ 'at the time of holding' /khaeba dae/ 'at the time of eating' /ek dae/ 'once/at one time'
bita	'while'	/hinDba bita/ 'while crawling' /Jiba bita/ 'while going'

Verb-paradigm kOr 'to do'

Simple formations

Past

Base – tense marker – person-number marker kOr – il - > -l- – person - number marker'

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	kOrli > kOlli > kOli 'I did'	kOrlu > kOllu > kOlu 'we did'
Second person	kOrlis > kOllis > kOlis 'you did'	kOrlOs > kOllOs > kOlOs 'you(pl) did'
Third person	kOrla > kOlla > kOla 'he did'	kOrlŌe > kOllŌe > kOlŌe 'they did'

Future

Base – tense marker – person-number marker kOr – -ib- > -b- s – person-number marker

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	kOrbi 'I shall do'	kOrbu 'we shall do'
Second person	kOrbis 'you(singular) will do'	kOrbOs 'you(plural) will do'
Third person	kOrsi 'he will do'	kOrbŌe 'they will do'

Conditional

Base – conditional marker – person kOr – -t- – person-number marker

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	kOrti 'I would do'	kOrtu 'we would do'
Second person	kOrtis 'you(singular) would do'	kOrtOs 'you(plural) would do'
Third person	kOrtO 'he would do'	kOrtŌe 'they would do'

Compound formation kOr 'to do'

Present

Main verb – future marker -ib- > -b- s – person-number marker – subsidiary verb – tense marker – person-number marker kOr – -ib- > -b- s- person-number marker Och > ac – -ϕ – person-number marker

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	kOrbi aCi 'I do'	kOrbu aCu 'we do'
Second person	kOrbi aCis 'you (singular) do'	kOrba aCOs 'you (plural) do'
Third person	kOrsi aCe 'he does'	kOrba aCOt 'they do'

Present perfect (non-definite)

Main verb – participle – subsidiary verb *rOh* – tense marker – person-number marker *kOr* –
-te- – *-rOh->* *-rO-* *ua* – person-number marker

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOrte rOhuai</i> 'I am in the habit of doing'	<i>kOrte rOhuau</i> 'we are in the habit of doing'
Second person	<i>kOrte rOhuas</i> 'you (singular) are in the habit of doing'	<i>kOrte rOhuas</i> 'you (plural) are in the habit of doing'
Third person	<i>kOrte rOhuae</i> 'he is in the habit of doing'	<i>kOrte rOhuat</i> 'they are in the habit of doing'

Past imperfect

Main verb – participle – subsidiary verb. *rOh* > *rO* – tense marker – person-number
 marker *kOr* – *-te-* – *-rOh->* *-rO-* *-il->* *-el-* – person-number marker

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOrte rOeli</i> 'I was doing'	<i>kOrte rOelu</i> 'we were doing'
Second person	<i>kOrte rOelis</i> 'you(singular)were doing'	<i>kOrte rOelos</i> 'you(plural) were doing'
Third person	<i>kOrte rOela</i> 'he was doing'	<i>kOrte rOlŌe</i> 'they were doing'

Future-imperfect

Main verb – participle – subsidiary verb – tense marker – person-number marker *kOr* – *-te-*
-rOh > *rO* – *-ib->* *-b-* *-i/s*

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>kOrte rObi</i> I shall be doing'	<i>kOrte rObu</i> 'we shall be doing'
Second person	<i>kOrte rObis</i> 'you(singular) will be doing'	<i>kOrte rObOs</i> 'you(plural) will be doing'
Third person	<i>kOrte rOlisi</i> 'he will be doing'	<i>kOrte rObOe</i> 'they will be doing'

BHUYAN

B. P. Mahapatra

Family affiliation

Bhuyan is a Tribal dialect of Oriya. Confusion exists regarding the family affiliation of Bhuyan since Grierson observes in *LSI* volume 1 part-I that Bhuyan is "a language reported from Sambalpur (Bihar and Orissa). It is probably a form of Mundari". But the present survey reveals that Bhuyan is an Indo-Aryan speech only.

Location

The Bhuyans, as a tribe, are concentrated in the Sundargarh, Keonjhar districts of Orissa having a population of 207,793 as per 1981 census. And according to R.C. Nigam, Bhuyan ("Bhuiya/Bhuyan") totals are divided into two mother tongues as Bhuiya/Bhuyan- Oriya and Bhuiya/Bhuyan. As such in 1961 census Bhuiya/Bhuyan-Oriya was classified under Oriya (*Language handbook on mother tongues in census, 1971*, p-34). The survey was mainly conducted in the Keonjhar district of Orissa.

Speaker's strength

The mother tongue data of Bhuyan, is not yet available in 1991 Census. However, the major linguistic break-up among the Bhuyan, (the tribe being Bhuiya/Bhuyan) according to the latest publication, as available in 1981 census, is given below.

Tribe	Total population	Rural	Urban	Returning mother tongue as	
Bhuiya/ Bhuyan	207,793	197,483	10,310	Bengali	359
				Hindi	1,892
				Oriya	204,361
				Others	1,181

Bilingualism

The figures of bilingual speakers among the Bhuyans are the following :
(According to 1981 census, Table ST- 8 and ST - 9, pp - 1053 - 1056)

Bhuyans returning Bengali as mother tongue are bilingual in

1.	Oriya	2
2.	Hindi	5

Bhuyans returning Hindi as mother tongue are bilingual in

1.	Oriya	787
2.	English	12
3.	Kurukh/ Oraon	1
4.	Munda	2

Bhuyans returning Oriya as mother tongue are bilingual in

1.	Bengali	1
2.	Hindi	6699
3.	Punjabi	1
4.	English	7073
5.	Ho	41
6.	Kharia	1
7.	Kisan	14
8.	Kurukh/ Oraon	12
9.	Kui	1
10.	Munda	121
11.	Mundari	10
12.	Santali	69
13.	Savara	3
14.	Others	3

Bhuyans returning other languages as mother tongue are bilingual in

1.	Bengali	6
2.	Hindi	33
3.	Oriya	270
4.	English	17
5.	Santali	1
6.	Others	1

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowel

	Unrounded	Central	Rounded
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	
Stops Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>D</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated Voiceless	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>Th</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Stops Voiced	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>Dh</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>			
Laterals			<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>			
Flap			<i>r</i>				
Fricatives			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Semi vowels	<i>(w)</i>				<i>(y)</i>		

The occurrence of the semi-vowels varies from idiolect to idiolect.

Supra-segmental

Co-articulated nasalisation - $\tilde{V}$

Major allophonic distribution

Vowel allophone

/O/ - has two allophones

o-a higher-mid back rounded vowel occurs only when followed by /i/ and elsewhere O -a lower-mid back rounded vowel.

Consonant allophones

/T/ -has two allophones an alveolar voiceless unaspirated stop occurs homorganically only after /s/ and elsewhere T-retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop.

/Dh/ -has two allophones Rh - Lh - voiced retroflex aspirated flap which freely varies with voiced retroflex aspirated lateral flap occurs only intervocally and elsewhere Dh-voiced retroflex aspirated stop.

/n/ -has three allophones a voiced palatal nasal occurs only before homorganic stops; a voiced velar nasal occurs only before homorganic stops, and elsewhere n- voiced dental nasal.

/N/ -has two allophones an unreleased voiced retroflex nasal occurs only before a homorganic stop and elsewhere a retroflex nasal flap.

/s/ -has two allophones a dental voiceless fricative occurs homorganically only before dental voiceless fricative and elsewhere an alveolar fricative.

Phonemic distribution

All the phonemes except the nasal and the lateral occur in all positions of the word. The lateral phonemes do not occur word-initially. Vowel-length is not distinctive in this dialect.

Diphthongs

The diphthongs available in the mono-morphemic words are given below

VV-	ia	ai/au	ua		
-VV-	iO/ia	eu	ai/au	Oi/ou	ui/ua
-VV	ia	ei/eu	ai/ae/au	Oi/Ou	ui/uO/ua
-VV-	ia	eu	ai/au	Oi/Ou	ui/ua
-VV	iO/ia	ai/au	Oi	uiua	

Consonant cluster

The consonant clusters occur in the initial or final position in a mono-morphemic word. The occurrences of the consonant clusters are stated below:

There are altogether eleven two-member consonant clusters formed with /N, n and m/ as the first member. In the process of clusterisation /N/ receives /D, Dh and N/; /n/ receives /k, kh, c, jh, t, d, dh/ and /m/ receives /p/ as the second member of the sequence.

Syllabic structure

The following syllables can occur in isolation

V	-/i/	'this'
VC	-/og/	'top of a tree'
VCC	-/eND/	'male genital'
CV	-/ku/	'well'
CVC	-/peT/	'belly'
CVCC	-/kaND/	'quill'

Morphology

Noun

Number

The plural formative suffixes in Bhuyan are the following.

Human	-he/-mane	Example	
	/desO-he/	'the tribes'	/lOk-mane/ 'people'
Non-human (and pejorative)	-La	Example	
	/ghOr-La/	'the houses'	/TOki-La/ 'the(bad) girls'

Gender

The gender distinction in Bhuyan is restricted to noun and adjective only. The feminine suffixes which distinguish a masculine noun from the feminine one are -Ni/-i. Example

/phemial/	'pretender'	/phimiaNi/	'a female pretender'
/chOTa/	'lame'	/choTi/	'lame (female)' etc.

Cases and postpositions

A number of postpositions used in different cases which can be added to the oblique bases of the pronouns and to the non-dichotomous noun bases are given below:

Possessive-	only after the pronominal bases -hOr, example	
	/mO-hOr/ 'mine'	/tO-hOr/ 'your'
	only after a closed syllable -Or, example	
	/hat-Or/ 'of the hand'	
	and elsewhere -r, example	
	/rati-r/ 'of the night'	
Accusative/		
Directional-	only after the i-final bases -ki, example	
	/rati-ki/ 'at night'	
	and elsewhere -kOi, example	
	/mO-kOi/ 'to me'	
Ablative-	only after r-final bases and after a few other particular words -u, example	
	/ghOr-u/ 'from the house'	and
	/than-u/ 'from the place'	
	and elsewhere -ru, example	
	/gOch-ru/ 'from the tree'	

Locative/

Instrumental- only after *r*-final bases and a few other particular words -e, example

/ghOr-e/ 'in the house' */tOL-e/* 'on the floor'

and elsewhere -re, example

/mO-re/ 'by me' */goch-re/* 'at the tree'

Pronoun

The pronouns are grouped under four main headings. These are: demonstrative, relative, interrogative and personal. The data are arranged in a manner which would show the morpheme-breaks in these forms.

Demonstrative

Proximate

Human

Direct *te*

Oblique *ia-*

Non-human *i*

Remote or Correlative

Human

Direct *sie*

Oblique *ta-*

Non-human *hi-/si/taha*

Relative

Human

Direct *jie*

Oblique *ja-/jaha*

Non-human *jē*

Interrogative

Human

Direct *kīe*

Oblique *ka-/kaha*

Non-human *kē*

The pronouns of quantity, place, size and manner are formed upon the corresponding pronouns by the process of addition. The forms are listed below:

	Demonstrative		Relative	Interrogative
	Proximate	Remote		
Quantity	<i>ete/etki</i>	<i>setki/hetki</i>	<i>jete</i>	<i>kete</i>
Place	<i>eThi</i>	<i>siThi</i>	<i>jēThi</i>	<i>kēThi/kahī</i>
Size	<i>eDDe</i>	<i>heDDe</i>	<i>jeDDe</i>	<i>keDDe</i>
Manner	<i>emti/imti</i>	<i>simiti/hemOnt</i>	<i>jimiti/</i>	<i>kimiti/ jemOnt kemOnt</i>
Personal				
	First	Second	Third	
	Singular	Singular	Singular	
	Direct <i>mui</i>	Direct <i>tui</i>	Direct <i>sie</i>	
	Oblique <i>mō-</i>	Oblique <i>tō</i>	Oblique <i>ta-</i>	

Plural		Plural		Plural	
Direct	<i>ame</i>	Direct	<i>lOme</i>	Direct	<i>tahanke</i>
Oblique	<i>amo-</i>	Oblique	<i>lOmO</i>	Oblique	<i>tahank!- hOnkO-</i>

It should be noted that the dichotomy of direct and oblique is applicable to the pronouns only.

Adjective

The adjective in Bhuyan is generally formed by adding suffix *-ia* with the noun. Example

<i>/jhal/</i>	'peacock's feather'	<i>/jhal-ia/</i>	'a fowl with feathers'
<i>/maĩs/</i>	'flesh'	<i>/maĩs-ia/</i>	'fleshy'
<i>/gargar/</i>	'stripe'	<i>/gargaria/</i>	'striped' etc.

To form the words of measure (single unit only), the morpheme *-e* is suffixed to a selected number of nouns as the qualifier. Example

<i>/hat/</i>	'hand'	<i>/hate/</i>	'one-hand'
<i>/mũTha/</i>	'fist'	<i>/mũTha-e/</i>	'one fist-full'
<i>/phaL/</i>	'half'	<i>/phaL-e/</i>	'one half' etc.

Definite articles

Human (mostly with kinship terms) *ko*; example

<i>/bua-ko/</i>	'the father'
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Non-human (and pejorative) *Ta*; example

<i>/gOch-Ta/</i>	'the tree'	<i>/Toki-Ta/</i>	'the (bad) girl'
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Verb

The verbs are broadly divided into two main categories, finites and nonfinites. The finites, by definition, terminate either overtly or covertly with a person marker and the nonfinites do not.

Finites

Members of the morpheme classes:

Root

Any morpheme which can occur as the second person singular(familiar) simple imperative form. Example

<i>/ja/</i>	'you go'
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Causative

Morpheme *-a-*. Example

<i>/kOr-a-li/</i>	'I got it done'
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Aspect

Perfect *-i-*. Example

<i>/kOr-i-chOi/</i>	'I have done'
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Continuous *-O-* which freely varies with ϕ in quick speech. Example

<i>/kOr-O-hOi/</i> or <i>/kOr-ϕ-chOi/</i>	'I am doing'
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Auxiliary

-ch-, Example	
/kOrO-chO/	'I am doing'
-th-, Example	
/kOrO-th-ai/	'I used to be doing'

Tense

Present- unmarked. Example	
/kOr-Oi/	'I do'
Past -il-, Example	
/kOr-il-i/	'I did'. A variant -in- occurs only in first person plural exclusive form.
Example	'we did'
/kOr-in-u/	
Future -ib-, Example	
/kOr-ib-i/	'I shall do'.
It has a free variant -i- which occurs anywhere other than the first person singular and the first person plural exclusive forms. Example	
/kOr-ib-e/ or /kOr-i-e/	'you will do'
/kOr-ib-ak/ or /kOr-i-ak/	'he will do'. A conditioned variant -im- occurs only in the first person plural exclusive form. Example
/kOr-im-ū/	'we (exclusive) shall do'
Conditional -it-, Example	
/kOr-it-i/	'if I do'

Person

First person singular -i.	
/kOr-il-i/	'I did'
A variant -Oi occurs only in the present tense forms. Example	
/kOr-Oi/	'I do'
Second person singular -e. Example	
/kOr-ib-e/ or /kOr-i-e/	'you will do'
A variant -Osi occurs only in the present tense forms. Example	
/kOr-Osi/	'you do'
Third person singular -ak. Example	
/kOr-it-ak/	'if he does'
A variant -Oi occurs only in the present tense forms. Example	
/kOr-Oi/	'he does'
First person plural exclusive -ū. Example	
/kOr-ū/	'we (exclusive) do'
First person plural inclusive -ai. Example	
/kOr-il-ai/	'we (inclusive) did'
A variant -a occurs only in future tense forms. Example	
/kOr-ib-a/ or /kOr-i-a/	'we (inclusive) shall do'
Second person plural -O. Example	
/kOr-O/	'you (plural) do'
Third person plural -ai. Example	
/kOr-il-ai/	'they did'

A variant *-Onti* occurs only in the present tense forms. Example
/kOr-Onti/ 'they do'

The members of a class, by definition, are mutually exclusive.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| i. | Root-person | <i>kOi-Oi/Osi/Oi/w/ai/O/Onti</i> | 'I/you do' etc. |
| ii. | Root-tense-person | <i>kOr-il/ib/it-O</i> | 'you did/will do' etc. |
| iii. | Root-aspect-auxiliary-person | <i>kOr-i/O-ch/tha-O/</i> | 'you have done/are doing' and 'you usually have done/used be doing' |
| iv. | Root-aspect-auxiliary-tense-person | <i>kOr-i/O-th-il/ib/it-O</i> | 'you had done/were doing' and 'you would have done/will be doing' etc. |
| v. | Root-causative-person | <i>/kOr-a-O/</i> | 'you get it done' |
| vi. | Root-causative-tense-person | <i>/kOr-a-il-O/</i> | 'you got it done' |
| vii. | Root-causative-aspect-auxiliary-person | <i>/kOr-a-i-ch-O/</i> | 'you have it done' |
| viii. | Root-causative-aspect-auxiliary-tense-person | <i>/kOr-a-i-th-il-O/</i> | 'you had it done' |

For the simplicity of description the defective imperative paradigms have not been derived from the given scheme. However, the imperative forms fall into two structural types and these are

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| i. | Base-person | <i>/kOr/</i> | 'you do' (second singular) |
| | | <i>/kOr-u/</i> | 'let him do' (third singular) |
| | | <i>/kOr-Ontu/</i> | 'let them do' (third plural) |
| ii. | Base-aspect-auxiliary-person | | |
| | a. | <i>/kOr-O-tha/-u/Ontu/</i> | 'let you/he/they be doing' |
| | b. | <i>/kOr-i-tha/-u-Ontu/</i> | 'may you/he/they do' |

The base could be either a root or a root-causative.

An alternative arrangement of the Bhuyan verb paradigms is also possible taking the distinctive allomorphic distribution of the person markers in the verb forms into consideration. The verbs may be divided into two major types, that is, unmarked tense types and marked tense types. The unmarked forms are those which do not consist of a segmentable tense element and these are the present and the imperative forms. The marked forms are those which consist of a segmentable tense element and these are the past, the future and the conditional forms. These two types, in a majority of cases show a set of person markers quite distinct from the set employed by the other.

	Unmarked tenses		Marked tenses	
Imperative	Present	Person	Past, Future and conditional	
	<i>-Oī</i>	first singular	<i>-ī</i>	
Zero	<i>-Osi</i>	second singular	<i>-e</i>	
<i>-u</i>	<i>-Oi</i>	third singular	<i>-ak</i>	
	<i>-ū</i>	first plural exclusive	<i>-ū</i>	
	<i>-ai</i>	first plural inclusive	<i>-ai</i> (but <i>-a</i> in future only)	
	<i>-O</i>	second plural	<i>-O</i>	
<i>-Ontu</i>	<i>-Onti</i>	third plural	<i>-ai</i>	

The negative morpheme *-naī* is usually suffixed to the verb-word in all cases, but it may also be prefixed as a stylistic variant. For example

/kOr -Oi -naī/ 'I do not do' */kOr-il-a-naī/* 'he did not do' etc.

The variants are

/naī-kOr-Oī/ 'I do not do' */naī-kO-il-l/* 'I did not do' etc.

Extended verb forms

By modifying slightly the given verb-scheme, a new set of extended verb paradigms can also be derived from it. The extended verb forms are an indispensable part of the Bhuyan verb morphology.

- i. Root-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-tense-person
/mar-i-de-l-a/ 'he killed' (deliberate and completed action)
/kha-l-gO-l-a/ 'he ate' (undesirable action) etc.
- ii. Root-causative-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-tense- person
/luk-a-i-de-l-a/ 'he did' (deliberate and completed action)
/cOl-a-i-de-l-a/ 'he got it moved' (deliberate and completed action)
- iii. Root-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-aspect-auxiliary
-person
/kOr-i-di-ch-O-ī/ 'I have done' (deliberate and completed action)
/mar-i-de-o-ch-cī/ 'I am killing' (deliberate and completed action) etc.
- iv. Root-causative-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-aspect -auxiliary-
person.
/luk-a-i-d-i-ch-Oī/ 'I have hidden (deliberate and completed action)
/cOl-a-i-de-O-ch-Oī/ 'I am getting it moved' (deliberate and comple- ted action) etc.
The infinitives could be either of a simple or a reduplicated structure.

Infinitives

Non-conditional infinitive

Structure: base-infinitive marker. Example

/kha-ī/	'having eaten'	/kOr-i/	'having done'
/kOr-a-i/	'having got it done' etc.		

Conditional infinitive

Structure: base-conditional infinitive marker. Example

/he-ne/	'had it happened'	/gO-ne/	'had it gone'
/kOr-a-ne/	'if this could get done' etc.		

Reduplicated infinitives

Non-reciprocatve

Structure: base-infinitive marker-reduplicated base-infinitive marker.

Example

/kOr-i-kOr-i/	'having done it repeatedly'
/bul-a-i-bul-a-i/	'moving it repeatedly'

Reciprocatve

Structure: root-causative-reduplicated root-infinitive marker. Example

/dhu-a-dhu-i/	'washing and other related works'
/mOr-a-mOr-i/	'having exchanged blows' etc.

Participles

Present participle

Structure: root-participle marker. Example

/lekha-a/ 'written' */mud-a/* 'sealed'

Past participle

Structure: root-past tense-participle marker. Example

/suk-il-a/ 'dried' */pak-il-a/* 'ripened'

Future-participle or verbal noun

Structure: root-future tense-participle marker. Example

/ja-i-a/ or */ja-b-a/* 'going, to go'
/kha-i-a/ or */kha-b-a/* 'eating', 'to eat' etc.

Agentative formation apparently is not a productive process. However, a number of words with identical structure do occur.

Structure-present participle-agentative suffix. Example

/bula-hari/ 'wander' */bOna-hari/* 'marker' etc.

Syntax

The following syntactic sketch is based upon a very limited number of sentences. A simple sentence in Bhuyan consists of two parts, that is, subject and predicate. The subject consists of a noun phrase. The noun phrase could be a simple noun. Example

a. Pronouns-	<i>/muĩ/</i>	'I'	<i>/tuĩ/</i>	'you'
	<i>/kie/</i>	'who'	<i>/tahanke/</i>	'they' etc.
b. Nouns	<i>/lOk/</i>	'man'	<i>/gai/</i>	'cow'
	<i>/mēgh/</i>	'rain'	<i>/TokiLa/</i>	'girls'
	<i>/dhuāLa/</i>	'tobacco leaves' etc.		

The predicate consists of a verb phrase. The verb phrase could be a modified verb. The final element or the person marker of a modified verb is automatically modified in accordance with the subject. Example

/(muĩ) jachOĩ/ 'I am going' */(ame) jachũ/* 'we are going'
/(tahanke) khaOntu/ 'let them eat'

Subject + predicate sentences

<i>/muĩ jachOĩ/</i>	'I am going'	<i>/tahanke gaOchOni/</i>	'they are singing'
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
<i>/depta achi/</i>	'god exists'	<i>/mēgh hechi/</i>	'it rains (the cloud rains)'
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
<i>/huL pOLOch/</i>	'hail-stones are falling'		
1 2	1 2		

The noun phrase may consist of some optional elements like demonstratives, numerals and articles. The plural markers and the article are mutually exclusive. Example

<i>/lOk - Ta jachi/</i>	'the man is going'		
1 2 3	2 1 3		
<i>/bua-kO calO chi/</i>	'the father is walking'	<i>/i lOk-Ta jachi/</i>	'this man is going'
1 2 3	2 1 2	1 2 3 4	1 2-3 4

/si bOn-Ta pudO chi/	'that jungle is burning'
1 2 3 4 1 2-3 4	
/si TOkiLa nacOchOntil/	'those girls are dancing'
1 2 3 1 2 3	
also, /di-ta gai cOrOchOntil/	'two cows are grazing'
1 2 3 4 1-2 3 4	
/si di-Ta gai cOrOchOntil/	'those two cows are grazing'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2-3 4 5	
/di jON lOk jibe/	'two persons will go'
1 2 3 4 1 2-3 4	
/i di jON lOk jibe/	'these two persons will go'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3-4 5	
/kē di jON lOk jibe/	'which two persons will go'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3-4 5	
/ē di-ta gai cOrO chOntil/	'the two cows which are grazing'
1 2 3 4 5 3 2 4 1 5	

An endocentrically expanded noun is adjective + noun and when it is exocentric it is Noun¹, Noun². Example

/juang TOkaLa asichOntil/	'the juang boys have come'
1 2 3 1 2 3	
/buDhi gai-Ta mOla/	'the old cow died'
1 2 3 4 3 1 2 4	
/tahanke gai maīs khaOchOntil/	'they are eating beef (cow-meet)'
1 2 3 4 1 4 2 3	
and, /siaL kumbhir nOdi-ki gOle/	'the jackal and the crocodile went to the river'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 5 4 3	
/rOjapuO mOntripuO paTh pODhOntil/	'the king's son and the minister's son read'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3-4	
/tahanke silOD bOhi lukaidiOntil/	'they hide the slate and the books'
1 2 3 4 1 4 2 3	

The verb phrase which has been described already as a modified verb could be either an intransitive or a transitive. An intransitive verb by definition, does not take an object and the transitive may take optionally one or more than one object. The object is structurally the same as the noun phrase. When the noun is animate, it takes the object marker and when it is a pronoun the oblique form takes the object marker. Elsewhere, the object marker is optional. Example

/muī jibi/	'I shall go'
1 2 1 2	
/sie kOhila/	'he said'
1 2 1 2	
/babu-Ta tOmo-kOi DakOchi/	'the gentleman is calling you'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 5 3-4	
/ame mŌd khachū/	'we drink wine'
1 2 3 1 3 2	
/tuī mŌ-kOi baDi-Ta de/	'you give me the stick'

1 2 3 4 5 6	1 6 2-3 5 4
/babu-Ta i lOk-Ta-kOi DakO chl/	'the gentleman is calling this man'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	2 1 7 3 4-5
/babu-Ta 1 di jON lOk-kOi DakOchl/	'the gentleman is calling these two men'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	2 1 8 3 4 5-6

There are a number of phrases which can be incorporated into a sentence optionally. These are listed below:

- Postpositional phrases
Structure: Noun phrase + postposition
The post-position are *-re*, *-ru*, *-r* and *-ki*. Example
- i. /ghOr-e niā lOgOchl/ 'fire is burning inside the house'
1 2 3 4 3 4 2 1
/i diŋ-re kendu pacOchl/ 'plums ripe in this season'
1 2 3 4 5 4 5 3 1 2
- /i kaTh-re khuNT heechi/ 'posts are made with this log'
1 2 3 4 5 4 5 3 1 2
/cOpO ti-re tuTtuN de/ 'you serve curry in the leaf-cup'
1 2 3 4 5 3 5 4 2 1
/kati-Ta-re kaTide/ 'cut it with the knife'
1 2 3 4 4 3 2 1
- ii. /gODh-u bOsgadi asOchl/ 'the bus is coming from the city'
1 2 3 4 3 4 2 1
/b ON-u ame kaTh aNOchū/ 'we get wood from the forest'
1 2 3 4 5 3 5 4 2 1
/upur-u TangOr-Ta gODaide/ 'get the stone moved from the top'
1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 5 2 1
- iii. /ya-i hap-kO mŌd rO khichi/ 'this man's father has kept wine'
2 3 4 5 6 1-2 3-4 6 5
/kē gā-r TO kiLa asichonti/ 'girls of which village have come'
1 2 3 4 5 4 3 1 2 5
/amO-r gā-r Tokila naciā/ 'the girls of our village will dance'
1 2 3 4 5 6 5 4 1-2 3 6
/sie bua-r Ongi-Ta aNichi/ 'he has brought father's shirt'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 6 2-3 4-5
- iv. /muī gā-kOi jachOī/ 'I am going to the village'
1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2
/kē TokiTa siThi-ki jaithilal/ 'which girl did go there'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 5 3-4

Adverbial phrase

The adverbial phrase may have an adverb with certain members of this class, and adverbial marker. Example

/tar nO na-kO bes nacOchi/	'his sister is dancing well'
1 2 3 4 5	1 2-3 5 4
/begi a/	'come at once'
1 2	2 1
/sie jur kOri dhO r chl/	'he is holding tightly'
1 2 3 4	1 2 2-3
/bagh-ta dOLOu kOri pOLla/	'the tiger ran away suddenly'
1 2 3 4 5	2 1 5 3-4

Incorporated sentences

A sentence as described above can be incorporated into another by several conjunctive processes. An incorporated sentence consists of a verb phrase, where the verb phrase is verb-conjunctive. The verb-conjunctive is verb + infinitive or verb + infinitive + /KOril/. Example

/muTbhat khai jibi/	'I shall go after eating rice'
1 2 3 4	1 4 3 2
/tahanke muNdmān-e siriaguNDi kO ri pherOnti/	
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
'they return after smearing chalk-dust on their fore-heads'	
1 7 6 5 4 3 2	
/di bhai baśmaLi- ie silOD bOhi-ki lukaidi kOri khelOnti/	
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
'the two brothers play, hiding the slate and the books in a bamboo-groove'	
1 2 10 8-9 5 6-7 4 3	

An incorporated sentence may consist of a verb phrase where the verb phrase is verb + conjunctive -ne. Example

/beL hene tahanke pherOnti/	'when the sun sets they return'
1 2 3 4	1-2 3 4
/mēgh hene phul phuTiak/	'if it rains the flower will bloom'
1 2 3 4	1-2 3 4
/muT khaine jibi /	'as soon as I finish eating I go'
1 2 3	1-2 3

Any two sentences can be joined by the conjunctive *je*. Example

/kheLO nti je kheLO nti/	'they play and play'
1 2 3	1 2 3
/tahanke jaOnti je beL hene pherOnti/	
1 2 3 4 5 6	
'they go and return when the sun sets'	
1 2 3 7 4-5-6	

(Adapted from the *Bulletin of Anthropological Survey of India*, 1976. Vol-XVII. pp-185-208, with permission from the author).

ISOGLOSS STUDY

S. P. Datta

The state of Orissa is surrounded by Madhya Pradesh (in the west), Andhra Pradesh (in the south), West Bengal (in the north) and Bihar (in the north-west) and to its east lays the Bay of Bengal. The entire state is divided into thirteen districts, namely, Baleswar, Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulbani, Ganjam, Koraput, Puri, Cuttack and Dhenkanal [of course, lately the districts have been reorganised and redivided into altogether thirty revenue districts instead of thirteen. The districts are situated as under:

To the north	-	Baleswar, Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar
To the south	-	Ganjam and Koraput
To the west	-	Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Phulbani
To the east	-	Puri, Cuttack and Dhenkanal

As a result of intense acculturation the spoken form of Oriya in the bordering districts got converged with Telugu in the south, with Hindi (Chhattisgarhi) in the west and with Bengali in the north and the representative features of Standard Oriya merged into the dialect breaking points except in the domain of education where the Standard Oriya is used as a superposed variety. Although altogether six dialects have been identified under Oriya the basic regional dialects are two, namely, Standard Oriya and Sambalpuri those sharply contrast from one another. Accordingly, some of the distinctive features of the dialects have been mapped in the subsequent pages.

The study of the dialects of Oriya reveals a number of isoglosses of which four have been identified to most significant. These isoglosses run through dividing the region into two major dialect areas. These isoglosses are:

- I) Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change.
- II) Presence/Absence of word final *O*.
- III) Presence/Absence of five vowel/six vowel system.
- IV) Presence/Absence of retroflex lateral (N) alveolar lateral (l) and alveolar nasal (n).

The rationale for choosing these four phonological isoglosses is that these are the basic features sharply dividing the region into two distinct dialect areas i.e. Standard Oriya and Sambalpuri.

1. Isogloss No. I Showing of Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change /cvcɪ/ → cvic/ vci / vic-

- a. Area of Presence of metathetic vowel change are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur, Sundargarh. (map No. - 3).
- b. Area of Absence of metathetic vowel change are the districts of Koraput, Ganjam, Phulbani, Puri, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Baleswar, Kendujhar and Mayurbhanj. (map No. - 3).

Examples of Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change are:

Example	cvcɪ → cvic	
<i>maTi</i> → <i>maiT</i>	'clay'	<i>dhuLi</i> → <i>dhul</i> 'dust'
<i>agi</i> → <i>aɟ</i>	'fire'	<i>bOnya/bORhi</i> → <i>bOin/bOid</i> 'flood'
<i>nOdi</i> → <i>nOid</i>	'river'	<i>gOnThi</i> → <i>goŋiTh</i> 'ankle'
<i>ākhi</i> → <i>āikh</i>	'eye'	<i>laThi</i> → <i>laiTh</i> 'stick'
<i>rati</i> → <i>rait</i>	'night'	<i>aji</i> → <i>aij</i> 'today'

<i>kali</i> → <i>kail</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>cari</i> → <i>cair</i>	'four'
<i>paNi</i> → <i>pain</i>	'water'	<i>uThi</i> → <i>muiTh</i>	'fist'
<i>kOLija</i> → <i>kOilja</i>	'heart'	<i>hOlia</i> → <i>thOila</i>	'bag'
<i>cull</i> → <i>cuil</i>	'oven'	<i>ari</i> → <i>hair</i>	'fence'
<i>udi</i> → <i>uil</i>	'onion'	<i>hadyO</i> → <i>khait</i>	'food'
<i>grOhita</i> → <i>ghOita</i>	'husband'	<i>jaLi</i> → <i>jail</i>	'net'
<i>rajyO</i> → <i>raij</i>	'kingdom'	<i>aNighOra</i> → <i>painghOra</i>	'pool of water'
<i>hanDi</i> → <i>halD</i>	'pot'	<i>Oji jiba</i> → <i>hOij jiba(r)</i>	'lost'
<i>gaLideba</i> → <i>gail deba</i>	'scold'		

2. Isogloss No. II showing presence/Absence of word final -O.

- Area of Presence of the word final /-O/ are the districts of Koraput, Ganjam, Phulbani, Puri, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Baleswar, Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar. (map No. - 4).
- Area of Absence of the word final /-O/ are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur and Sundargarh. (map No. - 4).

Example

/-o/ - /φ/

<i>pObOnO</i> → <i>pObOn</i>	'air'	<i>meghO</i> → <i>megh</i>	'cloud'
<i>bONO</i> → <i>bOn</i>	'forest'	<i>gOchO</i> → <i>gOch</i>	'tree'
<i>dudhO</i> → <i>dudh</i>	'milk'	<i>jhODO</i> → <i>jhOD</i>	'storm'
<i>rogO</i> → <i>rog</i>	'disease'	<i>hatO</i> → <i>hat</i>	'hand'
<i>naLO</i> → <i>nal</i>	'mucus'	<i>kharO</i> → <i>khar</i>	'ashes'
<i>pagO</i> → <i>pag</i>	'weather'	<i>jOnghO</i> → <i>jOngh</i>	'thigh'
<i>pONOSO</i> → <i>pOnOs</i>	'jackfruit'	<i>bOndhO</i> → <i>bOnd</i>	'pond'
<i>lenjO</i> → <i>lenj</i>	'tail'	<i>bOrO</i> → <i>bOr</i>	'husband'
<i>bhatO</i> → <i>bhat</i>	'rice'	<i>laLO</i> → <i>lal</i>	'saliva'
<i>kanO</i> → <i>kan</i>	'ear'	<i>khirO</i> → <i>khir</i>	'milk'
<i>jibhO</i> → <i>jibh</i>	'tongue'	<i>sOsO</i> → <i>sOs</i>	'cernel'
<i>nuNO</i> → <i>nun</i>	'salt'	<i>ghasO</i> → <i>ghas</i>	'grass'
<i>cauLO</i> → <i>caul</i>	'rice'	<i>sOkaLO</i> → <i>sOkhal</i>	'morning'
<i>bhOIO</i> → <i>bhOI</i>	'good'	<i>gatO</i> → <i>gat</i>	'hole'
<i>boLOdO</i> → <i>boLOi</i>	'bull'		

3. Showing the presence/Absence of five vowel/six vowel system.

- Area showing the five vowel system are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur, and Sundargarh (map No. - 5).
- Area showing the Presence of 6-vowel System are the districts of Ganjam, Puri, Dhenkanal and Baleswar. (map No.-5).
- Area of 5-vowel/6-vowel System (mixed) are the districts of Koraput and Phulabani.(map No. -5).

Examples of Presence/Absence/Absence of 5-vowel/6-vowel System are :

Example /a/ → /u/

<i>srotO</i> → <i>srutO</i>	'current'	<i>goDi</i> → <i>guDi</i>	'pebble'
<i>ghoDa</i> → <i>ghuDa</i>	'horse'	<i>goDO</i> → <i>guDO</i>	'leg'
<i>pokO</i> → <i>puk(O)</i>	'insect'	<i>oda</i> → <i>uda</i>	'wet'
<i>osO</i> → <i>usO</i>	'medicine'	<i>choTa</i> → <i>chuTa</i>	'cripple'

<i>lokO</i> → <i>lukO</i>	'people'	<i>gora</i> → <i>gura</i>	'fair'
<i>gorOsO</i> → <i>gurOs</i>	'milk'	<i>cosiba</i> → <i>cusbar/susbar</i>	'suck'
<i>coraiba</i> → <i>cureiba</i>	'to steal'	<i>olhai ba</i> → <i>ulhabar</i>	'hang up'
<i>lo/</i> → <i>lO/</i>			
<i>bhoumO</i> → <i>bhOumO</i>	'mars' (Baleswar)		
<i>bohu</i> → <i>bOhu</i>	'daughter-in-law'		
<i>foi</i> → <i>jOi</i>	'son-in-law' (Koraput and Kendujhar)		
<i>dhoi</i> → <i>dhOi</i>	'asthma' (Baleswar and Kendujhar)		
<i>morO</i> → <i>mOr</i>	'mine' (Phulbani and Dhenkanal)		
<i>torO</i> → <i>tOr</i>	'your' (Phulbani and Dhenkanal)		
<i>rosei ghOrO</i> → <i>rOseighOrO</i>	'kitchen' (Koraput, Phulbani and Kendujhar)		
<i>dohOraiba</i> → <i>dOhOriba</i>	'repeat' (Phulbani and Koraput)		

4. Isogloss No. iv Area Presence/Absence of retroflex lateral / *L* / and retroflex nasal / *N* /
 alveolar / *l* / and alveolar / *n* /. (map No. - 6).
- Area of Presence of alveolar lateral / *l* / and alveolar nasal / *n* / are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur and Sundargarh. (map No. - 6).
 - Area of Presence of Retroflex lateral (*L*) and retroflex nasal / *N* / are the districts of Ganjam, Puri, Phulbani, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Kendujhar, Baleswar and Mayurbhanj. (map No. - 6).

Example *L* → *l*, *r*

<i>badOLO</i> → <i>badOl</i>	'cloud'	<i>sihuLi</i> → <i>siuli</i>	'moss'
<i>sOLa</i> → <i>sOla</i>	'brother-in-law'	<i>kOpar</i> in (Kendujhar and Mayurbhanj)	
<i>kOpaLO</i> → <i>kOpal</i>	'forehead'	<i>kOdOLi</i> → <i>kOdel</i>	'plantain'
<i>jhaLO</i> → <i>jhal</i>	'sweet'	<i>phOLO</i> (Phulbani) <i>phOrO</i> (Kendujhar, Mayurbhanj)	
<i>phOLO</i> → <i>phOl</i>	'fruit'		
<i>thaLi</i> → <i>thali</i>	'plate'	<i>thari</i> (Kendujhar)	
<i>pijuLi</i> → <i>pijuli</i>	'guava'	<i>jhoLO</i> → <i>jhol</i>	'soup'
		<i>jhoLO</i> (Phulbani)	
<i>gaLO</i> → <i>gal</i>	'cheek'	<i>gOLa</i> → <i>gOla</i>	'throat'
<i>neuLO</i> → <i>neur</i>	'mongoose'	<i>aLta</i> → <i>arta</i>	'lacye'

Example *N* → *n*

<i>pheNO</i> → <i>phen</i>	'foam'	<i>lohuNi</i> → <i>lOhuni</i>	'butter'
<i>pONOSO</i> → <i>pOnOs</i>	'jack fruit'	<i>CONa</i> → <i>cOna</i>	'pea'
<i>baigONO</i> → <i>baigOn</i>	'brinjal'	<i>natuNi</i> → <i>naten</i>	'grand daughter'
<i>rOkhONi</i> → <i>rOkhni</i>	'mistress'	<i>dhONu</i> → <i>dhun</i>	'bow'
<i>bhOuNi</i> → <i>bhOni/bOhen</i>	'sister'	<i>aNiba</i> → <i>anbar</i>	'to bring'
<i>seNu</i> → <i>henu</i>	'then'		
<i>puNi</i> → <i>puni</i>	'fullmoon night'	<i>jONe</i> → <i>jOne</i>	'one person'

Besides the phonological isoglosses referred to above, study of morphological and lexical isoglosses is also possible in Oriya language. Some morphological features which have been identified are (1) use of second person honorific formation and third person plural formation in tenses (2) use of conditional tense marker, etc. but these are not included in this volume.

KELA – A COMMUNITY DIALECT

The people belonging to the KeLa speech community are professionally the snake charmers who are reported to have migrated from Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) around 1930 to the Padamkesaripur village of Patiakela Sadar subdivision of Puri district of Orissa. With their long settlement in the particular pocket of Puri district, the people have abandoned their mother tongue Bengali and have nurtured a convergent dialect by way of structural adaptation of significant features from Oriya language.

Below is presented a brief linguistic note on their speech.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental phonemes

Vowel phoneme: 6-vowel system

Supra-segmental phoneme

Nasalization of vowel is phonemic

i u
e o
 Ō
 A

/V/

Consonant phonemes: 32-consonant system

p	b	t	d	T	D	k	g
ph	bh	th	dh	Th	Dh	kh	gh
						c	j
						ch	jh
		s					h
			l	L			
			r	R			
m		n		N		M	
w					y		

Kela dialect possesses the same set of vowel and consonant phonemes as that of Standard Oriya, besides the two significant features of Standard Oriya viz, (1) retention of -o- phoneme and (2) retention of word-final -O. Below are cited the examples

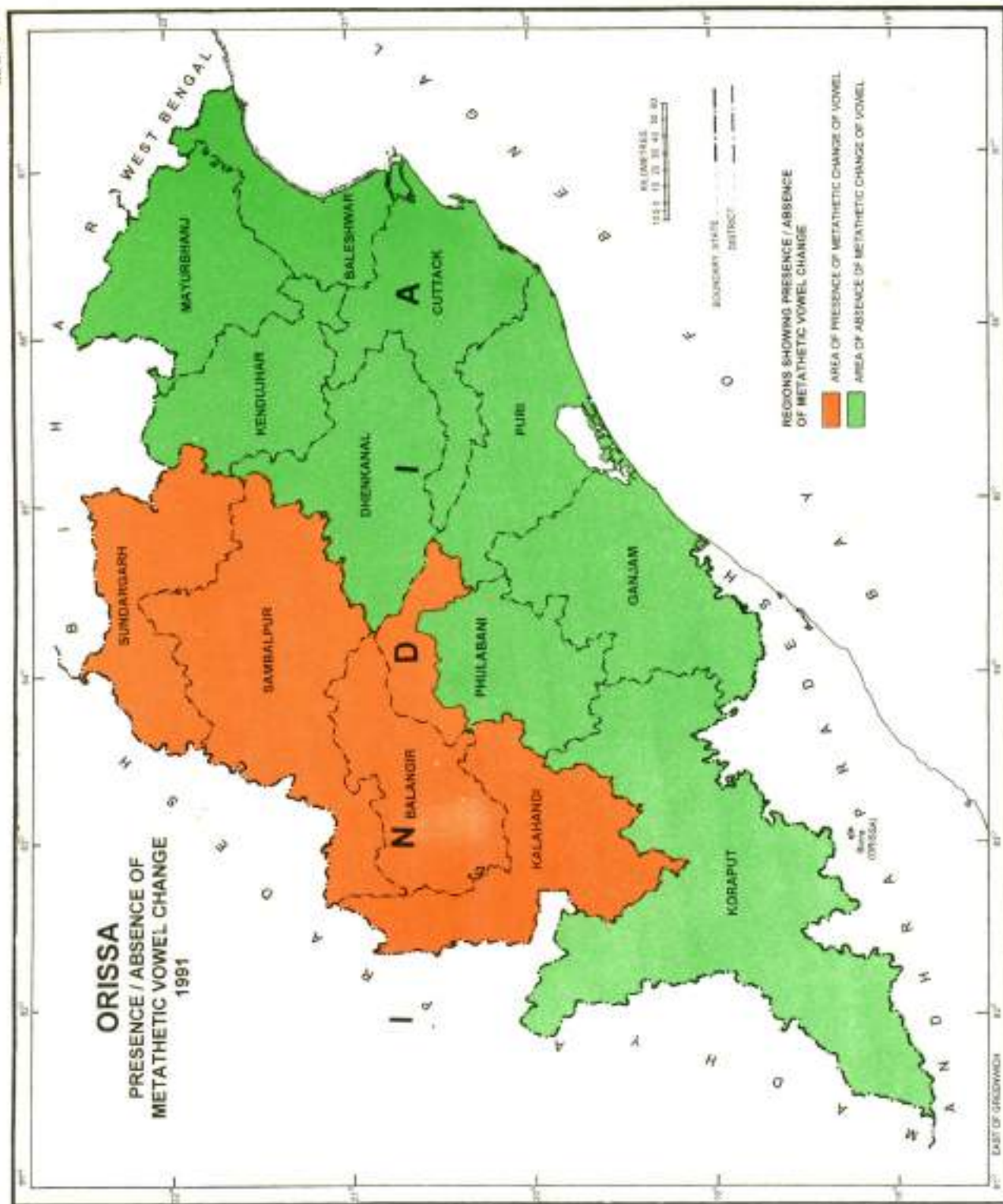
1. Retention of standard Oriya -o- phoneme

/bhor<Std.O bhorO/ 'dawn' /gobOr pok<Std.O gobOr pokO/ 'beetle'
/koili/ 'cuckoo' /kecho/ 'earthworm'
/pok<Std.O pokO/ 'insect' /goD<Std.O goRo/ 'leg'
/rog<Std.O rogO/ 'disease' /godra<Std.O godOrO/ 'elephantiasis'
/jhoL<Std.O jhoLO/ 'broth' /DoLi<Std.O DoLi/ 'swing'
/ohOL<Std.O ohOLO/ 'hanging root of banyan tree'
/posbo<Std.O posiba/ 'tender' /oda kOrbo<Std.O oda kOriba/ 'wet'
/cokh meLbo<Std.O cokhO meLiba/ 'open (eyes)'
/khodbo<Std.O khodiba/ 'dig(up)' etc.

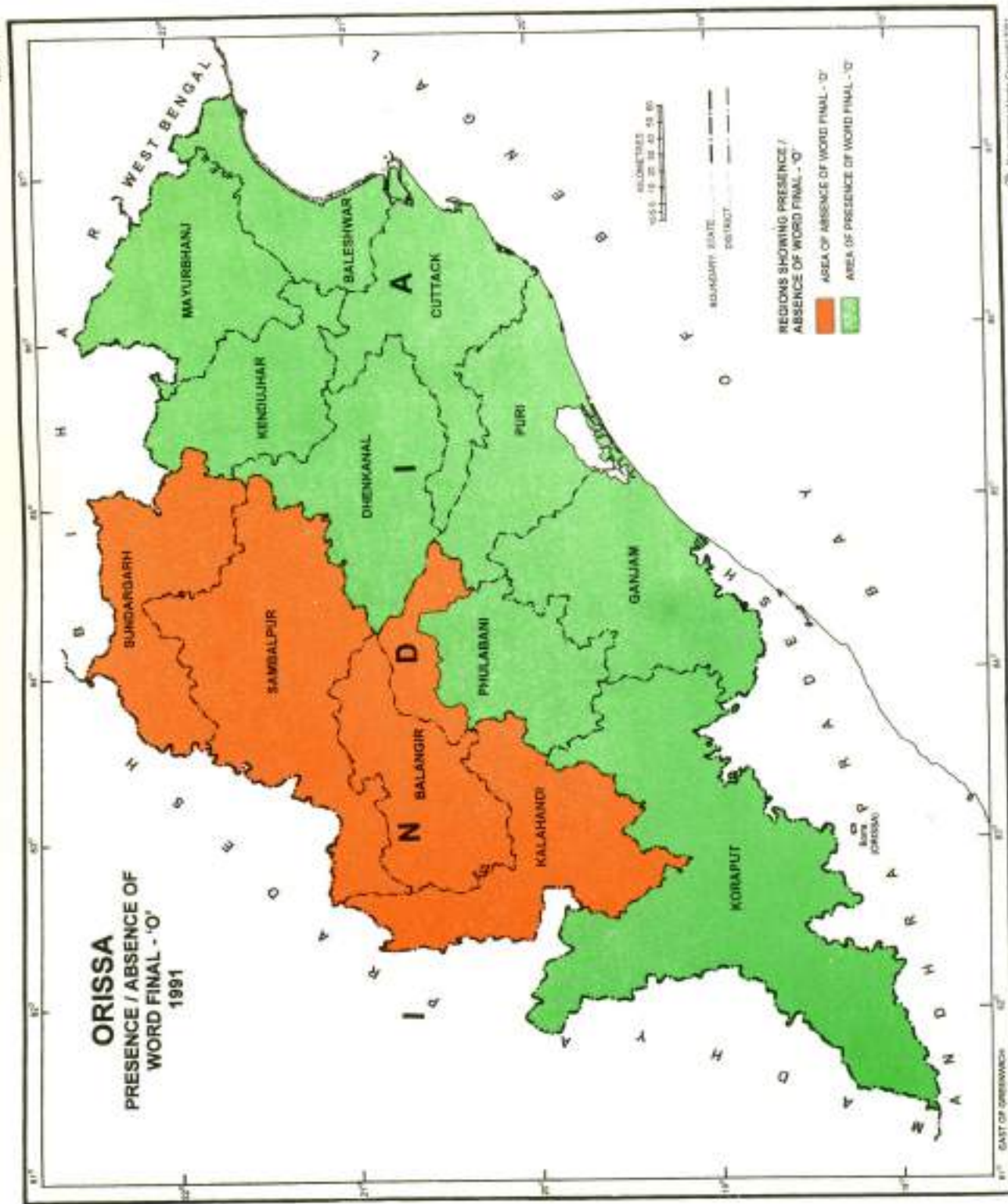
2. Retention of standard Oriya -O phoneme in the word-final position

/bhuikOmpO/ 'earthquake' /choTO nai/ 'stream' /bODO/ 'big'

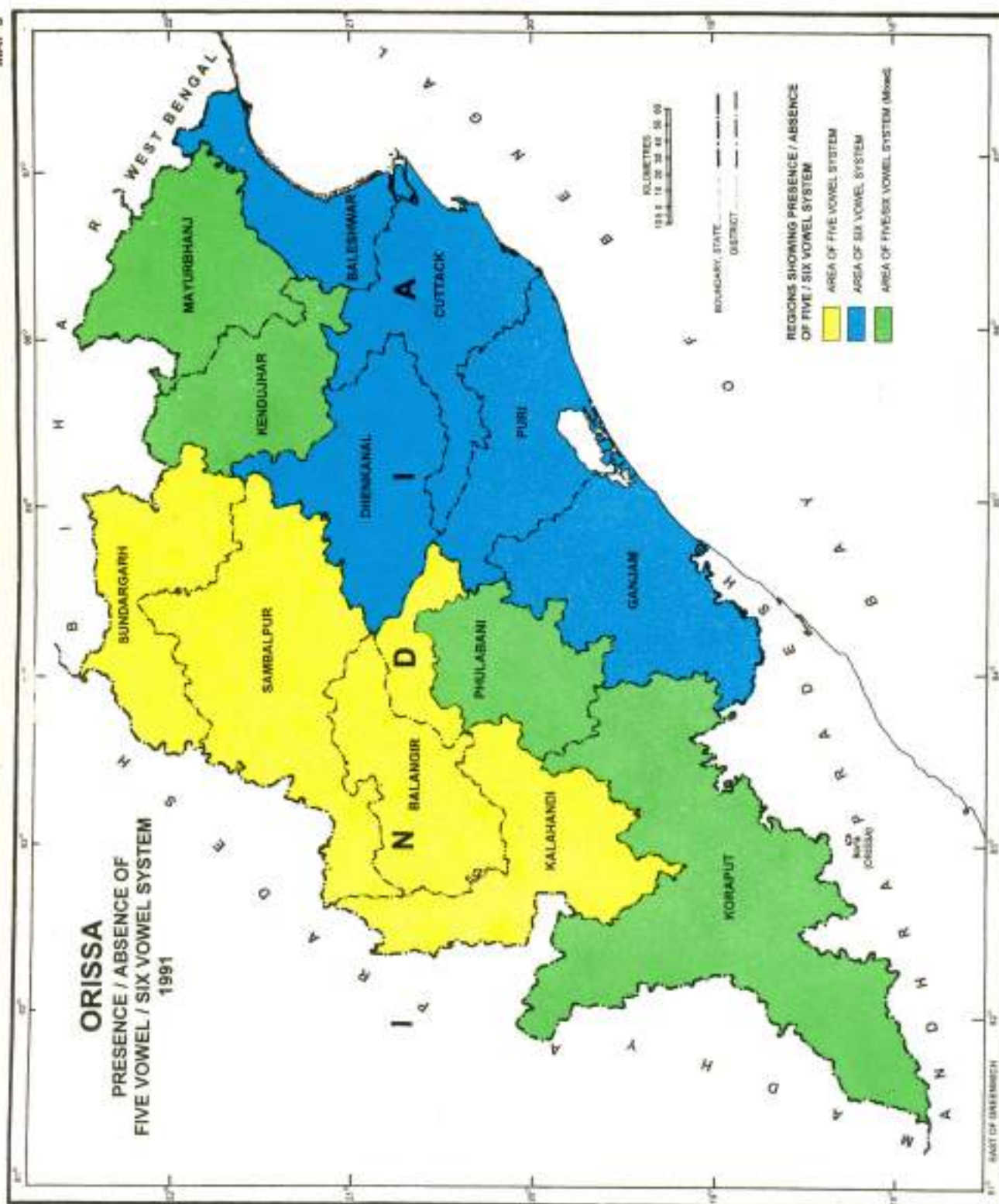
MAP 3

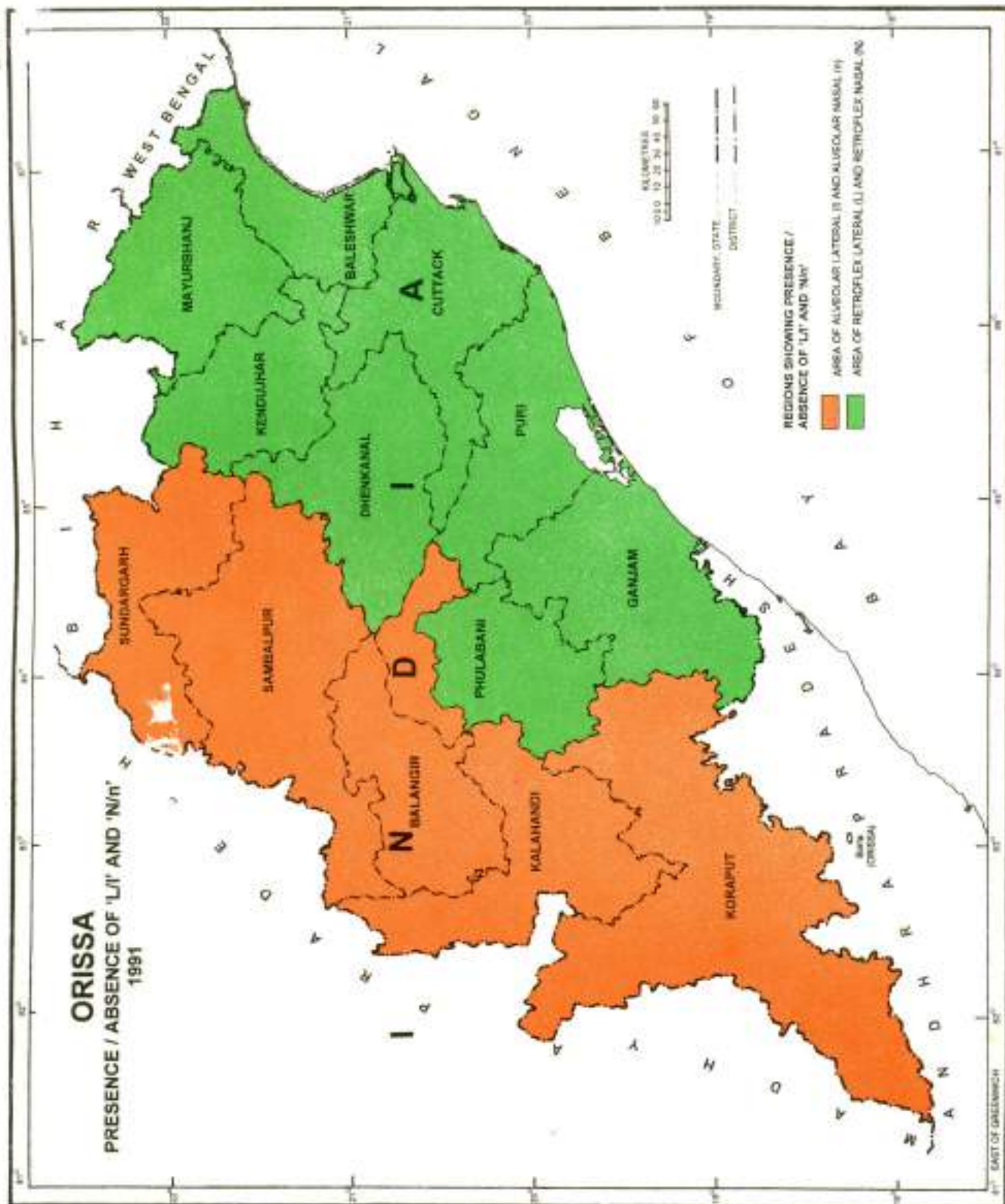


MAP 4



MAP 5





/choTO bhai/ 'younger brother' /raNDuO/ 'widower'
 /karODOLa/ 'light eye retina' /bhaLO pabo<Std.O bhOLO paiba/ 'love'
 /DhoLO<Std.O DholO/ 'drum' /prOthumO<Std.O prOthOmO/ 'first'
 /bhaLO kOrbo<Std.O bhOLO kOriba/ 'cure'
 /geLO<Std.O gelO kOriba/ 'amuse'
 /rOngO chaDbo<Std.O rOngO chaDiba/ 'fade (colour)'
 /boDhiaLO<Std.O bODhiaLO/ 'custard apple' etc.

Other phonological features of Kela dialect in brief are

1. Standard Oriya word-final -O lost because of influence of Bengali at the substratum level.

Example

/hat<Std.O hatO/ 'hand' /goD<Std.O goDO/ 'leg'
 /cakOr<Std.O cakOrO/ 'servant'
 /gachOLE<Std.O gOchOtOLE/ 'beneath the tree'
 /gOp<Std.O gOpO/ 'story' /TaNkaTh<Std.O TanOkathO/ 'hard wood'
 /ghās<Std.O ghasO/ 'grass' /jaL<Std.O jaLO/ 'net'
 /pOOrdin<Std.O pOOrOdinO/ 'day after tomorrow'
 /naL<Std.O laLO/ 'red' /golap<Std.O golapO/ 'rose'
 /aguN<Std.O aguNO/ 'fire' /mach<Std.O machO/ 'fish'
 /phOsOL<Std.O phOsOLO/ 'product (food)' /dhaN<Std.O dhanO/ 'rice'
 /caul<Std.O caulO/ 'boiled rice' /bhat<Std.O bhatO/ 'rice' (cooked)

2. Standard Oriya final vowel in first syllable of a word dropped: Example

/patLi<Std.O patiLi/ 'thin' /OLsua<Std.O OLOsua/ 'lazy'
 /upre<Std.O upOre/ 'above' /pruthbi<Std.O pruthibi/ 'earth'
 /bijLi<Std.O bijuli/ 'lightening' /khojLi<Std.O khojili/ 'searched'
 /halka<Std.O haluka/ 'light' /Osna<Std.O OsOna/ 'dirty'

3. Standard Oriya word-initial O- and word-medial -O->-a-, -u-, -o-, -e- Example

/gach<Std.O gOchO/ 'tree' /bhaLO<Std.O bhOLO/ 'good'

Standard Oriya O and a interchanging place

/kaLO<Std.O kOLA/ 'black' /prOthumO<Std.O prOthOmO/ 'first'
 /Tokei<Std.O Toka/ 'boy' /ekhen<Std.O ekhONO/ 'now'

4. Standard Oriya -i- dropped. Examples

/pOreOy<Std.O pOrieOyO/ 'identity' /paLO<Std.O paila/ 'got'
 /khaLO<Std.O khaila/ 'ate' /asLO<Std.O asila/ 'came'
 /marLO<Std.O marila/ 'beaten'

5. Standard Oriya diphthongs monophthongised

/bhONi<Std.O bhOuNi/ 'sister' /cha<Std.O chua/ 'child'
 /po<Std.O puO/ 'son' /jhi<Std.O jhiO/ 'daughter'
 /dud<Std.O dudhO/ 'milk' /diTa<Std.O duiTa/ 'two'
 /bās<Std.O bāusO/ 'bamboo' etc.

6. Standard Oriya l > L, r > D, n > N as hyper-correction due to strong influence of Oriya.

Example

/haLia<Std.O halia/ 'green' /naL<Std.O lalO/ 'red'
 /paLO<Std.O paila/ 'got' /khaLO<Std.O khaila/ 'ate'
 /gOLA<Std.O gOla/ 'went' /hOjigOLO<Std.O hOjigOla/ 'lost'
 /rOkhiLO<Std.O rOkhil/a 'kept' /bhoLO<Std.O bhOLO/ 'good'
 /kaL<Std.O kali/ 'tomorrow' /naL<Std.O lalO/ 'red'
 /jhODia pODE<Std.O jhOre/ 'withers'

/dhOLi<Std.O dhOrili/ 'I caught' /mOLO<Std.O mOrila/ 'died'
 Bengali *n > N* hyper-corrected due to strong influence of Oriya. Example

/kemNi<Bengali. kEmOn Std.O kemiti/ 'how'
 /jimNi<Bengali. jEmOn Std.O jemiti/ 'as'
 /emNi<Bengali. EmAn Std.O emiti/ 'as'
 /keNe<Bengali. kænO Std.O kahiki/ 'why' etc.

7. Consonant phonemes /D, Dh/ are realised as allophones [R, Rh] in the word-medial and word-final positions. Examples

/D/ [D] /Dōki/ 'ladder' /DoLi<Std.O Dolil/ 'swing'
 /Demp<Std.O DempOl/ 'stalk' /danDa/ 'stand'
 /kOmOnDOLu<Std.O kOmOnDOLul/ 'shell of sanyasi'
 /ThanDa<Std.O thOnDa/ 'cold' etc.
 [R] /nOl khORil/ 'bank of river' /kuluRil/ 'fig'
 /cORa/ 'island' /kOReil/ 'frying pan' /bOROl/ 'big'
 /kuRa/ 'axe' /kuRia/ 'hut' /dORi<Std.O dOuRi/ 'rope'
 /hat koRi/ 'handcuff' etc.
 /Dh/ [Dh] /Dhal<Std.O DhalOl/ 'pitcher'
 /Dhēkisa<Std.O DhenkisaLO/ 'dhenki room' /DhoLO<Std.O DholOl/ 'drum' etc.
 [Rh] /buRha/ 'old' /piRhil/ 'sitting board' /ORhOnal/ 'veil'
 /siRhil/ 'staircase' /bORhiaLO/ 'custard apple' /kORhil/ 'spade' etc.

Morphology

Nouns

The nouns are distinguished by two-term numbers- singular and plural, six-term cases- nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative and two-term genders- masculine and feminine. Below are discussed the formations-

Numbers

(i) - ϕ (singular), -guDa/sObu (plural for non-humans and object) and -meNe (plural for human)

/bilei/	'cat'	/bilei sObul-guDa/	'cats'
/kukul/	'dog'	/kukurguDa/	'dogs'
/cODhei/	'bird'	/cODhei sObul-guDa/	'birds'
/akhi/	'eye'	/akhisObul-guDa/	'eyes'
/pOtOri/	'leaf'	/pOtOrsObul/	'leaves'
/ghOr/	'house'	/ghOrsObul-guDa/	'houses'
/gOp/	'story'	/gOpguDa-sObul/	'stories'
/pather/	'stone'	/patherguDa-sObul/	'stones'

(ii) - ϕ (singular); -meNe (plural-human)

/po/	'son'	/pomeNel/	'sons'
/cha/	'child'	/chameNel/	'children'
/jhi/	'daughter'	/jhimeNel/	'daughters'
/lok/	'man'	/lokmeNel/	'men'
/cakOr/	'servant'	/cakOrmeNel/	'servants'
/bhai/	'brother'	/bhaimNel/	'brothers'
/muLia/	'labourer'	/muLiameNel/	'labourers'

Genders

A. In nominal usages

(i) -a (masculine); -i (feminine) Example

/saLa/	'brother-in-law'	/saLi/	'sister-in-law'
/bhaNja/	'sister's son'	/bhaNji/	'sister's daughter'
/nati/	'grandson'	/natuNi/	'grand daughter'
/nONOd/	'husband's sister'	/nONodei/	'husband's sister's husband'

(ii) -ø (masculine); mai-, meye- (feminine) Example

/kukDa/	'cock'	/maikukDa/	'hen'
/hati/	'elephant'	/mai hati/	'elephant' (feminine)
/mOyur/	'peacock'	/meye mOyur/	'peahen' (feminine)

(iii) use of two different lexicons

/baba/	'father'	/ma/	'mother'
/dada/Oja/	'grandfather'	/ai/	'grand mother'
/diOr/	'husband's brother'	/ja/	'husband's brother's wife'
/mOrOd/	'husband'	/meyer/	'wife'
/putra/	'brother's son'	/jhiari/	'brother's daughter'
/po/	'son'	/jhi/	'daughter'
/sOnD/	'bull'	/gay/	'cow'

B. In adjectival usages

-a (masculine); -i (feminine)

/buDha/	'old man'	/buDhi/	'old woman'
/TheNa/	'cripple'	/TheNi/	'cripple' (Feminine)
/kaLa/	'dumb'	/kaLi/	'dumb' (Feminine)
/kheNa/	'stammerer'	/kheNi/	'stammerer' (feminine)

Cases

The six cases use the following markers with the nominal bases to form nominal declensions. These are -ø (nominal), -ke (accusative), -er/-r (genitive), -guNu (instrumental), -ru (ablative), -er/-r (used with close syllabic base / open syllabic base respectively) (genitive), -re/-e or -er/r (genitive) and -gay (locative). Examples

/gach/	'tree'	/gachke/	'to the tree'
/gacherguNu/	'by the tree'	/gachru/	'from the tree'
/gacher/	'of the tree'	/nOir/	'of the river'
/gache, gacher gay/	'in the tree'		

Postposition

The postpositions used are of nominal, verbal and adverbial-types. Example

pOre	/juddhOr pOre besi Obhab boDhia gOLO/	'poverty increased after war'
sOnge	/ke amar sOnge jabe?/	'who will go with me?'
bhOLi	/ti bhOLi lokke ke pOisa debO?/	'who will give money to a man like you?'
guNu	/uke gemiar guNu dhOLO/	'he was caught for robbery'.

Verbal

- kOra* 'with/having done'
/u sua kOre pODhe The/ 'he is lying down and reading'
niye 'by/having taken'
/ti amar kOLOm niye lekhi/ 'write with my pen'
kOriya 'on account of'
/dhar kOriya lakmeNe mOriya gOLO/ 'people died on account of debt'
bhOr 'throughout'
/dinbhOr kam kOrke ratbhOr suO/ 'sleep at night after work throughout the day'

Adverbial

- ThiNe* 'direction/around'
/ThiNe buL/ 'move around'
jay 'throughout'
/maikukDa dinbeLjay cuLbuLa kOre/ 'the hen moves to and fro during the daytime'
sudha 'till'
/ami ekhen sudha gā chaDi ni/ 'I have not left the village till now'
jakO 'upto'
/u bOhut rat jakO kam kOLO/ 'he worked till late hours of night'
tOk 'till'
/tor asbartOk ami Thia rOhObo/ 'I shall stay here till you come'

Pronouns

The pronouns are categorised as (1) personals-distinguished by three persons (first, second and third), two numbers- (singular and plural) and six cases- (nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative); (2) demonstratives divided into proximate and remote each having two numbers and six cases; (3) relatives and interrogatives by two numbers and six cases as the above.

Personal pronouns

	First	Second	Third
Bases: Nominative	-am(singular-plural)	singular -ti	singular u
Oblique/genitive	am	plural - tO	plural O
		singular-to	singular o/ua

(The base in I singular is added as in Bengali)

- Numbers - ϕ (singular), -ru (plural)
 I plural am- -- ru > amru 'we' II plural- to -- ru > tOru 'you'
 III plural -O- -- ru > Oru 'they'
 Cases - ϕ (nominative), -ke (accusative), -guNu (instrumental),
 -gheNe (ablative) -r (genitive) -gay (locative)

Personal pronominal declensions

- Nominative - ϕ /ami/ 'I' /amru/ 'we' /ti/ 'thee' /tOru/ 'you'
 /u/ 'he/she' /Oru/ 'they'
 Accusative -ke /amke/ 'to me' /amruke/ 'to us' /toke/ 'to thee'
 /tOruke/ 'to you' /uke/ 'to him/her' /Oruke/ 'to them'

Instrumental	-r (genitive) –	guNu		
		/amarguNu/	'by/for me'	/amrurguNu/ 'by/for us'
		/torguNu/	'for/by thee'	/tOrurguNu/ 'by/for you'
		/uar/ or /guNu/	'for/by him/her'	/OrurguNu/ 'for/by them'
Ablative	-r (Genitive) –	gheNe		
		/amargheNe/	'from me'	/amrurgheNe/ 'from us'
		/tOrurgheNe/	'from you'	/uar/or gheNe/ 'from him/her'
		/torgheNe/	'from thee'	/OrurgheNe/ 'from them'
Genitive	-r	amar/	'my'	amru/ 'our
		tor/	'thine'	tOrur/ 'your'
		uar/or/	'his/her'	Orur/ 'their'
Locative	-r –	gay		
		/amargay/	'at me'	/amrurgay/ 'at us' tor gay 'at thee'
		/tOrur gay/	'at you'	/uar/or /gay/ 'at him/her'
		/Orurgay/	'at them'	

Demonstrative

a) Person-specific

	singular	plural
Proximate	/i/ 'this'	/imeNe/ 'thses'
Remote	/u/ 'that'	/umeNe/ 'those'

b) Object-specific

Proximate	/i/ /iTi/ iTa/ 'this'	/iguDi/ isObu/ 'these'
Remote	/u/ uTi/ uTa/ 'that'	/uguDi/ usObu/ 'those'

The bases receive same case markers as of the personal pronouns.

Relative

	singular	plural
Person-specific	/je/ 'who'	/jemeNe/ 'who' (plural)
Object specific	/jeTi/ jeTa/ 'which'	/jesObu/ guDi/ 'which' (plural)

Interrogative

Person-specific	/ke/ 'who'	/kemeNe/ 'who' (plural)
Object-specific	/kiTa/ 'which'	/kisObu/ kiguDi/ 'which' (plural)

The relative and the interrogatives also receive the cases markers of personal pronouns.

Verbs

The verbs may be classified into – auxiliary or substantive verb, finite verb and non-finite verb. The finite verb types have simple and extended formations. The verbs have four tier tenses – present, past, future and conditional; two-tier aspects- imperfect and perfect; two-tier numbers – singular and plural and three tier persons- first, second and third.

Tense markers - ϕ (present) - /- (past) - b- (future) and -t- (conditional)

Aspect markers

Present imperfect- u- – -Th- (substantive)

Present perfect -i- – -Th- (Substantive)

Past/future/conditional imperfect- ϕ (Aspect) – - Tha- (substantive)

Person-number markers

Present

I singular – plural- -i II singular – plural -y III singular – plural -y

Past

I singular – plural – *i* II singular – plural – *O* III singular – plural – *O*

Future

I singular – plural – *o* II singular – *i* II plural – *O* III singular – plural – *e*

Conditional

I singular – plural – *i* II singular – *i* II plural – *O* II plural – III singular – III plural – *e*

In the formation of paradigmatic sets the bases undergo changes as:
ho > *hO* (in present, past, future and conditional tenses)

ha (in the imperfect/perfect of the present, past, future and conditional tenses)

The verb bases either substantive/auxiliary and finite when forming paradigmatic set present the following structural-types.

a) Base – tense marker – person-number markers

b) Base – aspect marker – subsidiary verb marker – tense marker
– person-number marker.

Examples

Present

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – ϕ (tense marker) – *i* (person marker-number marker) 'I am/we are' etc.

Past

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – *L* – *i* 'I was/we were' etc.

Future

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – *b* – (tense marker) – *O* (person marker-number marker) 'I shall be/we shall be' etc.

Conditional

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – *t* – (tense marker) – *i* (person marker-number marker) 'I would be/we would be' etc.

Present imperfect

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – *u* (Imperfect) – *Th* – *Std.O* *ch* – ϕ (Tense-marker) – *i* (person marker-number marker) 'I am being/we are being' etc.

Present perfect

I singular/plural *ho* > *hO* – *i* (perfect) – *Th* – *Std.O* *ch* – ϕ (tense-marker) – *i* 'I have become/we have become' etc.

Past imperfect/perfect

I singular/plural *ho* > *ha* – ϕ (aspect) – *tha* (substantive verb) – *L* (tense marker) – *i* (person marker-number marker)
'I was being/I had become/we were being/we had become'

Future imperfect/perfect

I singular/plural *ho* > *ha* – ϕ (aspect) – *tha* (substantive verb) – *b* (tense marker) – *o* (person marker-number marker) 'I shall have been/I shall have/we shall have been/we shall have become'

Conditional imperfect/perfect

I singular/plural *ho* > *ha* – ϕ (aspect) – *tha* (substantive verb) – *t* (conditional) – *i* 'I would have been/I would have/we would have been/we would have' etc.

The same are the structural types of the finite verbs either of simple or extended categories.

Extended/causative verb-type

- a) -a- > -e- (in I singular/plural before the non-passive pre-stem- *l-ia->-ie*
(non-passive causative verb)

The formation is base -- a- > -e- / -ia->-ie -- tense marker --
person marker-number marker

Example

Present

I singular/plural *kOr-- a- > -e- -- φ-- i* 'I make some one do/ we
make some one to do' etc.

Past (non-passive simple)

I singular/plural -- *kOr-- φ-- de-- L-- i* 'I did/we did'

Non-passive causative

I singular/plural -- *kOr-- ie-- de-- L-- i* 'I made some one to do'
'we made some one to do' etc.

Non-finite type

The non-finite verb types are - infinitive, verbal noun and participle. Below are discussed
the non-finite types-

Infinitive -ba <Std.O ba

<i>/kOrbol/</i>	'to do'	<i>/khebol/</i>	'to eat'	<i>/Deĩbol/</i>	'to jump'
<i>/asbol/</i>	'to come'	<i>/soibol/</i>	'to sleep'	<i>/jabol/</i>	'to go' etc.

Verbal noun -bar < Std.O -ba

<i>/khorjbar/</i>	'searching'	<i>/asbar/</i>	'coming'	<i>/kOrbar/</i>	'doing'
<i>/pibar/</i>	'drinking'	<i>/gadhbar/</i>	'bathing'	etc.	

Participle: participles are of three types. These are

Present participle- te

/ami hāTte hāTte aLi/ 'I came on foot'
/jate jate beL caLigOLO/ 'while going it became sunset'

Past participle:- -ia, -iya

/Taka pheriya diO/ 'return the money'
/u jharkaru pODiya gOLO/ 'he fell down from the window'
/jhODOjOgu DongaguDa bhusuDia gOLO/ 'boats drawnd due to storm'

Conditional participle: -Le

/sOmOygOLe u asube/ 'he will come in time'
/u asLe ami jabol/ 'I shall go if he comes'

TRIBAL DIALECTS OF ORIYA

M. K. Koul

Since many tribal groups inhabit the state of Orissa where Oriya language is used as a majority language, it is but natural that these tribal groups adopt a variety of Oriya language as second language for their wider contacts as a result of linguistic acculturation and consequently a number of dialects of Oriya language as spoken by the tribal groups could be discerned and described. In this section, an attempt has been made to present a brief description of the various tribal dialects of Oriya that have been identified for the present study. The tribal dialects of Oriya that have been described here are 1. Kandha dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Kalahandi, 2. Dal dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Kalahandi, 3. Sahara/ Soara dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Sambalpur, 4. Binjal dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Sambalpur, 5. Sabar dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Balangir, 6. Sabar dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Kalahandi and 7. Gondo dialect of Oriya as spoken in the district of Sambalpur. The list of the tribal dialects identified in the present survey may not be the exhaustive one.

The brief description of these tribal dialects gives a glimpse of the cross section of the tribal population speaking the dialect of Oriya in question, along with a brief sketch on their phonology and morphology. The phonology and morphology of each of the tribal dialects of Oriya are compared with that of standard Oriya and the identifiable characteristics, phonological and morphological features which distinguish the dialects from the Oriya standard are described in this section. Syntax has not been included in this description owing to the fact that no distinctive feature of tribal Oriya could be identified.

Kandha (Kalahandi) Phonology

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|----------------------------|
| 1. | Loss of the final vowel / O / | <i>pObOnO</i> <i>pObOn</i>
<i>akasO</i> <i>akas</i> | 'air'
'sky' |
| 2. | Apposition of / o > u / | <i>oTO</i> <i>uT</i>
<i>golapi</i> <i>gulapi</i> | 'camel'
'rosy' |
| 3. | Apposition of / N > n / | <i>cOTONi</i> <i>COTni</i>
<i>LuNO</i> <i>mun</i> | 'chutney'
'salt' |
| 4. | Apposition of / L > l / | <i>SOLa</i> <i>SOLa</i>
<i>beLO</i> <i>bel</i> | 'wife's brother'
'time' |
| 5. | Apposition of / R > D / | <i>goRi</i> <i>guDi</i>
<i>kukuRa</i> <i>kukDa</i> | 'pebble'
'chicken' |
| 6. | Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic | <i>putura</i> <i>putra</i>
<i>pOtOLA</i> <i>pOla</i> | 'nephew'
'lean' |
| 7. | Homorganic cluster | <div style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Ne → VC</div> <i>kOnkORa</i> <i>KÔKra</i>
<i>dantO</i> <i>dât</i> | 'crab'
'tooth' |
| 8. | Metathetic change of vowels | <i>maTi</i> <i>maeT</i>
<i>khadyO</i> <i>khaed</i> | 'clay'
'diet' |

Morphology

Nouns

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Accusative case is marked by / ke / | <i>gOrke</i> 'to the home' | <i>Tukil ke</i> 'to the girl' |
| 2. | Locative case is marked by / thi / | <i>gâthi</i> 'in the village' | |
| 3. | Ablative case is marked by / nu / | <i>gOchnu</i> 'from the tree' | <i>iskulnu</i> 'from the school' |

Verbs

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | Non definite in present tense is marked by / s / | <i>mul kOrsi</i> 'I do' <i>ame kOrsû</i> 'we do' |
| 2. | In present tense non-definite, first person singular is marked by / i / | <i>mui kOrsi</i> 'I do' <i>ame kOrthisi</i> 'I am in habit of doing' |
| 3. | First person singular in present definite is / e / | <i>mui kOru che</i> 'I am doing' |

1. *mui kOri che* 'I have done'
/ l / is the past tense marker
mui kOli 'I did'
ame kOlu 'we did'
5. */ b /* is the future tense marker
tOme kOrbO 'you will do'
tui kOrbi 'you will do'
6. In future tense, first person is marked by */ m /*
ame kOrmu 'we will do'
7. Conditional tense marker is */ t /*
mui kOrti 'I would do'
ame kOrtu 'we would do'

Dal (Kalahandi)

Phonology

1. Loss of the final vowel */ O /*
surjyO *surOj* 'sun'
lokO *lok* 'people'
2. Apposition of */ u > o /*
koRi *kueD* 'spade'
Doli *duel* 'swing'
3. Apposition of */ N > n /*
kirON *kirOn* 'ray'
pheNa *phen* 'hood'
4. Apposition of */ L > l /*
baLO *bal* 'hair'
laLO *lal* 'saliva'
5. Apposition of */ R > D /*
buRha *buDha* 'old man'
ghoRa *ghuDa* 'horse'
6. Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic
kOlja *kOlja* 'liver'
papuli *papli* 'palm'
7. Homorganic cluster $N_1 \rightarrow \tilde{V}C$
bhuml *bhūi* 'earth'
kOnkORa *kŌkra* 'crab'
8. Metathetic change of vowels
culi *cuel* 'oven'
rasi *raes* 'linseed'

Morphology

Nouns

1. Accusative case is marked by / ke /
ghOr ke 'to the home'
iskul ke 'to the school'
2. Ablative case is marked by / nu /
gOch nu 'from the tree'
baT nu 'from the road'

Verbs

1. Non definite in present tense is marked by / s /
mui kOrsī 'I do'
ame kors ū 'we do'
2. In present tense, first person singular is marked by / ē /
mui kOrī chē 'I have done'
3. Plural and honorific is marked by / On /
kOrOn 'do'
4. Conditional tense marker is / i /
mui kOrī 'I would do'
ame kOrū 'we would do'
5. Past tense is marked by / l /
mui kOlī 'I did'
tui kOrlu 'you did'
6. Future tense is marked by / b /
tui kOrbu 'you will do'
tOme kOrba 'you will do'
7. In future tense, first person is marked by / m /
mui kOrmī 'I will do'
ame kOrmū 'we will do'

Sahara / Saora (Sambalpur)

Phonology

1. Loss of the final vowel / O /
akasO *akas* 'sky'
OndharO *Ondhar* 'darkness'
2. Apposition of / o > u /
goRi *guDhi* 'pebble'
botOl *butOl* 'bottle'
3. Apposition of / N > n /
thONDa *thOnDa* 'cold'
paNi *pani* 'water'
4. Apposition of / L > l /
pOtOLa *pOtla* 'thin'
neuLO *neul* 'mongoose'
5. Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic
upOre *upre* 'on'

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 6. | Homorganic cluster | N C → Vc | |
| | <i>bhumi</i> | <i>bhūi</i> | 'earth' |
| | <i>thONTO</i> | <i>thŌT</i> | 'beak' |
| 7. | Metathetic change of vowels | | |
| | <i>akhi</i> | <i>ækh</i> | 'eye' |
| | <i>kali</i> | <i>kael</i> | 'yesterday' |

Morphology

Nouns

1. Accusative case is marked by / *ke* /

<i>pila ke</i>	'to the boy'
<i>ghOr ke</i>	'to the house'
2. Ablative case is marked by / *nu* /

<i>gānu</i>	'from the village'
<i>ghOr nu</i>	'from the house'
3. Locative case is marked by / *thi* /

<i>jOmīthi</i>	'in the field'
<i>gā thi</i>	'in the village'

Verbs

1. Non definite in present tense is marked by / *s* /

<i>muī</i>	<i>kOrsī</i>	'I do'
<i>ame</i>	<i>kOrsū</i>	'we do'
2. In present tense non definite, first person is marked by / *i* /

<i>muī</i>	<i>kOrsī</i>	'I do'
<i>muī</i>	<i>kOru this</i>	'I am in habit of doing'
3. In present definite, first person is marked by / *ē* /

<i>muī</i>	<i>kOri chē</i>	'I have done'
<i>muī</i>	<i>kOruchē</i>	'I am doing'
4. Past tense is marked by / *l* /

<i>mul</i>	<i>kOrli</i>	'I did'
<i>ame</i>	<i>kOrlū</i>	'we did'
5. Future tense is marked by / *b* /

<i>se</i>	<i>kOrba</i>	'he will do'
<i>tume</i>	<i>kOrbO</i>	'you will do'
6. In future tense, first person is marked by / *m* /

<i>muī</i>	<i>kOrmi</i>	'I will do'
<i>ame</i>	<i>kOrmu</i>	'we will do'
7. Plural and honorific is marked by / *On* /

<i>semane</i>	<i>kOrOn</i>	'they do'
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8. Conditional tense is marked by / *t* /

<i>mul</i>	<i>kOrti</i>	'I would do'
<i>ame</i>	<i>kOrtū</i>	'we would do'

Binjhal (Sambalpur)

Phonology

1. Loss of the final vowel / O /
sOnDhO *sOnD* 'bull'
goRO *goD* 'leg'
2. Apposition of / O > u /
koil *kuil* 'cuckoo'
botOl *butOl* 'bottle'
3. Apposition of / N > n /
nONondO *nondO* 'husband's sister'
DeNa *Dena* 'wing'
4. Apposition of / L > l /
cheLi *chel* 'goat'
baLO *bal* 'hair'
5. Apposition of / R > D /
goRi *guDhi* 'pebble'
sOROkO *sODOk* 'road'
6. Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic
sOmudhi *sOmdhi* 'daughter-in-law's father'
hOLOdi *hOldi* 'turmeric powder'
7. Homorganic cluster NC → VC
banti *bāti* 'vomit'
Dhenki *Dhēki* 'pestle'
8. Metathetic change of vowels
bal *bael* 'sand'
hanDi *haeD* 'cooking pot'

Morphology

Nouns

1. Accusative case is marked by / ke /
iskul ke 'to the school'
gOch ke 'to the tree'
2. Ablative case is marked by / nu /
iskulnu 'from the school'
goch nu 'from the tree'
3. Locative case is marked by / thi /
gā thi 'in the village'
uT thi 'in the field'

Verbs

1. Non definite in present tense is marked by / s /
mui kOrsī 'I do'
ame kOrsū 'we do'
2. In present tense, first person singular is marked by / i /
mui kOrsi 'I do'
mui kOrthisi 'I am in habit of doing'
3. In present definite, first person singular is marked by / e /
mui kOru chē 'I am doing'
mui kOr chē 'I have done'
4. / On / is the plural and honorific marker
OchOn 'are'
kOrOn 'do'
5. Conditional tense marker is / t /
mui kOrti 'I would do'
ame kOrtu 'we would do'
6. Future tense marker is / b /
mui kOrbu 'I shall do'
7. Past tense is marked by / l /
mui kOrlī 'I did'
ame kOrlū 'we did'
8. First person in future tense is marked by / m /
mui kOrmī 'I will do'
ame kOrmū 'we will do'

Gondo(Sambalpur) Phonology

1. Loss of the final vowel / O /
OndharO *Ondhar* 'darkness'
sOkalO *sOkal* 'morning'
2. Apposition of / o > u /
lokO *luk* 'people'
Topi *Tupi* 'cap'
3. Apposition of / N > n /
ruNO *run* 'debt'
jaN *jan* 'know'
4. Apposition of / L > l /
DaLO *Dal* 'branch'
cauLO *caul* 'rice'
5. Apposition of / R > D /
kuhuRi *kuhuDi* 'fog'
buRha *buDha* 'old man'

6. Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic
cOTONi *cOTni* 'chutney'
pOgORi *pOgDi* 'turban'
7. Metathetic change of vowels
maTi *maeT* 'clay'
dhuli *dhuel* 'dust'

Morphology

Nouns

1. Accusative case is marked by / *ke* /
iskul ke 'to the school'
pila ke 'to the boy'
2. Locative case is marked by / *thi* /
jOmin thi 'in the field'
gā thi 'in the village'
3. Ablative case is marked by / *nu* /
gOch nu 'from the tree'
iskul nu 'from the school'

Verbs

1. Non definite in present tense is marked by / *s* /
mui kOrsī 'I do'
ame kOrsū 'we do'
2. First person singular in present non definite is marked by / *i* /
mui kOrsī 'I do'
mai kOruthisī 'I am in habit of doing'
3. First person singular in present definite is marked by / *ē* /
mui kOri chē 'I have done'
mui kOru cheē 'I am doing'
4. Past tense is marked by / *l* /
mui kOli 'I did'
ame kOlū 'we did'
5. Future tense is marked by / *b* / but first person in future tense is marked by / *m* /
mui kOrmī 'I will do'
ame kOrmū 'we will do'
6. Conditional tense is marked by / *t* /
mui kOrtī 'I would do'
ame kOrtū 'we would do'
7. / *nO* / functions as an auxiliary when negative / *nai* / occurs word finally.
iTa bhOl kOtha nainO 'these are not good things'
iTa khaihar nainO 'this is not worth eating'

Gondo tribal speakers have some 'tribe specific' features at phonological level. The features mentioned as "tribe specific" are not present in any other tribal dialects.

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | $d \rightarrow t$ | <i>dOrOdO</i> | <i>dOrOt</i> | 'pain' |
| 2. | $R \rightarrow r$ | <i>cuRa</i>
<i>kuRia</i> | <i>cura</i>
<i>kuria</i> | 'fluffed rice'
'hut' |
| 3. | $g \rightarrow k$ | <i>sagO</i>
<i>ragO</i> | <i>sak</i>
<i>rak</i> | 'leafy vegetable'
'anger' |
| 4. | $b \rightarrow p$ | <i>nib</i>
<i>mOtIOb</i> | <i>nip</i>
<i>mOtIOp</i> | 'nib'
'intention' |
| 5. | Aspirates become unaspirated | <i>sukhO</i>
<i>randhO</i> | <i>suk</i>
<i>rand</i> | 'comfort'
'cooking' |

Sabar (Bolangir) Phonology

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | Loss of the final vowel / O / | <i>sangO</i>
<i>lokO</i> | <i>sang</i>
<i>lok</i> | 'friend'
'people' |
| 2. | Apposition of / o > u / | <i>goRO</i>
<i>moja</i> | <i>guD</i>
<i>muja</i> | 'leg'
'socks' |
| 3. | Apposition of / N > n / | <i>luNO</i>
<i>buN</i> | <i>nun</i>
<i>bun</i> | 'salt'
'knit' |
| 4. | Apposition of / L > l / | <i>caulO</i> <i>caul</i>
<i>phOLO</i> | <i>caul</i>
<i>phOl</i> | 'rice'
'fruit' |
| 5. | Apposition of / R > O / | <i>goRi</i>
<i>sORu</i> | <i>guDi</i>
<i>sODU</i> | 'pebble'
'wife's sister's husband' |
| 6. | Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic | <i>putura</i> <i>putra</i>
<i>khOpuri</i> | <i>putra</i>
<i>khupri</i> | 'nephew'
'skull' |
| 7. | Homorganic cluster NC $\rightarrow$ VC | <i>bhumi</i>
<i>hOnsO hÔs</i> | <i>bhūi</i>
<i>hOns</i> | 'earth'
'swan' |
| 8. | Metathetic change of vowels | <i>maTi</i>
<i>rati</i> | <i>maeT</i>
<i>raet</i> | 'clay'
'night' |

Morphology

Nouns

1. Accusative case is marked by / ke /
 ghOrke 'to the house'
 jhike 'to the daughter'

Verbs

1. Non definite in present tense is marked by / s /
 mui kOrsī 'I do'
 ame kOrsū 'we do'
2. In present tense, first person singular is marked by / i /
 mui kOrsī 'I do'
 ame kOrthisī 'I am in habit of doing'
3. Plural and honorific is marked by / On /
 kOrOn 'do'
4. Conditional tense marker is / t /
 mui kOrtī 'I would do'
 ame kOrtū 'we would do'
5. Past tense is marked by / l /
 mui kOlī 'I did'
 ame kOlū 'we did'
6. Future tense is marked by / b /
 tui kOrbi 'you will do'
7. In future tense, first person is marked by / m /
 mui kOrmī 'I shall do'
 ame kOrmū 'we shall do'

Sabar (Kalahandi)

Phonology

1. Loss of the final vowel / O /
 meghO *meg* 'sky'
 kakOrO *kakOr* 'dew'
2. Apposition of / O > u /
 sosO *susO* 'thirsty'
 dhoti *dhuti* 'dhoti'
3. Apposition of / N > n /
 ukuNi *ukhun* 'body louse'
 DeNa *Dena* 'wing'
4. Apposition of / L > l /
 beLO *bel* 'time'
 baLO *bal* 'hair'
5. Apposition of / R > D /
 kuhuRi *kuhuDi* 'fog'

- | | | | |
|----|--|---------------|-----------|
| | <i>buRha</i> | <i>buDha</i> | 'old man' |
| 6. | Trisyllabic words change to disyllabic | | |
| | <i>kheLONa</i> | <i>khelna</i> | 'toy' |
| | <i>pOgORi</i> | <i>pagDi</i> | 'turban' |
| 7. | Homorganic cluster NC → VC | | |
| | <i>bhumi</i> | <i>bhūi</i> | 'earth' |
| | <i>hOnsO</i> | <i>hŌs</i> | 'swam' |
| 8. | Metathetic change of vowels | | |
| | <i>rati</i> | <i>raet</i> | 'night' |
| | <i>nOdi</i> | <i>nOed</i> | 'stream' |

Morphology

Nouns

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Accusative case is marked by / ke / | |
| | <i>iskul ke</i> | 'to the school' |
| | <i>pila ke</i> | 'to the boy' |
| 2. | Ablative case is marked by / nu / | |
| | <i>ghOr nu</i> | 'from the house' |
| | <i>jOngOl nu</i> | 'from the forest' |

Verbs

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | Non definite in present tense is marked by / s / | |
| | <i>mui kOrsī</i> | 'I do' |
| | <i>ame kOrsū</i> | 'we do' |
| 2. | In present tense, first person singular is marked by / i / | |
| | <i>mui kOrsī</i> | 'I do' |
| | <i>mui kOru thisī</i> | 'I am in habit of doing' |
| 3. | First person singular in present definite is / e / | |
| | <i>mui kOrucē</i> | 'I am doing' |
| | <i>mui kOricē</i> | 'I have done' |
| 4. | Plural and honorific are marked by / On / | |
| | <i>kOrOn</i> | 'do-you' (pl./hon. sg.) |
| 5. | Conditional tense is marked by / t / | |
| | <i>mui kOrtī</i> | 'I would do' |
| | <i>ame kOrtū</i> | 'we would do' |
| 6. | Past tense is marked by / l / | |
| | <i>mul kOlī</i> | 'I did' |
| | <i>ame kOlū</i> | 'we did' |
| 7. | Future tense is marked by / b / | |
| | <i>tui kOrbu</i> | 'you will do' (singular) |
| | <i>tOme kOrbO</i> | 'you will do' (plural) |
| 8. | In future tense, first person plural is marked by / m / | |
| | <i>ame kOrmū</i> | 'we will do' |

COMPARATIVE LEXICAL ITEMS OF ORIYA LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

While presenting the various words in this comparative list, the following order has been maintained.

1-51	cover words relating to natural objects.
52-130	cover words relating to kinship terms etc.
131-198	cover words relating to birds and animals etc.
199-281	cover words relating to body parts.
282-479	cover words relating to foods, agricultural and household items etc.
480-521	cover words relating to profession and related items.
522-532	cover words relating to transport modes etc.
533-578	cover words relating to sense perceptions, feelings etc.
579-587	cover words relating to education.
588-597	cover words relating to war etc.
598-610	cover words relating to law.
611-619	cover words relating to festivals and rituals.
620-636	cover words relating to sports, games, entertainments etc.
637-644	cover words relating to metals.
645-666	cover words relating to numerals.
667-886	cover words relating to physical activities, actions etc.
887-932	cover words relating to adjectives.
933-1013	cover words relating to adverbs, particles and miscellaneous.

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatari	Desia	Reih
Nouns						
1	air	pObOnO, hawo	pObOn	dhaka, lehera	pObOn	ba
2	ashes	pasO	khar	char, rakLi	Cu-r	pasO
3	bank of river	nGi kuLO	nGdi khOeD	nGdi khOnDi	nGdikad	roDu
4	cloud	meghO	badOl	bOdri, badri	me:gh	megO
5	cold	thOnDa	kakOr	sitOr, ThOnDa	kakOr	kakOro
6	darkness	OndharO	Ōdhar	andhar	adar	andarO, daTTumila
7	cyclone	jhORO, bOtasO	JhOD bOtas	khube lehera	daka	tupen (i)
8	dawn	bhor	bhor	bhor	sOkal	horu
9	dew	kakOrO	kakOr	kakOr	bOrOp	mancu
10	dust	dhulI	dhuel	dhuli	duli	duli
11	earth	pruthibi	pruthi	dheOrti	bul, dOrti	bi
12	earthquake	bhumikOmpO	bhumikOmp	bhuikOmp	bulikOmp	bukampo
13	eclipse	grOhONO	gOrhOn	gOrhOn	gOrOn	graOmumu
14	fire	niā	juw	juā, agi	ugi, Joe	nia
15	flood	nCihORhi, bOnya	bODhi	bODhi	bODi	voridhu
16	fog	kahuRi	kahuDi	kahuDi	kau:Di	mancu
17	forest	bONO, jOMgOLO	Jhar	Jhar, khOmOn	JONGOl, bO:n	bOno kOmOn
18	ground	pORia	pODia	pODia	hul	bi
19	hail	kuapOthOrO	kOra	kOra	pOkna	vaDgudhu
20	heat	gOrOm	gOrOm	tOpit, tOpla	gOrOm	tatahu
21	high-tide	JuarO	Juar	Juar	Juar	kerTahu
22	hill	pahaRO	pahaD, Durgri	Durgri	Dongri	porto
23	ice	bOrOphO	bOrOph	bOrOp	bOrOp	aisu
24	island	divipO, cORa	kud	kud	ku:d	divipOnu

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatrl	Desia	Belli
25	lake	hrOdO,dOhO	hOrOd	hOrOd	bO:nd	oddo
26	low-tide	bhOTa	bhOTa	bhOTa	bOTa	saunikerTahu
27	path	baTO,pOthO	baT	baT	ba:T	baTTo
28	moon	cOndrO,jOnhO	jOn	JOn	JO:n	cOndruDu
29	moss	siuLi	siuli	siuli	pepia	sulli
30	mountain	pOrhOtO	pOrbOt	Dongri	paa:d	hoDo porto
31	rain	bOrsa	bOrsa	bOrsa	bOrsu	pani varasa
32	rainbow	indrOdihOnu	indrOdihOnu	indOrdihOnu	indOrlaTi	innOr dOnsu
33	river	nOi, nOdi	nOed	nOdi	nodi	noi, nadi
34	road	sOROkO,rasta	sODOk	sODOk	sODOk	roDu
35	sand	bali	bael	bali	bali	balli
36	sea	sOmudro	sOmudrO	sOmudrO	sOmudrO	boDDO nadi
37	sky	akasO	akgs	akas, sOrOg	agar	meego
38	snow	bOrOphO	bOrOph	bOrOp	bOrOp	aisu
39	star	tara	tOra	tara	tara	cukka
40	stone	pOthOrO	pOthOr	pOkhOn	pOkna	potoro
41	storm	jhORO	gOreladhuka, dhukaObOn	khube lehera	duka	tupani
42	sun	surjyO	suruj	ber	be:l	suryuDu
43	swamp	sOntOsOntiajaga	Dorha	Dobra	oda	oddo
44	thunder	ghOROGhORI	ghODghODi	ghODghODi	boJOr	gODDogODDo
45	water	paNi	paen	pani	pani	pani
46	wave	lOhORi Dheu	lOhODa	lOhOra, Dheu	lee:ra	kerTamu
47	weather	pagO	pag	pag	pa:g	vatavOrnamu
48	whirlwind	bhOuri pObOnO, ghurNibatya	bhOuri pObOn	ghurni lehera	lee:ra,tOnDia	bOuriha
49	whirlpool	DOOra,bhOuri	bhOuri	ghurni	bOuri	suri

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
50	wind	pObOnO	pObOn	lehera	paben	ba
51	wood	kaThO	kaTh	kaTh, JOkDi	daru	kaTTo, cakka
52	ancestors	purbO purusO	purkha	purkha	purka	purnamOmso/man ama
53	baby	KOLa, pila, chua	chua	nOna/nOni	pila	sanry pilla
54	bachelor	ObaRua	juan	dhangra	dangra	bia nihaiTa
55	boy	pila	pila	pila	pila	korra
56	bride	bohru	kOnia	baele	kOnia	biyo tilrapilla
57	bridegroom	jOr	bOr	dula, momus	bOr	biyo korro
58	brother- elder	bhaina	dOda	dada	dada	dada
59	brother-younger	bhai	bhae	bhai	nana	bai
60	brother-in-law	sOLa	sOla	sala	suara(e), sala(y)	bave(e), sOLa(y)
61	brother's wife	bhaijO (elder), bhaibohru(younger)	bOhi	bOhi	suara (e), bai (y)	bava(e), sOLa(y)
62	child	pila	chua	nOni, nOna	pila, nuna	pilla, sannu, pilla
63	co-wife	sOutuNi	sOuten	sOutuni	sOutuni	sOutini
64	daughter	jhiO	jhi	beTi, Toki	nuni, Ji	jO
65	daughter-in-law	bohru	bOhiO	bOhi	buari	bu
66	daughter-in-law's father	sOmdhi	sOmdhi	sOmdhi	sOmdDi	sodi
67	daughter-in-law's mother	sOmdhuNi	sOmdhen	bOhin, didi	sOmdOni	sodi
68	father	bapa	bua	bua	bapa	hO
69	father's brother - elder	dOdei	bOba	bODE bua	bOD bapa	boDobO
70	father's brother- younger	kOkei	kOka	kaka	CoT bapa	dadda
71	father's sister- elder	pisi	nOna	ata	ata	minOtta
72	father's sister- younger	nani	phuphu	phuphu	pupu	
73	father-in-law	sOsarO	sOsar	sOsar, mama	sOsar	sasa, mamu
74	female	maipO, stri	mai/jhi	baele	maikina	tilra, telra

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
75	friend	sangO, bOndhu	sang	sanguar	sa:ng	jaTTa
76	girl	jhiOpila	Tukel	Toki	nuni	jilra pilla, telra pilla
77	grand daughter	naiuNi	naten	natin	natuni	natini
78	grand father	Oja	Oja	doda(FF) OJa(MF)	dada	lata
79	grand mother	ai	ai	ayi(FM), kakO(MM)	aba	avi
80	grandson	nati	nati	nati	nati	nati
81	husband	ghOita	bOv	mOnus	manix	gOyta
82	husband's brother (e)	deRhOsOsuro	deDhsOsar	JeThsOsura	sOsar	bava
83	husband's brother (y)	diOrO	diOr	deur	diOr	derO
84	husband's brother's wife	ja	jeThen(e) deren(y)	JeThani, dewrani	Ja, JeTani	ja
85	husband's sister	nONOnO	deDhsur, nOnOd	did, bOhin	did, bOuni, bOni	boDoma, sauma
86	husband's sister's husband	nONOndei	nOndei	nOnOnO	nOnOndei	dada
87	male	mOrOdO, purusO	Örra	anDra	OnDra	mOnusO/ manama, vonra
88	man	mONisO	lok	mOnux, mane	manix	mOnusO, manauce
89	marriage	bahaghOrO/bibha	biha	biha	biha	bia
90	maternal aunt	maĩ	mai	ata	mai	menOtta, mami
91	maternal uncle	mamu	mamu	mama	mamu	mama
92	maternal uncle's son	mamupuO	mamupo	bhai	bai	bai
93	maternal uncle's daughter	mamujhiO	mamujhi	bOhin	bOuni, bOni	jo
94	mother	ma, bOu	ma	aya	ma, aya	ma
95	mother's sister	mausi	mOusi	mOusi	mausi	boDoma, samma
96	mother-in-law	sasu	sav	sOtra	sasu	sasu
97	nephew	putura	putra	bubeTa	bainJa	potropo
98	niece	jhiari	jhiari	bubeTi	bainJi	potrojO
99	old man	buRha	buDhalok	buDha	buDa	monra, buDDa, mOnuxO

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reili
100	old woman	buRhi	buDhilok	buDhi	buDi	montri, buDDo venTa
101	father's brother's wife(e)	jeThei	bOhu,	bODma,	kaki	bOTTama
102	Father's brother's wife(y)	khuRi	bhaebOhO	kaki	kaDi	sanma
103	person	jONO, lokO	lok	lok	lo:g	loku
104	tall	Denga(m) Dengi(f)	Denga(m) Dengi(f)	Denga(m) Dengi(f)	Denga(m) Dengi(f)	Denga
105	lean	pOrOLa (m), patLi (f)	patla (m), patli (f)	patla (m), patli (f)	patla (m), patli (f)	soru
106	fat	moTa (m), moTi (f)	bhuska(m), bhuski (f)	bhuska(m), buski (f)	bushka(m), buski(f)	dubka
107	dumb	kenda jORa(m), kendi jaRi(f)	kanda(m), kundi (f)	kOnda(m), kundi (f)	kOnda jODa(m), kundi, jODi(f)	picaTa(m), picinTi(f)
108	deaf-mute	kala (m), kalaNi (f)	bhOera(m), bhOeri (f)	bhOira(m), bhOiri (f)	kala(m), kaluni(f)	sevuduTa(m), sevudinTi (f)
109	stammerer	khOna (m), khOni (f)	tutra(m), tutri (f)	thOtra(m), thOtri (f)	roTla(m), roTi (f)	totra (m), totrinTi (f)
110	cripple	choTa (m), choTi (f)	lengDa(m), lengDi (f)	lengDa(m), lengDi (f)	CsuTa(m), CsuTi(f)	soTaTa(m), soTTinTi (f)
111	hunchback	kujā (m), kujī (f)	kujā (m), kujī (f)	kuba(m), kubi (f)	kubDa(m), kubDi(f)	guniTa(m), guninTi (f)
112	eunuch	maica, mahia	maica, gōDia	gōDia	beJu	adari
113	blind	Onuho(m), OnuhuNi (f)	kOna(m), kani (f)	kOna(m), kani (f)	Onda(m), Onduni(f)	andO(m), andinTi (f)
114	pregnant woman	peTri maikina	peTri majhi	peTri baele	PeTri maikina	peTTinTi
115	sister	nani(e), Ora bhOni (y)	nani(e), bOhen (y)	didi(e), bOhin (y)	bOni(e), bOni(y)	appa (e), baini (y)
116	sister-in-law	deRhOsasu (e), sali (y)	deDhsas(e), sali (y)	susra(e), sali (y)	susra(e), sali(y)	bava (e), sali (y)
117	son	puO	puo	beTa	po	po
118	son-in-law	jōi	juē	Jūe	Jūi	joi
119	step son	sabOtO puO	sant puo	sOut beTa	sOutunipo	mareTio
120	step mother	sabOtOma	sāotima	sOuti aya	sOutunima/aya	mareTima
121	step brother	sabOtObhai	sāut bhae	sOut bhai	sOutuni bai	mareTi bai
122	step sister	sabOtO bhOni	sāuti bOhen	sOutibOhin	sOutuni buOni	mareTi jo
123	twin	jāāLa	jōOla	Jāala	JODua	kaval pillane

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatari	Desia	Rehli
124	widow	bidhOba, ranDO	ranDi	ranDi	ranDi	ranDiTa
125	wife	maipO	maijhi	baele	maikina	naipO
126	wife's brother	sOLa	bODsOla(e), sOla (y)	dada(e), sala (y)	sucra(e), sala(y)	unine (e), sOla (y)
127	wife's sister	saLi	deDhsas(e), sali (y)	susra(e), sali(y)	sali	udine (e), sali (y)
128	wife's sister's husband	sORu	sODhu	sODu	sODhu	saDu (e), bai (y)
129	woman	maikina	maijhi	baele	maijhi	tilra pilla
130	young	juan (H)	juan (H/NH)	dhagra (H, NH)	dagra	sani, pillane
131	animal - tame	pOsu	pOsu-pusa	posu, pusa	pOsu-puse,	poso
132	animal - wild	bONua	jOngli	JOngli	bOnua	bOnua
133	unt	pimpuri	caTi	CaTi	pimpudi	pipDi
134	ass	gOdho	gOdho	gOdho	gOdO	gOdo
135	beast	jOntu	pOsu	pOsu	pOsu	jOntu
136	bedbug	charOpokO	uDus	Dhekun	oDis	nalu
137	bird	pOkkhi, cORhei	cOrei	CzDe	COrei	paksi, paci, cellaka
138	bitch	kuti, mai kukurO	mai kukur	mai kutri	mai kukur	tilra kukoro
139	buffalo - he,	pONDa	poD	pOD	po.D	gede-onra
140	buffalo - she,	mOisi	bhOes	bhOis	bOisi	tilra
141	bull	sONDho	sOD	saND, bood	sO-nD	abaTu, seNDu
142	butterfly	peOjapOti	peTpOnia	phirphiri	pirpiri	picika
143	calf	bachari	bacha, bachi	baCa, baCi	baCa, baCi	denDa(m), peya(f)
144	cat	bilei	bilei	bilei	bilei	billi
145	chameleon	eNDuO	TenTa	tenTa	tenTa	enDieO sappO
146	claw	pOnjha	papli	papuli	papli	panjo
147	cock	gOnja	gOnja	gOnja	gOnja	gOnja
148	cobra's hood	pheNa	gukhrapen	phen	pe.n	paDaga

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
149	cow	gai	gae	gai	gaigOra	gayi
150	crab	kOnkOra	kÔkra	kÔnkra	kÔkDa	kongDa
151	dog	kukurO	kukur	kutra	kukur	kukoro
152	dragonfly	kOnki	DhOnDhONa machi	DhODha maChi	DasOmaCi, pani maCi	nattalu
153	earthworm	jia	kecua	kzCua	keCua	jia
154	egg	ONDa, DimbO	ÔDa, gOra	ONDa, gar	ga:r, ODa	Dimma
155	feather	pOrO	pÔekh	pÔkh	pÔ:k, pOrO	punka
156	fish	machO	jhuri	mae	ma:C	macco
157	fly	machi	machi	maCi	maCi	macci duoma
158	fox	kokisiaLi	kuliha	kuliha	bilua	nakka, gunTanakka
159	goat	cheli	chel	bakam, Cheli	Celi	mekka
160	grasshopper	jhiNTika	TÔDheipok	TeTenga	JiTika	jITka poka
161	grease	cOrbi	cOrbi	COrbi	COrbi	cOrbi, maska
162	guts	OntOnaLi/naRi	OntOnaDi	OntOnaRi	OntOnaDi	OntOnaRi
163	hen	maikakuRa	kakra	maikakra	kakDa	koDO peTTo
164	honeybee	mOhumachi	mOhumachi	mOhumaci	mOumaCi	telitiga
165	hoof	khura	khura	khura	kura	kara
166	horn	singO	sing	sing	si:ng	singo
167	hornet	biruRi	TêkOr	TekOr	têkOr	dimalagunDi
168	horse	ghoRa	ghuDa	ghoDa	goDa	gODO
169	jackal	bilua	kuliha	kuliha	bilua	gunTanakka
170	kingfisher	machOrOnka	machrenka	macrÔka	maCbOga	konga
171	leech	jokO	jÔkh	Jôk	jÔ:k	jOIOga
172	lion	singho	sing	sing	si:ng	simham

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
173	lizard	<i>jhiTipi(Ti (house), godhi (brownish), (poisonous)</i>	<i>jhirpiTi, godi</i>	<i>JhiTpiT, gOi</i>	<i>JiTipiTi, goi</i>	<i>jirpiti, gOdi</i>
174	louse	<i>uku'vi</i>	<i>uken</i>	<i>uken, Dhekun</i>	<i>gOira</i>	<i>ukini</i>
175	mare	<i>ghaRi, mai ghoRa</i>	<i>ghuDi</i>	<i>ghoDi</i>	<i>goDi</i>	<i>mayi gOdo</i>
176	mongoose	<i>neulO</i>	<i>neulamusa</i>	<i>neulmusa</i>	<i>neul</i>	<i>mingisu</i>
177	monkey	<i>mankORO</i>	<i>mākOr</i>	<i>mākOr</i>	<i>mākOD</i>	<i>koti</i>
178	mosquito	<i>mOsa</i>	<i>gūDla</i>	<i>mOsa</i>	<i>mOsa</i>	<i>dhvama, mOsa</i>
179	mouse	<i>musa</i>	<i>musa, gatua</i>	<i>musa, gatua</i>	<i>musu</i>	<i>musu</i>
180	nest	<i>bOsa</i>	<i>guDa</i>	<i>gudu, khOia</i>	<i>guDu</i>	<i>guDu</i>
181	owl	<i>peca</i>	<i>peca</i>	<i>peCa</i>	<i>peC(a)</i>	<i>guDla goba</i>
182	pigeon	<i>para</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>paruva</i>
183	pincer leg (crab)	<i>kOnkORa gaRO</i>	<i>kōkra dar</i>	<i>kōkra dar</i>	<i>kōkDa da:r</i>	<i>kOnkaDa goDDa</i>
184	python	<i>OjOgOrO</i>	<i>buDhasap, OjgOr</i>	<i>buDha sāp</i>	<i>oJgOr</i>	<i>kOnDasilva, sappO</i>
185	scorpion	<i>kOnkORabicha</i>	<i>kōTia</i>	<i>konTia</i>	<i>kOTia</i>	<i>telu</i>
186	snail	<i>geNDa (round) samuka (bivalve)</i>	<i>genDa (round) ghuli (bi-value)</i>	<i>kuren, ghuli</i>	<i>genDa, samuka</i>	<i>genDa, natta</i>
187	snake	<i>sapO</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>sāp</i>	<i>sa:p</i>	<i>sappO</i>
188	sparrow	<i>ghOrOeOTi</i>	<i>cōTia</i>	<i>baiCOTia</i>	<i>baiCOTia</i>	<i>pani musa, cOTia</i>
189	spider	<i>buRhiaNi</i>	<i>mOkrajai</i>	<i>maksa</i>	<i>maksa</i>	<i>picuka</i>
190	squirrel	<i>guNDuci musa</i>	<i>ghuincā musa</i>	<i>gañ reCa musa</i>	<i>guñCa musa</i>	<i>vuData</i>
191	tail	<i>languRO</i>	<i>lenj</i>	<i>lenj</i>	<i>le:nj</i>	<i>lenjo</i>
192	tiger	<i>baghO</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>ba:g</i>	<i>baggo</i>
193	tortoise	<i>kO chO</i>	<i>kēcho</i>	<i>keCua</i>	<i>keCua</i>	<i>pani kappo</i>
194	vulture	<i>saguNa</i>	<i>rabOn</i>	<i>rabOn</i>	<i>COCan</i>	<i>saguni</i>
195	wasp	<i>biruRibOsa</i>	<i>TēkOr</i>	<i>TēkOr</i>	<i>mOO:n</i>	<i>vuDivoro</i>
196	wing	<i>DeNa</i>	<i>dena</i>	<i>peTka, Dena</i>	<i>Dena</i>	<i>rekka</i>

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
197	woodpecker	kaThOhONa	ThukbOdha, kaThOhOna	Thuk bODhe	TukbOD	kamsalpiTTa
198	worm	pokO, kiTaNa	pok	kira	po:k	genTa poka
199	ankle	gOTThi	p ^o Deri gOeTh	gODOr gOTThi	gONTi	kaneta
200	arm	DeNa	haha			atto
201	-right	bhujuni, DabaNo	bhujni	bhujni	kaiba a:t	kaila
202	-left	ba, Dehri	Dehri	Deri	Deri a:t	ba
203	anus	pica, mOLOdwarO	gi	gi, piCa	gi:J	goNDa
204	back	piThi	piTh	piTh	piTi	piNTi
205	beard	daRhi	daDhi	daDhi	daDi	ballo, daDhi
206	belly	peTO	peTh	peT	pe:T	peTTa
207	blood	rOkatO	rOkOt	lOu, hOni, rOkOt	lOu, rOkOt	rOgoto
208	body	dehO, sOviO	dehe	dehe	deO	devu
209	boil	bOthO	baluOnia	uThan	poTka	korpulu
210	bone	haRO	haD	haD	a:D	aDDa
211	breast	dudhO (f), chati (m)	dudh	dudh, Chati	du:d, rO:n	cati, momoma
212	cheek	galO	gal	gat	ga:l	gallo
213	chest	chati	chati	Chati	Cati	cati
214	chicken pox	haROphuTi, bOsOntO, miLimiLa	mata guDi	mata, ChuTOMata	a:D puTi	amcvaru
215	chin	thuRi	c ^o DD	C ^o DD	C ^o :D	geDDamu
216	dwarf	bangra(m), bangri(f), bamOnO	bangra(m), bangri (f)	banua(m), banui (f)	Timpa, Timpi	kanno(m), kaninTi (f)
217	ear	kanO	kan	kan	ka:n	kanna
218	elbow	kOhuNi	kuhuni	kuhuni	kOuni	keuni
219	epidemic	mOhamari,	Dega bemar	Dega bemar	Dega bemar	bemari
220	eye	akhi	āekh	akhi	āik	anki, ainki

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
221	eyebrow	bhrulOta	bhulta	bhulta	bulta	anki repa
222	eyelash	akhi pOta'lomo	āekhpOta	ākhi pOta	aikpOta	anki bulfo
223	face	mūhO	mukha	TenD, muhu	tonDa	mu
224	fever	jOrO	jOr	JOr, bemar	jO:r	jOrro
225	finger	anguThi	angThi	aDki, angThi	aMul	angili
226	finger nail	nOkhO	nOkh	nOkh	nO:k	lokkone
227	flesh	mangO	gov, mang	mang	mang	mOso
228	foot	goRO	guD	goD	go:D	goDDa
229	forehead	kOpaLO	kOpal	kOpar, nOsib	kapal, kanr	muduTa citta
230	hair	baLo	bal	bal	ba:l, ba:r	ballo
231	hand	DeNa, haiO	hāth	hat	a:t	atto
232	head	muNDO	muDh	muND	muNDO	muNDo
233	heart	hrudOyO	kOelja	kOlJa	kOleJa	gunDekeya
234	hip	pica	pica	piCa	piCa	vanta
235	hernia	eksira	kurmia	kurmirog	kurmia	
236	itch	jadu, kuNDia	khujri	khujli	kuJli	gaji
237	jaundice	kamOLO	hOldia bemari	kamOlrog	pila	paci kamelu
238	knee	aNThi	aThi	aThi	aTu	muDuku
239	leg	goRO	guD	gOD	go:D	goDDa
240	leprosy	koRhO, kosThO	bOrrugia	bOrrogi	ku:T	kuSTu, seDi
241	lip	oThO	eOD	hOT	a:T	oTTo
242	liver	kOlja	kOelja	pila	pila	kaliya
243	lung	phusphas	phOpsa	phOpsa	pOpsa	dobba
244	mucus	singaNi	singhen	singani	singani	singili
245	moustache	niso	mecha	meCa	mu:C	misone, niso

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatrī	Desia	Belli
246	mouth	paTi	mulu	mulu	tunDa	tunDo
247	naked	nOngOLa	nOngla	nOngla	nOngla	yangala
248	navel	nahi	nahi	nahi	nai	boDDu, nai
249	neck	hekO	hek	hek	be:k	bekko
250	nipple	dudhO bhunDi	muDi	muDi	muDi	momatiga
251	nose	nakO	nak	nak	na:k	nakko
252	penis	hanDO	hanD, tima	COTla	CoTlu	banDO
253	phlegm	kOphO, khOnkarO	kOph	kOp	kO:p	pickavlu
254	pigtail	beNi(of girl), cuTi(of Brahmins)	beni, liTi	beni, liTi	beni, CuTi, liTi	kunDi, pelaka
255	puss	Dola, pujo	puj	pūJ	pu:J	cepaDa
256	retina	OniO pOTOfo, akhi puO	pitO hindu	pit bindu	akhipuO	ankiappa
257	rib	pOnjOra, kOnkaLo	pOnjra	pŌJra	pOJra	ponDra aDDo
258	ringworm	jadu	jadu	dadu	Jadu	tamara
259	saliva	laLO	lal, lar	nal	PuDaga	seppo
260	shoulder	kandhO	khOndh	kOndh	kOnd	kando
261	skeleton	kOnkaLo	haDua	haDua	aDua	aD ponjara
262	skin	cOmO	cOmra	Camri, cOmra	CO.m	somo jobbu
263	worm(tapeworm, hookworm)	kencua, kurmi	kēcua, Dia, kirmi	kēCua, Dia keCua	kēCua	
264	skull	khOpuri	khupli	khupli	kopli	munDo peDaTa
265	small pox	mata, Thakurani	mata	mata rog suru	mata	masuci kamu
266	sneeze	chī nkO	chī kbar	Chik	Cī.k	sen kivro
267	spit	chepO	thukbar	thuk	Tu.k	ceppo
268	spine	meruhaRO	meruhaD	meruhaD	merua:D	maji yemu
269	sweat	jhaLO	jhal	Jhal	Ja:l	jallo
270	tears(of the eye)	hahO	luhu	luhu	lo:u	ankiro pani

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Rehli
271	testicle	peLO	pel, lima	bāD	bā: l	puckavela
272	thigh	jOngbO	jOngb	JOngb	JO: ng	tuDa
273	throat	tOnTi	gOla	gOla	gOla, gOdan	gOlio
274	tongue	jibho	jibh	Jibh	Ji: b	jibbo
275	tooth	dantO	dāt	dāt	dā: t	danto
276	urine	mutO pOrisra	mut	mut	mu: t	mutto, muttite
277	clitoris	senTi	nakimuDi	TiTi	TipTi	ginja
278	waist	OnTa	Ota	kakh	ka: k	wanta
279	vagina	bīa	puid, bhunDi	pudi	pudi	bīa
280	wrinkle	chOu	mucakaca	luCa kuCa	luCa kuCa	murtalu
281	wrist	kOci, kOcOTi	hai gOcTh	hai, gOcThi	gOcTi	kanata, kacOTi
282	beef	gal mansO	gae sikar	mOus	maus	gaymOso
283	boiled paddy	sijha dhanO	sijha dhan	sana caur	aiJada: n	nandila dono
284	boiled vegetable	sijha pOriba	sijha tun	sana tun/ pOriba	siJa sa: g	sija devoro
285	fruit	phOLO	phOl	phOr	pO: l	pogOla
286	fresh cooked rice foam	pejo	phen	phen	pe: n	pejjo
287	kitchen	raseighOrO	rOdthaghOr	randthaghOr	randnagOr	nandagOro
288	ladle	Donki	kOTri	kOTri	kOTri	nicena
289	liquor	mOdO	mOd	mOd	mO: d	mOdido
290	milk	dudhO, ukhurO, nityani	gurOs	gorOs	du: d, ki: r	duddo
291	match stick	diasili kaThi	diasili kaThi	diasili kaTi	diasili	nipolla
292	old rice water	tarami, pOkhaLO	basithir	basi peJ/pani	pOkal	pejjo battu
293	oven	culi	cuel	Culli	Culi	culi
294	pestle	siLO, siLpua	hemdista	hemdista	pisna,	silfo potoro pisna
295	pickle	acarO	acar	aCar	hemdOsta	vaDaga

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
296	pitcher	<i>DhaLo(metal), Theki(mud)</i>	<i>hāeD, kORei</i>		<i>aCar Odla</i>	<i>rekka</i>
297	rice grinding chukki(mortar)	<i>pesOna</i>	<i>Dheki, pesna</i>		<i>JOnta</i>	<i>pisOna</i>
298	salt	<i>luNO, nuNO</i>	<i>nuu</i>		<i>lu:n</i>	<i>nuno</i>
299	smoke	<i>dhua</i>	<i>kuhula</i>		<i>ku:ula</i>	<i>duma</i>
300	spice	<i>mOsaLa</i>	<i>mOsla</i>		<i>mOsOla</i>	<i>mosla</i>
301	stale	<i>basi</i>	<i>basikhia</i>	<i>basi</i>	<i>basi</i>	<i>basaka batta</i>
302	strainer	<i>chOna, caluNi</i>	<i>chākni</i>	<i>Chākni</i>	<i>Cakni</i>	<i>coTTu</i>
303	sugar candy	<i>misiri</i>	<i>kuser</i>	<i>akhu</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>pakamu, mistir</i>
304	tiffin	<i>jOLOkhia</i>	<i>sOhalkhia</i>	<i>nasta</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>Tipinu</i>
305	tobacco	<i>jOmhaka, dhūā pOrO</i>	<i>bhang</i>	<i>dhunga</i>	<i>dunga</i>	<i>SoTTa</i>
306	tongs	<i>cimTa, camuTa</i>	<i>cimTha</i>	<i>CimTa</i>	<i>CimTa</i>	<i>cimTa</i>
307	uncooked rice	<i>caulO</i>	<i>caul</i>	<i>Caur</i>	<i>ba:t</i>	<i>batto</i>
308	utensils	<i>basONO kusONO</i>	<i>basOnkusOn</i>	<i>basOn</i>	<i>basOn</i>	<i>nendila, samala</i>
309	winnow	<i>kuLa</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>kula, paChuDi</i>	<i>paCuDi</i>	<i>vincOrO</i>
310	anklet	<i>gOiThi</i>	<i>gurbOra</i>	<i>gurbOra</i>	<i>gurbOra</i>	<i>paTihu</i>
311	apron	<i>pONOrO(for collecting sag etc), kani (of sari)</i>	<i>Onchi, uDhni</i>	<i>OnCi, uDuni</i>	<i>OnCi, uDuni</i>	<i>pOnOTO, vODi, vani</i>
312	armlet	<i>laLo, bahuTi, khORa</i>	<i>bahasuta</i>	<i>baha suta</i>	<i>ba:asut</i>	<i>danDa paTTi</i>
313	axe	<i>kuraThi</i>	<i>kuDher</i>	<i>Tonger</i>	<i>Tunger</i>	<i>goDili</i>
314	bag	<i>muNa, thOLI</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>thOl, muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>sanci</i>
315	vest	<i>gOnji</i>	<i>genji</i>	<i>genji</i>	<i>ginji</i>	<i>hanyan</i>
316	blanket	<i>kOmBOLO</i>	<i>kOmOl</i>	<i>kOmOl</i>	<i>kOmOl</i>	<i>dagDi</i>
317	cloth	<i>luga</i>	<i>kOpDa</i>	<i>paTi, luga</i>	<i>paTi</i>	<i>konna</i>
318	collar	<i>kOIOr</i>	<i>kOlar</i>	<i>kOIOr</i>	<i>kOlar</i>	<i>kalar</i>
319	collyrium	<i>kOLa, kOJOLO</i>	<i>kOJOI</i>	<i>kOJOI</i>	<i>kOJOI</i>	<i>kaTiga</i>

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatril	Desia	Relii
320	comb	pania	pOnia	pania	pania	pania
321	cotton	tuLa, suta	kOpa	kOpa	kOpa	churi
322	crutch	asabaRi	asabaDi	asabaDi	asabaDi	collavaDi
323	dhoti	dhoti	dhuti	dhoti, kOria	doti, kOri	doti
324	drum	DholO	Dhol	Dhol, baja	Do:l, baJa	dappo
325	front tuck	kuncO	kucia	kūCia	KuCia	langoT
326	back tuck	kOca	malkocha	khOdia	KOdia	lagu
327	bedcover	cOdOrO	cadOr, sujni, upOr pOka	COdOr	CodOr	parpu
328	ear-ring	kanO phulO	kamphuski	kamphuski	ka:n mudli	ringu
329	fibre	kOta	nODiakOta	nOria kOta	nOria kOta	pisa
330	flute	bOisi	bOesi	bāsari	bOT Ci	ula
331	frock	kurta	dOkli	Toki dOkli	Toki dOkli	govnu
332	loin cloth	kOupuni	nengThi	nengTi	nenguTi	kopinu
333	loom	tOntO	mOnga	mOnga	TOntO	sali
334	mirror	dOrpONO	dOrpOn	arsi	arsi	adumu
335	necklace	harO	mal	kar	a:r	gOluu
336	needle	chunci	suj	sul	sul	sunci
337	nose-ring	guNa	nakphuTki, nakphul	nakphuTki	nakpuTki	muku puDga
338	rain hat	jhampi, chOta	chOtri	ChOtri, ChOnur	COtri	jampi
339	razor	khurO	pana	pana	pana, ku:r	gisleTa
340	sari	saRhi	saDhi	saDi huga	sari, huga	huga, kapDa Taki
341	sari(covering the head portion)	oRhOna	uDhmi	ghunghOT	uDuni	musumu
342	sling	bahungi (made of rope), sika (for suspending at home), OnguLi (for carrying pOLE)	Odu, Oda, Oda	Chika, Jhulna, Oda	Cika	gudi, sika, angikiDi, raTa, doDi

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
343	sap	sabur	Sabun	sabun, sapun	Sapun	sahun
344	spear	bOrcha	bOrcha	bOrcha	bOrsa	kanDa
345	spindle	takaRi	phirphiri	phirphiri	pirpiri	kata
346	stick	baRi	baDi	baDi	baDi	baDDi
347	toe-ring	jhuNTia	jhuTiamudi	gurmudi	garmuDi	joTiya
348	towel	tOula, gamucha, kOria	Tauel	gOmca	gOmCa	tauvela
349	toy	kheLOna	kheha	putli	putli	kehevura
350	veil	oRhOna	uDbna'-i	ghunghOT	uDuni	musumu
351	vermillion	sindurO	sindhur	sOndur	sOndur	sOndur, botu
352	wooden sandals	kOThOu	kOTOu	kOThOu	kOTOu	
353	arch	khilaNO	aDkaThi	khakOr	kakOr	kilani
354	beam	kORhi	sOmlaka, Th ura	sOmla kaTh	sOmla kaTh	vasalu
355	bed	sejO	khOT	khOTO, bichONa	biCna	monca
356	bed-bug	aRisO	uDur	Dhekun, uDis	aDis	nalu
357	bedstead	khOTOpoOnko (decorated cot)	khOT	khOT	kO:T	manca
358	bolster	mucula, tOkia	mucula	mucula	muCia, tOkia	ganDaru, mucula
359	bolt of doe	khIRki	khIDki	khIDki	kiDki	bolTu, kilan
360	broom	chamcuNi	baDhun	baDni	baDni	jaDaru
361	courtyard	OgONa	OgOna	Ogna	Ogna	daro
362	cowshed	guhaf, O	guhaf	guhaf	gw:af	guysalo
363	door	kObaTO, duarO	kObaT	kOpaT	kObaT	talapu
364	fan(made of leaf)	hincONa	bicna	dhukna	dukna	bincOna, visana, korava
365	hinje	kObja, musuLi	kObja	kObja	kObJa	musuli
366	house	ghOrO	ghOr	ghOr	gO:r	gOro
367	hut	kuRia	kuria	kuria	kuDla	salo

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
368	key	kOncl, cabl	kāci, cabhi	kuCi	kuCi	talma
369	ladder	nisuNi	nisanl	niscni	niscni	meThu
370	latch	chiTkini	tala	tala	tala	geDa
371	lock	kaOpO, tala	tala	tala	tala	talma
372	mat	mOsiNa	asni	asni	dOri	coppa
373	mosquito net	mOsari	mOsari	mOsuri	mOsari	dirva matora
374	pillow	iOkia	mucla	muCia	muCia	gaDru
375	plinth	kanthO	nehi	nehi	ne:i	bimaTTuma
376	toilet	paikhana	paikhena	paikhena	paikina	paykhana
377	roof	charO	chanpiDa	ChanpiDDa	CampiDDa	penkulu
378	rope	dOuRi	dOuDi, chāTi	DOri, Chāti	Dori	doDi
379	shutter	chiTkini, khRki, dhORa	khiDki	khiDki	kiDki	kiTiki, dODa
380	staircase	siRhi	Otalī paic, siDhi	siDi	siDi	miThu, miTlo
381	step	paucO, pahunDa	Pauc	pāuC	nisanl	siDi
382	swing	Doli	Duli, pOlhaghari	duli, Jhulna	duli, jhulna	Doli
383	terrace	OgONa, baRi	duar	duar, barenda	duar, barenda	Daba
384	threshing floor	KhOlabaRi	khOla	khOla	khOla	dara bandamu
385	veranda	barenDa, pinDa	barenDa	barenda	barenda	daro, varanDa
386	wall	kanthO	kāthi	kāthi	kāthi	gaDa
387	well(water)	kuO	cuā	indra	indra	cuo
388	window	jhOrOka	jhOrka	khiDki	khiDki	kiTika, jOrka, kiTki
389	yard	OgONa	OgOna	OgOna	OgOna	dara, agna
390	ajawan (a spice)	juani	juani	ajOan	juani	juani
391	apple	ato	bODhel	sen	raeta	epul, ato
392	arecanut	gua	supari	supari	supari	gova

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
393	arum (edible root)	saru	saru	ulKonda	ol kOnda	saru
394	bamboo	bāusO	bāus	bāus	bāus	boso
395	bamboo-splinter	bOta	bOta	bOta	bOta	boso bOta
396	banana	kOdOLi	kOdel	kera	kodi, kodOLi, kOdri	kodolo
397	kernel	mOnji	sOj	sOs	sO:l	mönju
398	banyan tree	bOrOgOchO	bOrgOch	bOrgOCh	bOrgOC	bamari gacco
399	root from branches of banyan	ahOLO	chur	Chur	Jur	jOTto, vODE
400	barks	chali, copā	chali	Chali, COpa	Cali	cal
401	beans	simO	sim	sim	Junga	chKDi
402	bitter gourd	kOLOra	kOrla	kOrla	KOrla	kakOra
403	brinjal	baigONO	baegOn	baengOn	baigOn	bainO
404	bud	kORhO	kODhO	kODhO	kODhO, mukulO	kuDi
405	cabbage	bOndha kabi	pOtor kObhi	bOdhakabi	bOda kabi	bandakabi
406	chilly	lOnka, mOricO	mirca	mirCa	morits	merapa
407	coconut	nORia	nODia	nOria	nOria	nuDia
408	coconut froud	nORia, khurpi	nODia kāci	nOria khāel	nOria kaxi	nuDia kurpi
409	coconut oil	nORia telO	nODia tel	nOriatel	nOriate:l	nuDia tella
410	coriander seed	dhOnia	dhOnia pOtor	dhOnia pOtor	dOnia pOtor	kuTmiri
411	creeper	lOta	lOta	lOta, jhul	lOta	paDu
412	cucumber	kakuRi	kāker	kāker	kāKDi	kakDi
413	custard apple	atO, bORhualO	bODhel	sita phOl	sita pO:l	sita pogOla
414	field/	pORia	guDa, bOrcha	pODia	pODia	pODia, bi
415	farm	khetO	baer	bari	bari	kampo
416	farmer	casi, cOsa	casi	Casi	Casi	kampopalTita
417	fence	baRO	baer	bar	ba:D	guaDa,

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
418	flower	phulO	phul	phul	pu:l	yetruguaDa, pullo, pubu
419	fruit	phOLO	phOl	phOr	pO:l	pogOla
420	garden	bOgica	bOgca	bOgCa	bOgCa	toTTa
421	garlic	rOsuNO	lexun	lexun	lexun	worra, vellulipaya
422	ginger	Oda	Oda	Oda	Oda, ada	allamu
423	gourd	lau	lau	lau	lau	vokaya
424	grape	OngurO	Ongur	Ongur	Ongur	anguri, draksa
425	grass	ghasO	ghās	ghas, Jhul	ga:s, Ju:l	gasso
426	tender coconut	pOiRO	pOeDO	pOeDO	pOiDO	pacca nuDia
427	guava	pijuLi, nehua	maeja	Omrud	Jambi	jamakaya
428	harvest	OmOLO	dhandua	dhandua	ta:s	casso
429	hay	kuTa	kuTa	kuTa	kuTa	gaxto, kuTa
430	horse gram	koLOthO	kuluth	kuluth	kOIOth	vola valla
431	jack fruit	pONOsO	pOnOs	pOnOs	ponOs	ponso
432	berry	koLi	jam	ghuli Jam	guli Ja:m	usrika, kali
433	lady's finger	bhenDi	bhēDi	bhenDi	binDi	benDkaya
434	leaf	pOiOrO	pOiOr	pOiOr	pOiOr	aku
435	lily	kOI	kOephul	kOI phul	koipu:l	lilipullo
436	lotus	pOdwiŃ	pOdOm phul	pOdOmphul	pOdOm pu:l	kallo pullo, kalua pubu
437	mango	ambO	am	ama	a:m	ammo
438	mango-pit	Takua	Tāku	Taku	a:m Taku	Tenka
439	mushroom	chOtu	chOfi	ChOtur	COfni	satu
440	mustard	sOrisO	sOrsO	sursa	sOrsO	avahu
441	mustard-ground paste	besOrO	besar	besOr	besOr	avahu mudda
442	onion	piajO, uli	uel	uli piāj	uli piāj	ulfi paya

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatrī	Desia	Rehli
443	orange	kOmOLA	kOmOLA	santra	santOra	kamOLA
444	paddy	dhunO	dhan	dhan	da:n	danno,cOulo, vari
445	paddy-sundried	Orua	sukha	sukha	sukna	uppiDi cOulo
446	paddy-parboiled	usueNa	usna	usna	usna	cOulo
447	papaya	OmrutObhOnDa	OmrutbhOnDa	Omrut pakh	bOnDa,bŌDa	papas
448	pasture	gucOrO	gucOr	guCOr	guCOr	gasso biDi
449	petal	PakhuRa	pākDa	pākra	kesOr	renima
450	pineapple	sOpuripONOsO	sopri	sOpri	sOpri	pogOLA
451	plough	casO, hOLO	nOngol	nOngOl	nOngOl	nagali
452	plough share	isO, jūaLi	bhagdari, phal	nOngOl phal	pa:l	sallu
453	plantain tree	kOdOLi gOchO	kOdelgOch	keragOCh	keragO:C	kodolo gacco
454	potato	aLu	alu	alu	alu	alu
455	pumpkin	kOkharu	lau	lau	lau, kOkharu	gummaDikaya
456	radish	muLa	mula	mula	mula	mulangi
457	rice	bhatO	caul	Caar	ba:t	batto, cOulo
458	root	cerO	mul	mul, JO:r	JO:r	dampa
459	rose	golapO	gulap	gulah	gulap	gulabi pullo
460	sandal tree	cOndOnOgOch	cOndOn gOch	COndOngOCh	COndOn gO:C	gOndalu gacco
461	saw	kOrOrO	kOrOt	kOrOt	KOrOt	rampamo
462	seed	mOnji	bihOn, minji	bihOn, minja	biOn minJa	vitnamo
463	shovel	cheNi	belcha	belCha	belCa	rapa
464	spade	koRi	kudel	kuder	kuder	katti
465	stalk	naLO	bahi	Dēp	ba:l, Dē:p	gaccomodala
466	stone of fruit	Tākua	Tāku	Taku	Taku	Takua
467	straw	kuTa	nODa, pual	kuTa, pual	kuTa	sukela gasso

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
468	sweet	miThei	miTha	miThei	miTei	sovda
469	tamarind tree	tintuLi gOchO	tētel gOch	tētel gOCh	tēntiDigO:C	ambila
470	tomato	bilati baigONO	patOl ghōTa	TamaTOr	TomaTo	simbainO
471	tree	gOchO	gOch	gOCh	gO:C	gacco
472	trunk	gOnDi	gōDi	gūDi	guDi	gaccomanur
473	twig	kORhO	kūeD	besOr	besOr	gacco koDi
474	vegetable	pOriba	pOriba	tun, pOrkari	tOrkari	saggo
475	watermelon	tOrbhujO	torbhuj	tOrbhuj	tOrbuJ	panibainO
476	water wheel or poles	tenDa	TēDa	pani CheDDa	pani Cedda	role
477	wheel	cOka	COka	COka	Coka	cakro
478	wheat	gOhOmO	GOhOm	gēhu	gOhū	godma
479	yoke	juaLi	juali	Juali	Juali	kaDi
480	artist	silpi	citOrkar	CitOrkar, silpi	CitOrkar	bamalu
481	artisan	mistri, karigOrO	bODhia	bODhia	bODia	rasilaTa, misitari
482	axle	OkhO	Okh	Ok	O:k	goDale
483	balance	nikiti	seriOraju	seriOraju	se:riOraju	tras, tarax
484	barber	bhOnDari	bhōDari	bhōDari	bODari	bOnDari
485	beggar	bhikari	magikhia	bhikhmanga	bikmOga	magilaTa
486	blacksmith	kOmarO	luhura	luhura	lu:ura	kancari
487	broker	dOlal	dOlali	dOlal	dOlal	dalari
488	carpenter	bORhei	bODhei	bODhei	bODEi	kaTTO paTalaTa
489	chisel	nihONO	binheN, bOTali	barsi	baDsi	vuli
490	clay mould	chancO	chāc	iTa chōC	iTa Cā:C	maTTimudda
491	sweet maker	guDia	guDia	guDia	guDia	sovda, banaylaTa
492	copper smith	sunari, bONia	sunari, kōsari	sunari	sunari	ragi pailaTa

SLNo	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reili
493	fisherman	keuTO	kzuT	kzuT	ma:ut	maccara
494	gardener	maLi	mali	mali	mali	toTTa jugali
495	goldsmith	sunari, bONia	sunari	sunari	sunari	sunari
496	grocer	dukani	dukani	dukni	dukani	bOnjiri
497	gam	OTha	OTha	OTha	gē:d	bunka
498	hawker	hOkOr, pheribala, bulabikaLi	KOkOr	pheriwala	piri bala	cenTi bepari
499	labourer	mulia	kuli	mujria, munix	mulria	kulli
500	farm land	casO jOmī	bOgsa	Cas jOmī	ta:s pODia	kampo
501	midwife	dhai	dhai	dhai	dai	manarsani
502	milkman	gOuLO	gOur	gOur	gOur	daddo bikilaTa
503	money lender	saukarO	saukar	saukar	saukar	repapalayTa
504	net	jalLO	jal	Jal	Ja:l	jar, vala
505	nurse, midwife	dhai	dhai	dhai	dai	dadi
506	oilman	teLi	teLi	teLi	teLi	tello bOnjiri
507	paint	rOngO	rOngO	rOnga	rOnga	rango
508	pan seller	panO bala, panO dukani	panra	panbala	panbala	panno bikilaTa
509	porter	bojhia, dharua, bharua	kuli	kuli	kuli	kulli
510	postman	DakO bala, piona	Daghala	Dakhala	Dakhala	posTmen
511	potter	kumbharO	kumhar	kumher	kumar	kumari
512	printer	chOpabala	chapabala	ChOpabala	COpabala	accu pugilaTa
513	snake charmer	sapua, keLa	sāpua	sāpua	sapua	sappo dOraTa
514	boatman	nauRia, nabikO	ghOTual	ghOTual	gOTual	nadipaiTa
515	shepherd	gaiaLO	gaicOrua	Chelia	Celia	celijugilaTa
516	shoemaker	moci	comar	COmar	COmar	camari
517	shopkeeper	dukani	dukani	dukani	dukani	bOnjiri

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Rehli
518	shuttle	khirkki	khirkki	khirkki	khirkki	ciTki
519	spindle	takuLi	phirphiri	phirphiri	pirpiri	sOttarunDa
520	sweeper	moharO	mehtOr	mehtOr	me: tOr	jODalaTa
521	weaver	tOnti	bhulia	bhulia	bulia, tOnti	salra
522	anchor	lOngOrO	khOTi	khOTi	koTi	angar
523	boat, ferryboat	DOnga	DOnga	DOnga	Donga	paDa vana, pheri paDavana
524	bullock cart	sOgORO	bOidogaTi	bOidogaDi	bulgaDi	goyibenDi
525	bus	bOs	bOs	bOs	bO:s	basu
526	car	karO	kerua	kerua	kerua	teDlu
527	palanquin	palinki	Dula	Dula	Dula	palToki
528	jetty, ferryghat	ghaTO	DongaghaT	DOngaghaT	dOngagaT	jeTTi
529	sail	palO	pal	bhela	barbar	boitOre jevarO
530	ship	jahajO	jOhaj	JahaJ	Ja: aJ	boyTa jahaj
531	steamer	paNi jahajO	pa g n jOhaj	pani JahaJ	pani/ sanJa: aJ	sanni boyTa
532	whip	cabuk	baDi	baDi	betbaDi	kamci
533	acidity	khOTa	OmlA, khOTa	amTi	amTi	pulpu
534	bitter	pita	pita	pita	pita	pitta
535	black	kOLA (m) (f)	kalami kali (f)	kOrla	kOLA, kaluni	kaliya
536	blind (male)	OndhO	kOna	kONa	Onda	ando
537	blind (female)	OndhuNi	kani	kaNi	Onduni	andinTi
538	blue	niLi	nilia	nili	nilia	nelam
539	bright	ujvOLO	ujla	alua, uJla	uJOL	jOlla
540	brown	kesOrO	maThia	maThia	maTia	godemrangu
541	coldness	thOnDa	thOnDa	siOr	kakOr	kakoro
542	darkness	OndharO	Ōdhar	andhar	andar	daTTumila

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
543	fair	gora, gori	gura, guri	sāOli, sāOli.pOnDru, pOnDri	gora, kora	baITa, balorOsi
544	deaf	kala	kandha(m) kandhi(f)	kumDha	bOira	sevuDuTa
545	green	sagua	sagua	sagua	kaCa	paccu
546	hot	gOrOm, tOrOla tatila(opp to cold)	tOpla tOpla	tOpla	tatila	veDi
547	hot	rago (chilly paper)	rag			
548	light	aluO usasO(opp to heavy) cilaakhi(light eyed ratina)	aluO usas kOra ā ē kh	usas	usas Cila aki	teliga, alto
549	noise	gONDOgoLO	sObOd	kOlar	paTi	alari
550	red	lal	lal	lal	nali	ranga
551	rosy	golapi	gulapi	gulabi	gulapi	gulabi rango
552	sour	khOTa	khOTa	amTi	amTi	pulpu
553	sweet	miTha	miTha	miThei	miTa	savda
554	violet	baigiNi	baēgOni	bažMgOni	baIMgOni	bainO rango
555	white	dhOLa	dhob	sOphed	dOla	seda
556	yellow	hOLOdia	hOldia	hOldia	Oldia	oldi rango
557	affection	senehO	snehO	senehO	sOrOda	prema, snehituDu
558	anger	ragO, risa	rag	rakh, rizmi	risa	raggo
559	attachment	lOgalOgi	lOgalOgi	mOn JuDaJuDi	lOgalOgi	prema, snehituDu
560	cowardice	DOrua	DOrua	DOraha	DOrua	DOrro
561	courage	sahasO	dOm	dOmbaJia	dOm	daryo
562	deceit	kOpOTO, chOLOna	ThOkbar, ThOkua	ThOkua	TOkua	maskoria
563	flattery	khusamOt	khusamOti	KhusamOt	kusamOt	kusamOt
564	hatred	ghruNa	ghruna	ghruna	gruna	asain cuTTa
565	hunger	bhokO	bhukh	bhukh	bukO	bukko
566	hungry	bhakila	bhukha	bhukha	bukila	bukkilaTa

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reili
567	idle	OLosua	Olsua	kOJria	kOJria	baddokastuDu
568	insult	OpOmanO	henOsta	hinista	inista	Opman
569	jealousy	hinsa	ŌhOkar	OhŌkar	Ō:kar	virodan
570	love	bhŌŌpaiba	bhŌl paebar	mOya kOrbar	bO:l paebar	prema, isTa paŌuvaro
571	pain	bŌtha	bŌtha	bŌtha, dukhan	bŌtO	botta
572	praise	prOsOnsa	pOrsOnsa	pOrsOngsa	pOrsOnsa	pogduTa
573	redicule	thŌTa	mŌjakia	mŌJakia	tŌTa	velamakorTa, vŌside
574	secret	gupŌtO	gupŌt	gupŌt	gupŌt	gupto
575	shame	lajŌ	lajkura	laC:	la:J	lajjo
576	timid	lajuka, bhiru	lajkura	laCkura	laCkura	pirki, andumirisi
577	true	sŌtO	sŌt	sŌt	sŌ:t	sacca
578	wish	iccha	icha	mŌnhela	iCa	lecca
579	envelope	lŌphapa	lŌphapha	lephapha	lipapa	serususei kayTa
580	examination	pŌrikhya	pŌrikhya	intehan, JācpŌrtal	pŌrikya	pariksa
581	illiterate	ŌsikkhiaŌ	Ōsikhit	murukh	Ōsikir	cadivimi, talivitakua
582	ink	kaLi	kali, sihei	kali, siahi	sia	seru
583	page	prusTha	prusTha, pŌta	pŌta	pŌta	peju
584	school	iskul	iskul	iskul	iskul	baDi
585	slap	capORO	cŌTkŌn	cŌTkŌn	CapOD	lampOkaye
586	student	chatrŌ	iskul pila	iskulpila	pila	cadivigilla, korra'pil la
587	teacher	mastŌ	guru, mastŌr	mastŌr	mastŌr	mestrŌ
588	boundary	baRO	sima, barghura	barghura	bargura	amcuTTa
589	handcuff	hatOkŌRi	hathkŌDi	hathkŌDi	a:tkŌDi	beDil
590	bullet	guLi	guli	guli	guli	gunDu
591	chain	sikuLi	sikli	sikuli	sikuli	galaxu

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
592	drum, trumpet	DholO	bOja, Dhol	baJa	Do:l, baJa	Dappo
593	enemy	sOtru	sOtru	dusmOn	dusmOn	sOtravu
594	plot, conspiracy	tOntreO	khupia	khupia	kupia	pangiDi
595	sling	sika	jhula	Jhula, Thesidebar	Jula	angikiDi
596	sword	khOnDa	khO'Da	khO'Da	kOnDa	kOnDa
597	war	IODhei	judh	Judh, IODhai	IODai	judlagane
598	accused	dosi	dusi	dusi	dusi	dusiTa
599	adultery	misamisi	misir	misir, misiri	misiri	darni paiTi
600	agreement	rajinama	cukti, rajnama	ra,finama	ra,finama	isTa paDacuro
601	attorney	ukiLO	ukil	Okil	okil	layer
602	case	mOgdOma	mOgdOma	mOkdOm	mOgdOma	kesu
603	caste	jati	jaet	Jat	Ja:t	jatti
604	debt	ruNO	run	run	ru:n	
605	divorce	chaROhaRO	chaDri kOrhar	Charri	Carri	sadidevarO
606	fee	pauTi dOrma	phis dOrma	bhata, Tonka phis	pauTi, buti	jitmu
607	rupee	nari dhOrsONO	jObOrdOst kOrhar	lOTbar	lOTbar, gei'bar	kangari manO, bangOmu
608	tax	khOjONa, kOrO	kOr	kha,ma	ka,ma	Taksu
609	theft	cori	curi	COri	Curi	soro paiTi
610	thief	corO	cor	COr	CurO	soro
611	alter	bedi	bedi	bedi	bedi	balli
612	feast	upasO	upas	upas	upas	upasOmu
613	festival	pOrObO	pOrOb	uChOb	pOrOp	pOruvo
614	garland	maLO	mala	mala, har	mala	malli, puldanDa
615	heaven	ruOrgO	sOrOg	sOrOg	sOrOg	baykunTo
616	hell	nOrkO	nOrOk	nOrOk	nOrkO	dokam

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Oesla	Reili
617	matted hair	jOTa	khusa	khusa	kusa	jaTTa, pelaka
618	temple	deuLO	mOndir, guDi	guDi	guDi	guDi
619	worship	puja	puja	puJa	puJa	puja, poja
620	athlete	khelaRI	khelaDi	khelaDi	khelaDi	gendbaJTa
621	bull	gendO	gēd	gēd	ge:nd	banti
622	doll	kOnDhei	putli	putli	putli/kunDei	hamana
623	games	kheLO	khel	khel	ke:l	gam
624	gambling dice	jua	jua	Jua	Jua	judam
625	gymnastics	kheLO kOsrOtO	khel kOsrOr	beyam	kOsrOr	kOsrut
626	hide and seek	luka chupa	luckari, lukulukani	lukulukani	lukulukDani	lucikiri dikko
627	medal	meDOI, pOdOkO	meDeI	kOpaTi	pOdOk, meDOI	bella
628	race	dOuRO	dOuD	dOuD	dOuD	pandemu
629	act	ObhinOyO	naT	naT	na: T	korna
630	actor	Obhineta	naTua	naTua	naTua	kor:ITa, naTi
631	actress	naCuNi	naCni	naCni	naCni	koreITi, naTinTi
632	drum	DholO, baja	Dhol, bOja	Dhol, baJa	Dho:l, baJa	ekTu
633	drum stick	DholO baRI	DholbaDi	baJabaDi	baJabaDi	Dollo ciraTa
634	flute	bOlSi	bOesi	bāsuri	bOlSi/bāsuri	punki
635	lullaby	chuabhuliha giTO	chua bhurtha	bila bujhen	pila buJen	pillagitto
636	stage	mOnco	bedi	bedi	mOnDOp	aTeja
637	bell metal	kOnsa	kōsa basOn	kōsa	kōsa	kancu
638	brass	pitOLO	pitOl, lOk	pitOl	pitOl	pitali
639	gold	sona	sona	sona/suna	sunca	sunna
640	iron	luha	luha	luha	lua:	luha
641	lime	cunO	cunO	CunapOkhOn	Cu:n pOrOr	cunamu

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
642	mine	khONI	khOni	khOni	kOdan	ganni
643	money	pOisa	Tōka	rupiya	Dabu	rapa, dabu
644	silver	rupa	Rupa	rupa	rupa	vinDi
Numerals						
645	first	prAthOmO	Pohela	pOhela	pOela	OkaliTa agrayla
646	second	dwityO	DutiO	dusOr	dhosOr, duiTa	dera, diTa
647	third	trutyO	tin nOmOr	turtiyO	turtiO	tinTa
648	one	ek	ek, guTe	ek, gOTek	e:k, guTe	guTe, guTTe
649	two	dui	dui, duiTa	dui, duiTa	dui	dera
650	three	tin	tini, tinTa	tin, tinTa	tini	tinTa
651	four	cari	car	Car	Ca:r	cara
652	five	pancO	pāc	pāC	pā:C	panca, paucē
653	six	chO	chO	ChO	ChO	soTa
654	seven	sat	sat	sat	sa:t	satara
655	eight	aTh	aTh	aT	a:T	aTTa
656	nine	nO	nO	nO	nO	nava
657	ten	dOs	dOs	dOs	dO:s	dOsTa
658	sixteen	soLOhO	sulhO	solhO	zulhO	sovla
659	twenty	koRje	kure	bis, koDi	bisi, koDie	kuDi
660	forty	caLis	calis	Calis, dui koDi	Calis, du koDi	nalapi
661	fifty	pOCas	pOCas	pOCas, dui koDi dOs	pOCas, du koDi dO:s	yavOi
662	eighty	Osi	Osi	CarKOdi	Ca:rkoDi	yanavOi
663	hundred	sOhe	SOhe	sOhe, pāC koDi	PaC koDi, sOc	vOnda, muru
664	quarter	cOuThO, pa	pa, car bhagOr, bhage	paO	pao	pavu
665	half	Odha	Odha	Odha	Oda	apu, sagumu

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatril	Desia	Relli
666	one and a half	deRh	DeDhpa	DeDh	de: Dh	guTTe nara
VERBS						
667	Aim at (of gun, arrow, etc.)	lOkhyO kOribā	Tākbar	sutreibar	sutraibar	ninda, nincevarO
668	bend (a stick)	bOnkaiba	bŌkeibar	bŌkeibar	bŌkeibar	vŌncuvarO
669	bind	bandhiba	bandhbar	bād̐bhar	bandibar	banduvarO
670	blow (with mouth)	phunkiba	phūkbar	phūkbar	pukbar	phunkuvarO
671	blow (nose)	nakO pociba	ghungDi marbar	ghOrbar	gODbar	sidduvarO
672	break (stick, pot, rope, etc.)	bhangiba	bhangbar	bhangbar	bangbar	hanguvarO
673	burn	poRnaiba	poDhabar	puDbhar	puDbar	puDuvarO
674	bury (a thing, dead body)	potiba	tuphar, potbar	tukbar	putbar	bujjuvarO
675	carry (a baby customary manner)	kakhaiba	pai kOrbar	kand goDbar, piTi goDbar	kandeibar, kakheibar	boyvarO
676	carry (on head, in hand, on shoulder)	kandheiba	khOndheibar	bŌhibar	bŌebar	darigivarO
677	catch (chase and catch an animal, catch something thrown)	dhOribā	dhOrbar	dhOrbar	Jalre dOrbar	darigivarO
678	clean	sOpha kOribā	sOpha kOrbar	sOpha kOrbar	sŌpa kOrbar	subruvarO
679	crawl (as a baby)	gurunDiba	gheserbar	ghēserbar	geserbar	pakivarO
680	destroy	dhwOnsO	nOsT kOrbar	dhOskabar	dOskabar	mokalu koruvarO
681	dilute	miLaijiba	patla kOrbar	patla kOrbar	patla korbar	palcona kOruvarO
682	dip into	buRaiba	buDbar	buDhbar	buDbar	muncuvarO
683	do (non-specific verb)	kOribā	kOrbar	kOrbar	kOrbar	koruvarO
684	draw (a picture)	ankiba	ākbar	ākbar	ākbar	kaDuvarO, rassukoruvarO
685	fall	pORiba, khŌsi pORiba, pORi jiba	pODbar, pODijibar	pODbar	pODbar	pODuvarO
686	float	bhasiba	bhasbar	bhasbar	basbar	basuvarO
687	flow	bohiba, bohi jiba	bŌhijibar, bŌhibar	bŌhiJibar	bŌi Jibar	boijivarO

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatril	Desia	Reih
688	hit	aghat kOriba	aghat kOrbar	aghat kOrbar	agat kOrbar	
689	hold	dhOriba	dhOrbar	dhOrbar	dOrbar	darigivarO
690	knock (a door)	Dakiba	Dakbar	ThOkThOkabar	TokTok kOrbar	talpuvarO
691	knit	buNiba	guthbar	bunbar	hunbar	niivarO
692	lean (against something)	anjiba	anjel hebar	ODlei hebar	Odleibar	vOngarvarO
693	lick	caTiba	caTbar	CãTbar	CãTbar	nakkivarO
694	make	tiari kOriba	tiari kOrbar	bOnelbar	bOnabar	tOyar korivarO
695	mix	misatiba	misabar	misabar	miseibar	misigivarO
696	open (a door, eyes, bag)	khOLiba	khulbar	khulbar	kObaTãki kulbar, munapiTelbar	kaDuvarO, piTivarO
697	pick	goTaiiba, tuLiba	tulbar	tulbar	tulbar	tullivarO, TungavarO
698	pinch	cumuTiba	cimTidebar	CimTidebar	gãJbar	guccivarO
699	play	kheLiba	khelbar	khelbar	kelbar	naccivarO
700	prick	phaRiba	phuDi debar	phuDi debar	gãJbar	guccivarO
701	pull	oTariba, TaNiba	ghubar	ghiCbar	Tanbar, Jikbar	jinkivarO
702	push	Theliba	Thelbar, DhOkelbar	Thelbar, pelghabar	pelgabar	lagivarO, DOKalubarO
703	put	thoiba, rOkhiba	thuibar, rOkhbar	Thuibar	Jagare rOkbar	bali korivarO
704	rub	ghOsiba	ghOsaghOs kOrbar	ghOsbar	gOsbar	gissivarO
705	scatter	chıncaRiba	iaDe siaDe pokeibar	emetene kOrbar	ci nCa debar	pinDuvarO
706	sell	bikiba	bikabuki kOrbar	bikbar	bikbar	bikluvarO
707	shave	thOriba	thOrthOrabar	thOrthOrabar	tOrbar	vOnkavarO
708	shut	bujiba	dei debar mujbar	khapi debar	buJbar, bOnakOrbar	bujjuvarO
709	sink	buRiba	buDi mOrbar, buDbar	buDbar	buDi Jibar	munagi jevarO
710	sprinkle	chinciba	jhiTbar	JhiTbar	CiCbar	jallivarO
711	spread	meTaiiba	bichbar	bikherbar	biCei debar	jallivarO

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
712	squeeze	cupsRiba	ciphar, nicuDbar	nicuDbar	nigODbar	piskuvarO
713	spit	thukiba	thukbar	thukbar	tukbar	
714	swell	phuliba	phulbar	phulbar	padbar	
715	tear	ciriba	cirbar	phaDbar	paDbar	ciruvarO
716	throw	phopaRiba	phukbar	phukbar	pikbar	pinguvarO
717	tie	bandhiba	badhbar	bandhbar	Ja l bunbar	bandhvarO
718	wash	duhoiba, majiba	dhuibar, majbar	maibar	duibar	daivarO, udukuvarO
719	waste	khyOti kOriba	nOtkar kOrbar	nOtkar kOrbar	nOxTO kOrbar	pad koruvarO
720	weigh	qjOn kOriba	naphar	napbar	tulbar	tuccuvarO
721	whip	piTiba	kurDa marbar	baDi piTiba	baDire putbar	baDDi dOri, maruvarO
722	wink(at)	akhi Thariba	lsara debar	lsra lOgabar	aki marbar	pulu maruvarO
723	wipe	pochiba	puchi nebar	ChacCi nebar	potsi debar	dOypuvarO
724	work	kamO kOriba	kam kOrbar	kam kOrbar/ sarbar	buta/ paiTi kOrbar	paiTi koruvarO
725	wrap up	guRaiba	ghuDeibar	Dhapbar, guDeibar	mulibar	cOuTivarO
726	rinse(clothes)	cupuRiba	cipuDibar	Ciphar	guDeibar	maDuvarO, pinDicuvarO
727	chop(firewood)	kuTiba	cirbar	phaDbar	kaTbar	kaTTuvarO
728	cut	kuTiba	kaTbar	phaDbar	kaTbar	kaTTuvarO
729	dig	khoLiba	khodbar	gaD khodbar	ga:t kulbar	hoka koruvarO
730	hunt	sikarO kOriba	pardhi kOrbar	sikar khelbar	baTke Jibar	veT koruvarO
731	pound(grain)	kuTiba	kuTbar	kuTbar	gunDO kOrbar	ganDu koruvarO
732	shoot	lachiba	sikar kOrbar	guli kOrbar	tu:r pOkeibar	maruvarO
733	split(wood)	phaTiba	cirbar chielabar	phaDbar	CiClabar	hanTukoruvarO
734	fight	lORhiba	lODhbar	lODhbar	lODbar	laguvarO
735	kill	mariba	marbar	khacCi debar	bushbar, kaCi debar	guccuvaro maruvarO
736	pierce	phaTiba	bindhbar	bidhbar	bushbar guTbar	puDDi devarO

SLNo	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatrl	Besla	Belll
737	quarrel	kOLi kOriBa	gali hebar	tOkral kOrbar	JOgDa korbar	guccivarO koli koruvarO
738	stab	bhusiba	bhusbar	bhusbar	Caku busbar	guccivarO
739	strangle	tOnTi cipiba	tOTi cipbar	tOTicipbar	TOTi Cipbar	huxi devarO
740	threaten	bhOyO dekhaiba	dhOmkaBar	DOraBar	DOreiBar	DOrei devarO
741	beat(a drum)	DholO bOjaiba	bOjabar	bOJabar	bOJabar	maruvarO
742	sing	gaiba	gaebbar	gaebbar	gaebbar	gayvarO
743	arrive	pOhOnciba	pOHucibar	pOhOCibar	pOHuCbar	ayvarO
744	ascend	cORhiba	cODhbar	CODhbar	COgbar	uTuvarO
745	bring	aNiba	anbar	anbar	anbar	darikini ayvarO
746	climb	cORhiba	cODhbar	cODhbar	COgbar	uTuvaro
747	come	asiba	asbar	asbar	aebar	ayvarO
748	dance	naciba	nachbar	naCbar	naCbar	naccuvarO
749	disappear	ubhai jiba	hOji jibar	hOJi Jibar	OJi Jibar	ni disuvarO/ diguvarO
750	drag	TaNiba	ghI cbar	ghI Cbar	Tanbar	jinkuvarO
751	drawn	buRijiba	buDijibar	buDi Jibar	buDbar	monigijevarO
752	enter	pOsiba	pOsbar	sOmebar	sOmebar	bintOruku
753	escape	pOLaiba	bhagbar	bhagbar	bagbar	jevarO
754	fan	hinciba	dhukbar	dhukbar	dūkbar	tapi jevarO
755	fly (as a bird)	uRiba	uDbar	uDbar	uDbar	vincOrO, koruvarO
756	get	paiba	paibar	paibar	paibar	uDuvarO
757	get up	uThiba	debar	uThbar	uTbar	miluvarO
758	give	deba	duThbar	debar	debar	uTuvarO
759	go	jiba	jibar	Jibar	Jibar	devarO
760	guide	dekheiba	dekhabar	dekhabar	dOkeibar	jevarO
761	jump	Deiba	Degbar	Degbar	Deibar	diguvarO

SLNo	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Relhi
762	kneel down	aNT hoiba	aThu mari, bOsbar, ātheibar	āThu muDhi, bOsbar	āTeibar	gentuvarO, makal poDuvarO, munDukuvOn
763	lift up, raise	uTheiba	ūcabar	uThabar	tulbar	tunguvarO
764	move	bulaiba	calbar, baharbar	ghumi phirbar	Calbar	caluvarOumparu
765	overflow	unuriha	uculbar	ūCli pODbar	ūCli pODbar	jevarO
766	rise	uThiba	cODh bar	CODbhar	uThar, CODbar	umpare
767	run	dOuRiba	dOuDbar	dOuDibar, kudbar	DOuDhar	uTuvarO, dOunDuvarO, pali jevarO
768	send	pOThaiba	pOThaibar	bheJbar	pOTeibar	paTauvarO
769	slip	khOsi jiba	khOsi pODbar	khOsi pODbar	kOsrObar	jOri jevarO, jOri poDuvarO
770	stand up	Thia heba	Thia hebar	Thia hebar	Tia bar	tanDuvarO
771	stretch	melaiba	selaibar, Tanbar	sidheibar	biCeibar	capuvarO
772	swim	pŌhOriba	pŌhOrbar, iOhOrbar	pŌhOrbar	pŌOrbar	pŌOrvarO
773	swing	jhuliba	dulbar	Jhulbar	Julbar	juluvarO
774	take	neba	nebar	nebar	utreibar nebar	kaDuvarO
775	travel, visit, wander	buliba	bulbar	bulbar	bulbar	bulhuvarO
776	vomit	banti kOriba	bāti kOrbar	bāti kOrbar	bāti kOrbar	
777	walk	calibq	calbar	Calbar	Calbar	caluvarO
778	accuse	dosO deba	sOndehe kOrbar	dosdebar	duseibar, dos debar	nenduvarO
779	cultivate	casO kOriba	cas kOrbar	hOl Jutbar	tas kOrbar	bolhuvarO, tas koruvarO
780	comb	kunDaiba	gurhabar	kuDheibar	kunDeibar	anciDiguvarO
781	divorce	chaRi deba	charri kOrbar	Can Dridebar	CaDi debar	saDi devarO
782	graze	cOriba	cOrbar	COreibar	COreibar	cOrauvarO
783	guard	jOgiba	jugbar	JOgeibar	JOgbar	jOggubarO
784	harvest	OmOLO kOriba	daebar	daybar	tas kOrbar	bolhuvarO, tas koruvarO

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Besia	Beih
785	irrigate	paNi mORaiba	bOlabar	bOlabar	bOlabar	pani loguvarO
786	lend	dhar deba	udhar debar	udhar debar	udar kOrbar	appu devarO
787	mend	siLaiba	rOphu kOrbar	rOphu kOrbar	silei kOrbar	maDi uvarO
788	milk	dahiBa	dahibar	dahibar	dahbar	daddo kaDuvvarO
789	plant	roiba	lOgabar	lOgabar	rubar, lOghar	cara parivarO
790	reap	kaTiBa	kaThar daebar	doybar	paCbar	laguvarO, poguvarO
791	sew	silai kOriba	silei kOrbar	silbar/sileibar	sileibar	sivarO
792	sow (seed)	buNiBa	bunbar	bunbar	bunbar	poguvarO
793	bark	bhukiba	rODbar	bhukbar	bukbar	dondruvarO
794	bite	kamuRiba	caepbar	Cahbar	Cahbar	kamuDi devarO
795	cook	randhiba	radhbar	randhbar	radbar	nenda korivarO
796	drink	piiba	piibar	pihar	pihar	pivarO
797	eat	khaiBa	khaebar	kharbar	kaihar	kayvarO
798	feed	khuaiba	khuaebar	khuaebar	kuatbar	usu parvarO
799	suck	casiba	cahibar	Cuhibar	susbar	susvarO
800	swallow	giLiBa, Dhokiba	gilbar	gilbar	gilbar	nigaluvarO
801	put on	pindhiba (cloth, shoe ornament), lOgaiba (kumkum)	lOgabar (kumkum), pindhbar (cloth etc)	pindhbar, logaibar	pindbar, lOgeibar	loguvarO
802	tie (dhoti, hair)	bandhiba, beNi pOkaiBa	pindhbar	bandhbar	bādbar	bandhvarO
803	wear	pindhiba	pindhbar	pindhbar	pindbar	pinduvarO
804	answer	utOr deba	utOr debar	utOr debar	utOr debar	koyvarO
805	ask	pOcariba	pOcarbar	pachbar	pOCarbar	maguvarO
806	call	DakiBa	Dakbar	Dakbar, bulaihar	Dakhar	DakkuvarO
807	gossip	gOpO mariba	kaera kOrbar	gOpsOp kOrbar	gOpsOp kOrbar	suTu kaTuvarO
808	pretend	chOLOna kOriba	bahana kOrbar	bahana kOrbar	muCeibar	fosuvarO

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
809	say	kOhiha	kOhehar	bOtabar	bOtabar	koyvarO
810	scoold	gaLi deba	gael debar	gali debar	galidebar	gali devarO
811	shout	paTi kOriha	paeTi kOrhar	paTi kOrbar, kOlar kOrbar	kOlar/paTi kOrbar	tuuDiu koruvarO
812	speak, talk	kOhiha	kOhehar	bOtabar	kOebar	kayvarO
813	write	lekhiha	lekhbar	lekhbar	lekbar	rasuvarO
814	burn	jOLiha	jOlbar	jOlbar	jOlbar	puDDuvarO
815	change(money)	bhOngaiba	bhOnjabar	bhOnjabar	cilar kOrbar	cellaro koruvarO
816	choose	bachaiha	bachbar	baCbar	baCbar	kaDupivarO
817	die	mOriha	mOrbar	mOrbar	mOrbar	mori jevarO
818	live (at)	bOnciba	bācbar	bāCbar rOhebar	baCbar	wasO koruvarO
819	earn	kOmeiha	kOmabar, rujgar kOrbar	kOmai kOrbar	kOmeibar	gaDuvarO
820	hide	luciba	mucbar	nuCbar	luCbar	mici devarO
821	keep	rOkhiha	rOkhbar	rakhbar	rOkhbar	loguvarO
822	miss	hOjiba	hOjabar	hOjabar	Ojabar	tapi jevarO
823	turn	gharaiba	ghuraiibar, ghurabar	ghuraiibar, ghurabar	gareibar	
824	sit	bOsiba	bOsbar	bOsbar	bOsbar	bosuvarO
825	stop	Thaliba, Otkaiha	bOndh kOrbar	rOhi Jibar, bOndhkOri rakhbar	rOI Jibar	raruvarO
826	wait for	Opekha kOriha	Takbar	Tākbar	tākbar	as koruvarO
827	change	bOdOlaiba, OLga kOriha	bOdlabar	palTibar	palTibar	
828	dry out(water)	sukhi jiba	sukhabar	sukhi Jibar	suki Jibar	sukki devarO
829	freeze	jOmi jiba	jOmi jibar	Jomi Jibar	JOmi Jibar	jOmi jevarO
830	rinse	nicuRiba	cipiDbar	CipiDbar	Cipbar	pindliivarO
831	ripen	paciba	pacbar	PaCbar	paCbar	paccivarO
832	shrink	sukuTi jiba	jāki hebar	Jāki hebar	Jākeibar	vOturvarO

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Belli
833	soak	bOturaiiba	bhijbar	susbar	susbar	susivarO
834	swell	phuliba, phuli jiba	phulbar	bODhi Jibar	bODi Jibar	punguvarO
835	wet	oda kOriba, bhijaliba	uda kOrbar	bhingbar, gila hebar	gila kOrbar	tenTuvarO
836	count	gONiba	gOnbar	ginbar	genbar	ganivarO
837	endure	sOhiiba	sOhebar	sOhebar	sOebar	varuvaro
838	know	JaNiba	janbar	Janbar	Janbar	yarakuvarO
839	learn	sikhiiba	sikhbar	sikhbar	sikhbar	sikkavarO
840	think	bhabiba	bhabbar	sOCbar	soCbar	soccuvarO
841	break	niswasO mariba	nisas nebar	nisas nebar	nisas nebar	vOkaDigivaO
842	cry (weep)	kandiba	kandbar	kandbar	kandbar	kandivarO
843	fear	DOriba	DOrbar	DOrbar	DOrbar	DoravarO
844	hear	suNiba	sunbar	sunbar	sunbar	sinuvarO
845	laugh, smile	hOsiba	hOsbar	hObar	O:sbar	OsevarO
846	read	pORhiiba	pODhbar	pODhbar	pODbar	caduvarO
847	sleep, lie	soliba	suabar	suibar	suibar	soyvarO
848	smell	sunghiba	sughbar	sughbar	sughbar	gOndugivarO
849	taste	cakhiba	cakhbar	Cakhbar	Cakbar	sardhivarO
850	touch	chailiba	chuebar	Chuibar	Cuibar	cungivarO
851	wake up	uThiba	uThbar	uThbar	uTbar	uTuvarO
852	watch	jOgiiba	jOgbar	JOgbar	JOgbar	diguvarO
853	ache	bOthaiba	bOthabar	dukhabar	bOtabar	bottavarO
854	amuse(a baby)	geIO kOriba	hOsaiibar	hOsaiibar	Osaiibar	kelpivarO
855	annoy	ragiba	rOgeibar	rOgeibar	rOgeibar	ragi jivarO
856	embrace	kuNDhaiba	kūDhaiibar	pOThapOThi kOrbar	IOgalOgi kOrbar	kOngilivarO
857	kiss	cuma deba	cuma dehar	Cumacumikhae, bar	Cuma debar	madu korivarO

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
858	love	bhOI O paiba	bhOI poebar	mOya kOrbar	bOI poebar	isTu poDuvarO
859	rape	gehiba, geiba	jObOrdOxi kOrbar	lOTbar	lOTbar	kangari, koruvarO
860	seduce	bhulaiba	bhurthabar	bhulkeibar	bulkeibar	paDu koruvarO
861	tired	halia heba	thOkI jibar	thOkI Jibar	tOkI Jibar	puTTi jevarO
862	adopt	posiba	puspurO rOkhbar	poseya nebar	posea nebar	pusigivarO
863	ambush	luci kOri dhOriba	muci rOhebar	nuCi Jibar	nuCi Jibar	nuCikiri tavarO
864	hatch	ga dhoiba	ga dhuebar	nOhabar	gadibar	gadU koruvarO
865	bear (give birth to)	beiba	jOnOm debar kOOreibar	kOOkibar	kOOleibar	jOnOm devarO
866	buy	kiNiba	ghinbar	genbar	genbar	ginivarO
867	conceive	peTriheba	peTe hebar	peTri hebar	peTri e: bar peTri kOrbar	peTTo givarO
868	drip	jhOriba, thopaiba	TOpTOp pODbar	TOpTOp pODbar	TopTOp pODbar	buDu poDuvarO, jODi poDuvarO
869	echo	sObOdO pheriba	SOBOd pherbar	kOlar pherbar	kOlar perbar	pradiduni koruvarO
870	fish	machO dhOriba	Jhuri pOkabar	maCh dhOrbar	maC dOrbar	macco darigivarO
871	gargle	kaLi kOriba	kuli kOrbar	kurkuca kOrbar	kurkuCa kOrbar	gillika koruvarO
872	howl	bhukiba	bhukbar, gOrOjbar	bhukbar	bukbar	dondruvarO
873	limp	choTaiba	chuteibar	ChuTeibar, kudbar	CuTeibar	soTTuvarO
874	meet	bheTiha, dekha heba	misbar	misbar	misbar	lisi givarO
875	obey	maniba	manbar	manbar	manbar	santivarO
876	pry	jhapiiba	lucikiri dekhbar	nuCikiri dekhbar	nuCikiri dekbar	poeku jevarO
877	repay	sujhiba	sujei debar	sudheibar	sudbar	sujivarO
878	ridicule, joke	thOTa kOriba	khOtel hebar	thOTa kOrbar	thOTa kOrbar	Osi devarO
879	show	dekhaiba	dekheibar	dekheibar	dOkelbar	dekeivarO
880	sneeze	chinkiba	chi kbar	Chikbar	Cikbar	sinavarO
881	scratch	chiRiba	chiDbar	ChiDbar	CiDbar	ciDDuvarO
882	stick	lagi rOhiba	laig rOhebar	lagi rOhebar	lagi rOebar	lagi royvarO

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
883	vomit	banti kOriba	bāti kOrbar	bati kOrbar	bati kOrbar	
884	wean(a child)	geIO kOriba	geil kOrbar, gelhabar	gela kOrbar	gela kOrbar	disuvarO
885	wipe	batil kOriba	batil kOrbar	batil kOrbar, muChidebar	batil kOrbar	dOypuvarO
886	name	nam rOkhība, nam deba	nam debar	nam debar	nam debar, na debar	nam devarO
Adjectives						
887	all	sOmOste, sObu	sObu	sObhe	sObu, sOrte	sobu
888	bad	khOrap	khOrap	TauTer	bOl nei	saDDa
889	big	bORO	bOD, jandhOr	bODe	bODeTa	boDTa
890	dirty	mOiLa	kerkeca, OskOTia	gOndi	OskOra	murriki
891	dry	sukhila	sukha	sukha	sukla	sukka
892	few	kichi	kichi	kiCu	kinDik, OiOp	konni, kici
893	full	purNO, bhOrti	pura	pura	bOrti	purtikiri
894	good	bhOI	bhOI	beMgOT, OCCha bhOI	nikO, bOI	bollo, accu
895	hard	TaNO	kOThin	sOkOt	ā, T	gaTTi
896	honest	sOtua	sOcuT	sudha	nikO	gOurOvO, OstuDu
897	lame	choTa	chuTa	CuTa	CuTa	suTTa
898	little	OLpO	choT	suru	san, OiOp	sanTi, kici, konni
899	long	lOmha	bOD, lOman	lOmha	lOmbo	duru
900	many	bOhut	guer, bOhut	khude	butek	butu
901	narrow	ONOsaria	sākur	sOakin/suru	soru	parre
902	new	nua	nua	nua	nua	naTa
903	old	puruNa	buDha	purna	purna	purnaTa
904	raw	kOnca	kŌeca	kOCa	kaCa	konca
905	rotten	pOca	sODha	sODha	kuila	murigijella, murigipia
906	right	Thik	Thik	Thik	Ti:k	Tik

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reili
907	dull	thOntOra	thantOra	thantOra	tantOra	moddu
908	lie	michO	mich	miCha	miC	micha
909	sharp	dharua, munia	xuja	tikhOn, tiOn	da:r	darkOmu
910	short	choTO	chuTia	banua	Timpa	sanTi
911	shy	lajua	lajkuria	laJua	laJua	lajjO
912	some	kichi	kichi	kiCu	kiCu, kinDik, OIOp	kici
913	small	sanO	san, chuT	suru	sanTa	sanniTa
914	smart	cOlaki	ustas	Cafak	uCaT	uxariTa
915	smooth	sutOrO	sutOr	sutOr	sutOr	
916	soft	nOrOm	kOOLia	dOldOli	kO:l	metiga
917	straight	sidha	sidha	sudhasOkOI	sOIok	sidda
918	strength	boLO	takOI	takOI	bo:l	boLOmu
919	stout	pinchaLia	khub deng/ lOman	khabe Deng	mOJbat	dubaka
920	strong	boLUa	takOI, boLUa	takOidar	boLUa, duT	sOtirva
921	thick	moTa	janhOr	muTa	muTa	nidda
922	thin	patOLA	pOti	patla	JaTi	sorruga
923	tired	kLantO, halia	thOkI jibar	thOkI Jibar	tOkI Jibar	alsijesi
924	ugly	OsundOrO	Osundria, OskOTia	OskOTia	keC keCa	kurupi
925	vice	papO	pap	pap	pap	papO
926	virtue	punyO	puen	pun	dOrOm	punyO
927	warm	gOrOm	gOrOm	gOrOm	gOrOm	gOrOm
928	weak	durboLO	durboLia	durboI	durboLia	sorruga
929	wet	oda	uda	gilsa	gila, uda	tintila
930	wide	cOuRa	usaria	usar	usar	Osaro
931	wild	boNua	jOnglia	boNua, jOMgli	boNua	boNo

Sl.No	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
932	wise	<i>budhia</i>	<i>budhia</i>	<i>budhia</i>	<i>budia</i>	<i>duddi, televila</i>
Adverb						
933	east	<i>purbo</i>	<i>purubdik</i>	<i>purubdis</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>puruv</i>
934	end	<i>sesO</i>	<i>ses</i>	<i>ses</i>	<i>ses, sOrla</i>	<i>kosare, araku</i>
935	far	<i>durO</i>	<i>duria</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>durru</i>
936	left side	<i>hā pakhO</i>	<i>Debri pakh/aDe</i>	<i>Deri pakhe</i>	<i>Deri pake</i>	<i>ba atto/pako</i>
937	left hand	<i>Debri hatO</i>	<i>Debri hat</i>	<i>Deri hat</i>	<i>Deri a:t</i>	<i>ba atto</i>
938	middle	<i>mOjhi</i>	<i>mOjhia</i>	<i>mOJi</i>	<i>mOnJi</i>	<i>mOjjere</i>
939	near	<i>pakhOre</i>	<i>pakhe</i>	<i>pakhere</i>	<i>pake</i>	<i>pakOre, pakku, daggiri</i>
940	north	<i>utOrO</i>	<i>utOr dik</i>	<i>utOr</i>	<i>utur</i>	<i>uttara</i>
941	out	<i>baharO</i>	<i>bahar</i>	<i>bahOr</i>	<i>baOr</i>	<i>bayluku</i>
942	right side/hand	<i>Dahano pakhO/hatO</i>	<i>bhujni pakh, bhujni aDe/ bhujni hat</i>	<i>buJni pakhe bhujni hat</i>	<i>buJni pake buJni a:t</i>	<i>batto kailato pako batto kailato, attO</i>
943	south	<i>dOkhiNO</i>	<i>dOkhindik</i>	<i>dOkhin</i>	<i>dOkin</i>	<i>dakino</i>
Particles and Miscellaneous						
944	afternoon	<i>beLO buRO</i>	<i>upOr bela</i>	<i>aDbela, aDber</i>	<i>upOrbela</i>	<i>sonjibelle</i>
945	again	<i>authOre</i>	<i>authOre</i>	<i>aur ghay</i>	<i>airitOre</i>	<i>se pOeke</i>
946	always	<i>sObubeLe</i>	<i>OthipOr</i>	<i>etipOr</i>	<i>sObubele</i>	<i>ai jisi</i>
947	before	<i>agOru</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>aguntu</i>
948	daily	<i>niti</i>	<i>sObudine</i>	<i>hOr rOJ</i>	<i>sObudine</i>	<i>rojella, kebbuku</i>
949	day	<i>dinO</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>di:n</i>	<i>dinO</i>
950	evening	<i>sOnjO</i>	<i>belbuDa</i>	<i>sāJh, berbuDa</i>	<i>sOnJ</i>	<i>sonjo</i>
951	fast(quick)	<i>jOldi, cOneOLO</i>	<i>jOldi</i>	<i>JhOTke, JhOTke</i>	<i>begi</i>	<i>tondorga</i>
952	fullmoon day	<i>purnima, punei</i>	<i>puni</i>	<i>mOrtidin</i>	<i>punei</i>	<i>pOurnOmi, ponami</i>
953	late	<i>Deri</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>ucu</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>alsumine</i>
954	month	<i>masO</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>ma:s</i>	<i>maso</i>

Sl.No	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatrī	Desia	Reill
955	morning	sOkalo	sOkhal	sOkOrya,sOkreya	sOkal	sokalu
956	night	rati	ra 24	ratibera	rati	rattli
957	often	beLe beLe	bele bele	ghay ghay	gay gay bele bele	belle belle
958	season	ratu	ratu	bOsOnt din	ratu	kalo
959	sometimes	kebe kebe	chOne chOne	ghay ghay	gay gay	kebbe kebbe
960	today	aji	aej	aji	aJi	aji
961	tomorrow	asOnta kali	kael	kali	kali	kalliki
962	yesterday	gOtOkali	gOlakael	paCOOr dine	kali	kalle
963	after, afterwards	pOre	pOche	etar pāCe	pOCa	se pocce,taravOta
964	behind	pOchOre	pOche	pOC bhage	pOce	vOcaDe
965	between	mOjhire	mOjhi	mOjire	mOjiri	mOjire
966	by	dOra,dwOra	logi	ne, dei	mOJi, tanetane	dwOra
967	down	tOLe	tOlia	tOle	tOl	tolle
968	for	pai	logi	lagi, kaJe	kaJe	tomu, panu
969	from	Tharu	nu	thanu, le	aitanu	tikiri,munDi tai, para
970	he, she	se	se	āy	sle	se
971	to her,to him	taku	taku	taku	take	taku
972	here	eThi	ine	eThane	itane	yeTTe
973	his,her	taharO	tar	tar	ta:r	ta, taTa
974	how	kemiti	kenta	kOmta	kenti, kenta	kaikiri
975	I	mū	muī	muī	muī	mi
976	it, this	eha	iTa	eTa	iTa	ayne
977	to it, to this	ehaku (H), eiTaku (NH)	iTaku	eTake	iTake	yaDaku
978	its, of this	eiTarO,eharO	iTar	eTar	iTar	yaDaTa
979	like	pOri	inta	bhOlia	pOra	nacne, pana, nacisi

SLNo	English	Standrad Oriya	Sambalpur	Bhatri	Desia	Reli
980	meanwhile	<i>jetebeLe, setebeLe</i>	<i>isOmatis</i>	<i>iberke, isOme</i>	<i>etkibeLe</i>	<i>selikaya</i>
981	to me	<i>mOto</i>	<i>mOte</i>	<i>mOke</i>	<i>mOke</i>	<i>mete, mette</i>
982	my	<i>morO</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>mOr</i>	<i>mOr, mor</i>	<i>mo, moTa</i>
983	otherwise	<i>nOhele</i>	<i>nahele</i>	<i>neihele</i>	<i>nahele</i>	<i>syakirinoyne</i>
984	our	<i>amOrO</i>	<i>ambOr</i>	<i>amOr, emOr</i>	<i>amOr</i>	<i>amO</i>
985	not	<i>na</i>	<i>nai, nO</i>	<i>niyae</i>	<i>nai, nai</i>	<i>ni, na</i>
986	so, thus	<i>teNu</i>	<i>sethir lagi</i>	<i>te.NukOri, netirlagi</i>	<i>kaikaJe entikaJe</i>	<i>ayne</i>
987	somehow	<i>kemitihele</i>	<i>jeuta hOu</i>	<i>JOmta kOri bi</i>	<i>kehele</i>	<i>kaikiri, kaikie</i>
988	that	<i>seiTa</i>	<i>seTa, sihe</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>aiTa</i>	<i>saDa</i>
989	to them	<i>semanOMku</i>	<i>semanku</i>	<i>aymOnke</i>	<i>siemOnke, tanke</i>	<i>tanku</i>
990	then	<i>tapOre</i>	<i>setkibeLe</i>	<i>tObe, tapOre</i>	<i>tebe</i>	<i>sette, setelle</i>
991	those	<i>seguRakO</i>	<i>segura</i>	<i>ay sObuJakO</i>	<i>aimOne</i>	<i>saDane</i>
992	there	<i>seThare</i>	<i>sene, seThi</i>	<i>aythane</i>	<i>aitane, aiti</i>	<i>seTe, seTTe</i>
993	they	<i>semane</i>	<i>semane</i>	<i>aymOn</i>	<i>siemOne</i>	<i>tanke</i>
994	their	<i>semanOMkOrO</i>	<i>semankOr</i>	<i>aymOnkOr</i>	<i>aimOnkOr</i>	<i>tankO</i>
995	these	<i>egurikO, eguRakO</i>	<i>egura</i>	<i>esObuJakO</i>	<i>emOne</i>	<i>yaDane</i>
996	those	<i>seguRikO, seguRakO</i>	<i>segura</i>	<i>aysObuJakO</i>	<i>aimOne</i>	<i>saDane amOku</i>
997	to us	<i>amOku</i>	<i>amku</i>	<i>amke</i>	<i>amke</i>	
998	we	<i>ame</i>	<i>amhe</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>amemOne</i>	<i>ame, amme</i>
999	what	<i>kOONO</i>	<i>kāana</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>kaDa, kera, ka</i>
1000	when	<i>kebe</i>	<i>ketebeLe</i>	<i>kObe</i>	<i>kebe</i>	<i>kebbe</i>
1001	where	<i>kāuThi</i>	<i>kenThane</i>	<i>kenbaTe</i>	<i>kenTi, kontane</i>	<i>keTe, keTTe</i>
1002	who	<i>kie</i>	<i>kie</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>ko:n</i>	<i>kese</i>
1003	why	<i>kāhiki</i>	<i>kāe kOri</i>	<i>kāyJake</i>	<i>kaekaJe</i>	<i>kaiki</i>
1004	whom	<i>kahaku</i>	<i>kahaku</i>	<i>kake</i>	<i>kone</i>	<i>kaku</i>

SLNo	English	Standard Oriya	Sambalpuri	Bhatri	Desia	Reih
1005	without	chORa	chaDi	ChaDa	CaDa	nOykanTa
1006	you	tu, tume	tui, tumhe	tu	tui(sg) Tomi(pl)	tu
1007	to you	iOte	iOte, tumku	iOke	TOke (sg) Tumke (pl)	tete, tette
1008	your	tumOrO	tumOr, tumhOr- man kOr	iOr	TOr (sg) TOMOr(pl)	to
1009	year	bOrsO	bOchOr	bOrOs	bOrOs	bOccoro
1010	and	o	ahuri	aur	airi	inka
1011	at	re	aDke	ke	upre	aDuku pakOre
1012	if	jOdi	jOdi	Jake	JOdi	ayne
1013	in	bhitOre	bhitre	bhitre	bitre	bintOre

A DESCRIPTIVE NOTE ON LARIA, BINJHIA AND SADAN/SADRI

The three mother tongues Laria, Binjhia and Sadan/Sadri although returned from Orissa are shown affiliated to Hindi instead of Oriya. Grierson treated Laria as another name for Chhattisgarhi. Nigam writes "According to LSI Laria is another name of Chhattisgarhi; and was classified in 1961 census accordingly." (*Census Centenary Monograph No. 10 : Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census* :P.142). The mother tongue 'Binjhia' opined by Grierson as another name for Brijia was shown as a dialect of Kherwari, a language belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family. Accordingly in 1961 census 'Binjhia' (in the oblique name as Birjia/Brijia/Binjhia) has been shown as a language under Munda branch. But the subsequent field investigation of Binjhia in the Bonaigarh sub-division of Sundargarh district of Orissa confirms its affiliation to Hindi. However, we do not have any information about Birjia/Brijia. The mother tongue 'Sadan/Sadri' which is treated as another name for Nagpuria (related to Bhojpuri) in LSI by Grierson is a 'tribal-non-tribal continuum' of the Chottanagpur plateau (Ranchi) of Bihar. In Orissa also the same speech Sadan/Sadri was returned from the districts of Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Kalahandi and the study confirmed its affiliation to Hindi. As such from the 1971 census onwards Sadan/Sadri is classified under Hindi.

Census information on Laria, Sadan/Sadri and Binjhia

Of the three mother tongues grouped under Hindi, namely, Laria, Sadan/Sadri and Binjhia, the returns of Laria and Sadan/Sadri in 1991 census are stated below.

	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
Laria									
India (States of Major return)	64,903	31,876	33,027	63,089	30,978	32,111	1,814	898	916
Madhya Pradesh	2,959	1,483	1,476	2,950	1,478	1,472	9	5	4
Orissa	61,920	30,378	31,542	60,139	29,500	30,639	1,781	878	903
Sadan/Sadri									
India (States of Major return)	1,569,066	795,308	7,773,758	1,475,830	747,466	728,364	93,236	47,842	45,394
Assam	104,567	53,733	50,834	103,864	53,339	50,525	703	394	309
Bihar	521,590	264,942	256,648	484,611	245,876	238,735	36,979	19,066	17,913
Madhya Pradesh	306,363	154,044	152,319	303,358	152,498	150,860	3,005	1,546	1,459
Orissa	248,089	123,854	124,235	199,929	99,425	100,504	48,160	24,429	23,731
West Bengal	371,655	188,950	182,705	368,963	187,548	181,415	2,692	1,402	1,290

The mother tongue Binjhia since returned by less than 10,000 speakers has not been shown in the flyleaf of 1991 census.

The three mother tongues grouped under Hindi were selected for study under the LSI-Orissa scheme keeping in view of their social transition they passed through due to migration and long settlement in the territory of Orissa.

S.P. Datta

Segmental phonemes

Supra-segmental phoneme

Vowels (7 – vowel system)

i	u
e	o
E	O
a	

Nasalization of vowels / V/

Consonants (29 – consonant- systems)

p b t d T D k g
ph bh th dh Th Dh kh gh
c j
ch jh
s
m n M
l
r
w v

The basic phonological features of Laria in comparison to standard Oriya are the following

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Use of metathetic - <i>ə</i> - | | | |
| /pa ə < Std. O paRO/ | 'edge of the pond' | /ka ə < Std. O kaL/ | 'tomorrow' |
| /a ə < Std. O a/ | 'today' | | |
| 2. Use of anaptyctic vowel | | | |
| /sObOd < Std. O sObdO/ | 'noise' | /pOtOr < Std. O pOtrO/ | 'leaf' |
| /gOrhOn < Std. O grOhONO/ | 'eclipse' | /urmal < Std. O rumal/ | 'handkerchief' |
| 3. Syncopation of vowel | | | |
| /kOthni < Std. O kOthani/ | 'story' | /cOTni < Std. O cOTONi/ | 'chutney' |
| /jalni < Std. O jaleNi/ | 'fuel' | /usna < Std. O usuNa/ | 'boiled rice' |
| 4. Apocope of vowel | | | |
| /mākOD < Std. O manKODO/ | 'monkey' | /nOkh < Std. O nOkhO/ | 'nail' |
| /bOgOl < Std. O bOgaLO/ | 'shepherd' | | |
| 5. Change of <i>o</i> to <i>u</i> | | | |
| /guTe < Std. O goTe/ | 'one' | /gulmal < Std. O goLomaLO/ | 'noise' |
| /ghuDa < Std. O ghoDa/ | 'home' | /uDus < Std. O oROsO/ | 'bedbug' |
| 6. Nasal consonant nasalized the preceding vowel | | | |
| /bŌcabar < Std. O bŌncabar/ | 'to save' | /kāthi < Std. O kanthŌ/ | 'wall' |
| /kēchu < Std. O koinchŌ/ | 'tortoise' | /dāt < Std. O dantŌ/ | 'tooth' |
| 7. Change of <i>L</i> to <i>l</i> and <i>N</i> to <i>n</i> | | | |
| /jetebele < Std. O jetebeLe/ | 'when' | /setebele < Std. O setebeLe/ | 'then' |
| /bal < Std. O baLo/ | 'hair' | /caul < Std. O cauLo/ | 'rice' |
| /pa ə n/pa ni < Std. O paNi/ | 'water' | /baingŌni < Std. O baigŌNi/ | 'violet' |

8. Use of spontaneous nasalization.

/gOch < Std.O gOchO/	'tree'	/sāp < Std.O sapO/	'snake'
/hāth < Std.O hatO/	'hand'	/jōkh < Std.O jokhO/	'leech'

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are distinguished by the use of pluralisers and gender and case markers. Below are discussed the items.

Pluralisation

Pluralisation is done by the use of *-mOne* (for human beings) and *-gerakO* (for non-human beings, body parts and objects).

Examples

/lok/	'man'	/lok ^m One/	'men'
/beTa/	'son'	/be ^{Ta} mOne/	'sons'
/cakOr/	'servant'	/cak ^{Or} mOne/	'servants'
/Dola/	'basket'	/DolagerakO/	'baskets'
/hāth/	'hand'	/hāthgerakO/	'hands'
/cirei/	'bird'	/cireigerakO/	'birds'
/pOtOr/	'leaf'	/pOtOrgerakO/	'leaves' etc.

Gender system

Gender is marked by the use of two different words or by prefixed phrasal use of two qualifying words or by change of *-a* to *-i* in the feminine. Examples

/bua/	'father'	/ma/	'mother'
/bha/	'brother'	/bOhen/	'sister'
/sōDh/	'ox'	/gay/	'cow'
/erra kua/	'he crow'	/mai kua/	'she crow'
/dōta hāthi/	'he-elephant'	/mai hāthi/	'she-elephant'
/beTa/	'son'	/beTi/	'daughter'
/dulha/	'husband'	/dulhi/	'wife' etc.

Cases

The cases are six which are marked by the use of specific markers as-

Nominative - ϕ	Accusative - <i>la</i>
Instrumental- <i>thi</i>	Ablative - <i>u, -nu</i>
Genitive - <i>kOr, -ke and</i>	
Locative- <i>-e, -ne, -thi, -la</i>	

Example

Nominative	/ghOr/	'house'	/kOlOm/	'pen'
Accusative	/tor beTila Daki/	'call you daughter'		
Instrumental	/Thenga thi(mar)/	'(beat) by the stick'		
Ablative	/ghOru/	'from the house'	/hei dnu/	'from that day'
	/gānu/	'from the village'		
Genitive	/sObkOr ghOre/	'in every house'		
	/rOjaghOrke barine/	'in the palace garden'		
	/koniake Dola/	'basket of the woman'		

Locative	<i>/sObkOr ghOre/</i>	'in every house'
	<i>/rupOTa gharine ahe/</i>	'the pigeon is in the cage'
	<i>/enta rOkOmthi/</i>	'in this way'
	<i>/jugua gachla cODhis/</i>	'the guard went up the tree'

Pronouns

Pronouns are of five-types. These are personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and reflexive. The pronouns are declined in two numbers – singular and plural and six cases – nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. The personal pronouns are distinguished by three persons- first, second and third. Below are presented the pronominals.

Personal pronouns

Pronominal bases

I person	<i>mO</i> (nominative singular, accusative singular)
	<i>mo</i> (genitive singular)
	<i>ham</i> (nominative plural)
II person	<i>tO</i> (nominative singular, accusative singular)
	<i>to</i> (genitive singular)
	<i>tum</i> (nominative plural)
III person	<i>se</i> (nominative singular and plural)
	<i>O</i> (nominative, accusative, genitive singular)

The pronominal bases when declined receive the following case markers –

Nominative -- $\emptyset$, - ϕ	Accusative - <i>-la</i>	Instrumental- <i>-dei</i>
Ablative- <i>-nu</i>	Genitive- <i>-r, -Or, -kOr</i> and	
Locative- <i>aDla</i>		

(Instrumental, ablative and locative receive the respective case markers after the pronominal bases have used the genitive case marker *-r, -Or* and *-kOr*)

The four other types of pronouns have the following pronominal bases-

Demonstrative	<i>/il/</i> (proximate)	<i>u/se</i> (remote)
Relative	<i>/jen/</i> 'who' (person)	<i>/jaha/</i> 'what' (object)
Interrogative	<i>/ka/</i> 'who'	<i>/kaha/</i> 'what'
Reflexive	<i>/Opne/</i> 'self'	

The pronominal bases receive the pluraliser *-mOne* before these are declined in different cases. The respective case markers used for declensional formation are

<i>-ϕ</i> (Nominative)	<i>-la</i> (Accusative)	<i>-dei</i> (Instrumental)
<i>-nu</i> (Ablative)	<i>-r, -kOr</i> (Genitive)	<i>-aDla</i> (Locative)

The postpositions used with the pronouns are –

<i>/bagir/</i> 'like'	<i>/Than/</i> 'to'	<i>/sOngne/</i> 'with'	<i>/pasla/</i> 'near'
<i>/tOk/</i> 'upto'	<i>/lagir/</i> 'for'	<i>/aghlinu/</i> 'before/in front of'	

Examples

<i>/tumhor bagir lokla/</i>	'to a person like you'
<i>/se OkOr sOngThan jagrehis/</i>	'he went to his friend'
<i>/mor sOngne a/</i>	'come with me'
<i>/agike pasla nija/</i>	'don't go near fire'
<i>/se khOb ragttOk kam kOris/</i>	'he worked till late hours of night'
<i>/mor aghlinu ThaD nihO/</i>	'don't stand before me'
<i>/runlagir/</i>	'on account of debt'

Adjectives

The adjectives are distinguished for gender- masculine and feminine and their markers are $-\phi$, $-a$ and $-i$, $-ien$ respectively.

Examples

/Deng/	'tall'	/Dengi/	'tall' (feminine)
/patla/	'lean'	/patli/	'lean' (feminine)
/nisOt/	'lazy'	/nistien/	'lazy' (feminine)

Adjectives are also formed by suffixation of adjectival terminations

$-ia$, $-an$, $-ta$

Examples

/kOlia/	'black'	/bisan/	'poisonous'
/enta,jenta,henta/	'this much, as much and that much'		

The adjectives precede the nouns in the construction.

Examples

/nua sajO/	'new ornaments'	/sagua pOtOr/	'green leaf'
/nukO pila/TOki/	'good boy/girl'		

Verbs

Verbs are of auxiliary, negative auxiliary, finite and non-finite types. The finite verbs are – simple, compound and extended categories. The auxiliary and the finite verbs are realised in three persons – (first, second and third) and two numbers (singular and plural). The auxiliary and finite verbs have four tenses – present, past, future and conditional each having two aspectual sub-types – perfect and imperfect.

The verbal bases of the auxiliary, negative auxiliary and the finite –types are $lah/ /ho/ - rohl$

'be' $/ni(no)/$ 'not be'

and $/kOr/$ 'do' $/kOral/$ 'to make to do' respectively.

Simple tense formation

The tense markers used in different tenses are

Present tense $-th-$	Past tense $-\phi$
Future tense $-h/-b-$	and Conditional tense $-t-$

The two aspectual markers are –

Perfect $-e- / -t-$ (definite) $-er-$ (non-definite)

Imperfect $-o- / -\phi-$

The respective person markers used in two numbers – singular and plural are

Present

$\bar{O}$ (I singular)	$-On$ (I plural)	$-Os$ (II singular)	$-O$ (II plural)
e (III singular)	$-ē$ (III plural)		
[Definite perfect	$-ā$ (I singular)	$-an$ (I plural)	$-as$ (II singular)
$-a$ (II plural),	$-e$ (III singular+plural) }		

Past

$\bar{O}$ (I singular), $-On$ (I plural),	$-e$ (II singular), $-O$ (II plural),
$-is$ (III singular), $-in$ (III plural).	

Future

O (I singular), $-o$ (I plural),	$-e$ (II singular), O (II plural),
$-i$ (III singular), $-ī$ (III plural).	

Conditional

$-ē$ (I singular), $-en$ (I plural),	$-e$ (II singular), $-O$ (II plural),
$-is$ (III singular), $-in$ (III plural).	

Compound tense formation

The structure of compound tenses can be studied in the formation of past (imperfect and perfect) and future (imperfect and perfect) tenses. These are as follows -

Past imperfect

Base - - *Ot* - (imperfect) - - *rOh* > *-reh* (substantive verb) - person - number marker - *-ē* (I singular), - *-en* (I plural), - *-e* (II singular), - *-O* (II plural), - *-is* (III singular), - *-in* (III plural).

Examples

/kOrOt rehē/	'I was doing'	/kOrOt rehen/	'we were doing'
/kOrOt rehel/	'thou was doing'	/kOrOt rOhO/	'you were doing'
/kOrOt rehis/	'he/she was doing'	/kOrOt rehin/	'they were doing'

Past perfect

Base - - *e* - (perfect) - - *-reh* < *-rOh* - (substantive verb) - person-number marker - *-ē* (I singular), - *-en* (I plural), - *-e* (II singular), - *-O* (II plural), - *-is* (III singular), - *-in* (III plural).

Examples

/kOre rehē/	'I had done'	/kOre rehen/	'we had done'
/kOre rehel/	'thou hadst done'	/kOre rOhO/	'you had done'
/kOre rOhis/	'he/she had done'	/kOre rOhin/	'they had done'

Future imperfect

Base - - *Ot* / - *OtOr* - / *Oter* - / - *OtO* / - *Ote* - *-rOh* - (substantive verb) - future marker - *-b* - / - *-φ* - person-number marker - *-ō* (I singular) - *-u* (I plural) - *-e* (II singular) - *-O* (II plural) - *-i* (III singular) - *-ī* (III plural).

Examples

/kOrOtrOhō/	'I shall be doing'	/kOrOtrOhu/	'we shall be doing'
/kOrOterbe/	'thou will be doing'	/kOrOterOhO/	'you will be doing'
/kOrOterihi/	'he/she will be doing'	/kOrOterihi/	'they will be doing'

Future perfect

Base - - *e* - (perfect) - - *-rOh* - (substantive verb) - person - number marker - *-ō* (I singular) - *-o* (I plural) - *-e* (II singular) - *-O* (II plural) - *-i* (III singular) - *-ī* (III plural).

Examples

/kOrerOhō/	'I would have done'	/kOrerboh/	'we would have done'
/kOrerhO/	'thou would have done'	/kOrerOhO/	'you would have done'
/kOre rihī/	'he/she would have done'		
/kOrerihī/	'they would have done'		

Non-finite verbs

The non-finite verbs are of three types - infinitive, verbal noun and participle. Below are noted the formations-

Infinitive

verb base - - *-ba*

/asbalagir/	'(with a view) to come'
/nebalagir/	'(with a view) to take'
/anbalagir/	'(with a view) to bring'

Verbal noun

verb base - - *-bar*

/nOibar/	'to bend'	/sOjeibar/	'to decorate'
/mileibar/	'to spread'		

Participle

Participles are of three types. These are

Present participle - *-er, -il, -el, -ke, -tel.*

Examples

/suner ni paris/ 'he could not hear'
/maril parhō/ 'you can kill' */se asel pare/* 'he can come'
/jaḡke hohi/ 'will have to go'
/semOne uDtel uDtel guin/ 'they went away flying'

Past participle *-ke, -un, -ḡ, -ḡi, -i, -ie, -ek.*

Examples

/sāpTeDha bengTa hOḡke cal lOk/ 'snake moved zig zag'
/sObOd sunun/ 'having heard the noise'
/TaTila hiTe del/ 'open the door'
/pODguis/ 'fallen'
/phuig dele/ 'having beaten' */loTageraKO ghici del/* 'remove the grass'
/tōḡja au ghurie abel/ 'you go and come back'
/bhuTkOmplagir ghOrgerakO dhōḡsekguis/ 'the houses collapsed due to earthquake'

Conditional participle *-le*

Examples

/se aḡle mOḡjahāl/ 'if he comes I shall go'
/se rOhele gulmalhOhil/ 'if he stays there will be a quarrel'

Particles

Particles are of three types. These are-

Interrogative particle *nO, ka*

Examples

/ham hipOdnu par hOḡḡOḡnO/ 'have not we come out of danger'
/i bagir kOtha hOḡḡ pari ka/ 'is such a thing possible'

Conjunctive particle- *je* 'but/that' *ki* 'that' *hele* 'then' *bhi* 'also'

Examples

/kaḡl mōḡ asil parertēje mor-dehO khOrap rOhije mōḡ asilni parē/
'I could have come yesterday but I was not physically well that I
could not come'
/kua kOhis ka/ 'the crow told that'
/semOne jOdi ilamOn ni nebar hele mOla dedO/
'if they don't want then give it to me'
/se asel bhi pare/ 'he may come also'

Adverbial particle - *tOk* 'till/upto/uptil'

Example-

/eb tOk/ 'till now' */ekhentOk/* 'till now'
/aḡtOk/ 'till today'

BINJHIA

S. P. Datta

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental phonemes

Supra-segmental phoneme

Vowels : (6-vowel system)

nasalization of vowels: /V/

i u
e o
 A
 A

Consonants : (29- consonant system)

p	b	t	d	T	D	k	g
ph	bh	th	dh	Th	Dh	kh	gh
						c	j
						ch	jh
		s					h
			l				
			r				
m			n			M	
w						y	

The basic phonological features of Binjhia in comparison to standard Oriya (Std.O) are following-

1. Use of metathetic -~~ə~~-

Examples

/ā~~ə~~kh/ < Std.O ākhi/ 'eye' /bO~~ə~~D/ < Std.O boRhi/ 'flood'
/ba~~ə~~/ < Std.O baLi/ 'sand' /mO~~ə~~sna/ < Std.O mOsina/ 'mattress' etc.

2. Use of anaptyctic vowel:

Examples

/rOkOt/ < Std.O rOkto/ 'blood' /gUpOt/ < Std.O guptO/ 'secret'
/dhOrOm/ < Std.O dhOrmO/ 'religion' etc.

3. Nasal consonant nasalises the preceding vowel: Examples

/kāthi/ < Std.O kanthO/ 'wall' /gŌph/ < Std.O gumphO/ 'moustache'
/bāti/ < Std.O banti/ 'vomit' /pāpOD/ < Std.O pampORO/ 'papad'
/kŌca/ < Std.O kOnca/ 'unripe/raw' etc.

4. Use of spontaneous nasalization

Examples

/gŌch/ < Std.O gOchO/ 'tree' hāth < Std.O hutO/ 'hand'
/khās/ < Std.O khasO/ 'cough' ŌTh < Std.O oThO/ 'lip' etc.

5. Insertion of -n-

Examples

/baingOni/ < Std.O baigONO -- i/ 'violet colour'
/nOnOnDO/ < Std.O nONODO/ 'husband's sister' etc.

6. Dropping of -h-, -w-

Examples

/sihli/ < Std.O sihuLi/ 'flower' (autumn) variety.
/mOu/ < Std.O mOhu/ 'honey' /sās/ < Std.O swasO/ 'breath'

/sOrOg < Std.O swOrgOl/ 'heaven' etc.

7. Change of *l* to *r* and *n*

/mOchri < Std.O mOchLi/ 'fish' /lOmgo < Std.O nOmgoLO/ 'plough share'

/hOrdi < Std.O hOLODi/ 'termieric' /thari/ < Std.O thaLi/ 'plate' etc.

Morphology

Nouns

1. Pluralisation

The plural markers used with the nominal bases are - *mAne* (for human beings) and - *gra* (for non-humans and objects).

Examples

<i>lok/admi</i>	'man'	<i>lok/admi mAne</i>	'men'
<i>beTa/chora</i>	'son/boy'	<i>beTa mAne/choramAne</i>	'sons/boys'
<i>chori</i>	'daughter/girl'	<i>chori mAne</i>	'daughter/girl'
<i>AnDa</i>	'egg'	<i>AnDagra</i>	'eggs'
<i>cirei</i>	'bird'	<i>cerei-gra</i>	'birds'
<i>pAtAr</i>	'leaf'	<i>pAtAr-gra</i>	'leaves'

2. Gender system

Gender is morphologically significant and is realised by the use of two different words or by change of -*a* to -*i* in the feminine.

Example

<i>/bhai/</i>	'brother'	<i>/bAhen/</i>	'sister'
<i>/poD/</i>	'he buffaloe'	<i>/bhAis/</i>	'she buffaloe'
<i>/dulha/</i>	'husband'	<i>/dulhin/</i>	'wife'
<i>/ghēsrā/</i>	'lame' (male)	<i>/ghēsri/</i>	'lame' (female)
<i>/chora/</i>	'boy'	<i>/chori/</i>	'girl'

3. Case system

The cases are six of which nominative is the base itself and rest have the following markers:

Nominative	-	∅ (Base)
Accusative	-	- <i>ke</i>
Instrumental	-	<i>se</i> , - <i>dei</i>
Ablative	-	- <i>le</i> , - <i>lek</i> , - <i>Thunu</i>
Genitive	-	- <i>r</i> , - <i>Ar</i> , - <i>kAr</i> , - <i>ker</i>
Locative	-	- <i>e</i> , - <i>ne</i> , - <i>me</i>

Examples

Nominative

<i>/ghAr/</i>	'house'	<i>/chora/</i>	'boy'
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Accusative

<i>/chorake/</i>	'to the boy'
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Instrumental

<i>/kAlAmse/kAlAmdel/</i>	'by the pen'
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Ablative

<i>/gAchle/</i>	'from the tree'	<i>/bAndlek/</i>	'from the pond'
<i>/gAchThunu/</i>	'from the tree'	<i>/AkArThunu/</i>	'from him'

Genitive

<i>/mor/</i>	'my'	<i>/AkAr/</i>	'his/her'
<i>/gAchAr/</i>	'of the tree'	<i>/rAjaker/</i>	'of the king'

Locative

/sAbkAr ghAre/	'in everybody's house'
/rupATa ghari me ahe/	'the pigeon is in the cage'
/DAngagra khATine bAdha ahe/	'boats are tied with the anchor'

Pronouns

Pronouns are of five types. These are – personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and reflexive. The pronouns are declined in two numbers – singular (sg.) and plural (pl.) and six cases – nominative (nom.), accusative (acc), instrumental (instr.), ablative (abl.), genitive (gen.) and locative (loc.). The personal pronouns are the three– first personal pronoun, second personal pronoun and third personal pronoun. Below are presented the pronominals –

Personal pronouns

I person *mA* (nom.sg.) *mo* (acc/gen.sg.) *hAm/hAmre* (nom,acc.gen.pl)

II person *tA* (nom.sg.) *to* (acc/gen.sg.) *tAm/tohAre* (nom.,acc.,gen.-pl)

III person *u* (nom. sg -pl.) *A* (acc.gen.-sg.-pl.)

The pronominal bases when declined take the following case markers-

Nominative-	ϕ , -e, -he	Accusative-	-ke,
Instrumental-	-dei	Ablative-	-lek
Genitive-	-r, -Ar, -kAr, -ker	Locative-	-aDe.

(In the instrumental, ablative and locative cases the declensional pattern is base – genitive case marker – respective case markers).

The four other classes of pronouns have the following pronominal bases.

Demonstrative	<i>i</i> 'this'(proximate) <i>u</i> 'that' (remote)
Relative	<i>je</i> 'who' (person) <i>jAu</i> 'which' (object)
Interrogative	<i>ke</i> 'who' (person) <i>ka, kAun</i> 'what/which' (object)
Reflexive	<i>Apne/nij</i> 'self'

The pronominal bases receive the *mAne* (for human), *-gra* (non-humans and objects) as the pluralisers. The case markers added to the bases (or bases – pluralisers) are the same as those of the personal pronouns.

Adjectives

The adjectives precede the nouns in the construction and these are distinguished for gender – masculine and feminine. The gender markers for the adjectives are *-a* (masculine) *-i* (feminine) Examples

/Denga/	'tall'	/Dengi/	'tall' (feminine)
/pAtla/	'lean'	/pAtli/	'lean' (feminine)
/kunda/	'deaf'	/kundi/	'deaf' (feminine)

Classifiers

The following are some of the classifiers available in Binjhia:

jhAn used for human nouns referring to non-definite type nouns-

/ekjhAn admi/ 'one man'

Ta used for humans, non-humans and objects of definite type nouns-

/chora Ta/ 'the boy'

/DAlaTa/ 'the basket'

/rupOTA/ 'the pigeon'

-go, -goD used with definite human and non-human nouns-

/ego/	'one'	/dugoD/	'two'
/ego admil/	'one man'	/ego cirel/	'one bird'
/dugoD admil/	'two men'		

hAr used with definite human nouns with honour

/rAjahAr/	'the king'
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Verbs

Verbs are of auxiliary, finite and non-finite types. The finite verbs are classified into simple and compound. The verbs are distinguished for four tenses – present, past, future and conditional which are realised in three persons (first, second and third) and two numbers- singular and plural. Below are discussed the verbal formations

Verb bases	Auxiliary-	ah	Finite-	kAr	'do'
				kAra	'to make to do'

Tense formation

Tense markers

Present - ϕ past - /-/, -Al- future- -m-, -Am-, -Ah-

Conditional -t-, -At-

Aspect markers imperfect - -th-, -t-

Perfect- -t-

Non- finite formations

The non-finite verbs consist of infinitive, verbal noun and participle. Below are noted the formation of the non-finite verbs.

Infinitive - ek (used with close syllabic base) - wek (used with open syllabic base)

	/kAhek/	'to speak'	/awek/	'to come'
--	---------	------------	--------	-----------

Verbal noun	-ek		
	/iTa piek nihe/		'it is not eatable'
	/iTa mor hAr rojAr khaek ahe/		'it is my daily food'

Participle

Participles are present participle and past participle and their respective markers are - -ek, -eke (present participle) - -i-, -i- - ke-, -ke-, -kAn, (past participle).

Present participle	ek, eke		
	/sunek ni pare/		'he/she cannot hear'
	/moke iTa KAreke cahil/		'I should do this'
	/jaeke hohi/		'will have to go'
	/sāp TeDha benTa ho e ke calthe/		'The snake moves zigzag'
Past participle	-i-, -i- - ke-, -ke-, -kAn		
	/nAdi sagArmê jaike millAk/		'the river met the sea'
	/u suike pADhAthe/		'he was reading lying down'
	/ghAr jaekAn u suit geLak/		'having reached home he fell asleep'
	/phigidele/		'threw away'
	/tuphan lagir Dangagra Dhuib geLak/		'on account of cyclone the boats drowned'

Particles

Particles are of two types – interrogative and conjunctive and their respective markers are - *ka* (interrogative), *je*, *to*, *pAr*, *bhi*, *hAle*, *nAhele* (conjunctive).

Interrogative particle-

ka *li bhAlia kAtha hoek pari ka!* 'is such a talk possible'

Conjunctive particle-

je 'that/but'

/Ae! hAm awek partO je mor tAbiyAt Thik ni rAhAlAk/
'yesterday I could have come but my health was not alright'

to 'then'

/u jaeto mAe rAhimul/ 'if he goes then I shall stay'

pAr 'but'

/AkAr jaek cahi pAr u ni gelAk/ 'he should have gone
'but he did not go'

bhi 'also'

/u awekbhi pare/ 'he may come also'

hele 'then'

/semAne jodi iTake ni nebe hele moke diAl/
'if they do not take it then give it to me'

nAhele 'otherwise'

/rupAiya pheri delAk nAhele uke lokmAne martAk/
'he gave back the money otherwise people would have beaten him'

Negativization

Negatives precede the verbs in the construction. The negative particle *ni* is used in all types of construction except interrogative where it is *nai*. Example

<i>/tAe i kamTa ni kArbis/</i>	'you won't do the work'
<i>/mAe AkAr ghAr ni jimul/</i>	'I shall not go to his house'
<i>/tor ghAr nai ka/</i>	'do'nt you have any shelter?'

SADAN / SADRI

S. P. Ahirwal

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental phonemes

Vowels: (9-vowel system)

i	I	u
e		o
	A	
E		O
	a	

Supra-segmental phonemes

nasalization is phonemic

/Ṽ/

Diphthongs are four- *ei*, *ui*, *ou*, *ai* of which *ei*, *ui* and *ou* are medially occurring and *-ui* and *ai* are finally occurring sounds.

Consonants

p	b	t	d	T	D	k	g
ph	bh	th	dh	Th	Dh	kh	gh
						c	f
						ch	jh
	s						
m		n				M	h
			l				
			r				
w						y	

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are inflected for two numbers (singular and plural) and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative) and two genders (masculine marked by *-a* and feminine marked by *-i*).

Numbers

Singular *-a*, *-i* and *-u* change to *-e*, *-io* and *-uo* respectively in plural. Examples

/ghoRa/	'horse'	/ghoRe/	'horses'
/citi/	'leopard'	/citiio/	'leopards'
/bhalu/	'bear'	/bhaluo/	'bears'

Genders

Masculine	<i>-a</i>	changes to	<i>-i</i>	in feminine.	Example
/ghoRa/					'mare'
/cita/					'she leopard'
/chora/					'girl'

Cases

The case markers are $-\phi$ (nominative), $-ke$ (accusative/dative), $-se$ (instrumental/ablative), $-ker$ (genitive), and $-me$ (locative) which are added to the nominal bases to form nominal declension. Example

/chora/	'boy'	/chorake/	'to the boy'
/chorase/	'by/from the boy'	/choraker/	'of the boy'
/chorame/	'in the boy'		

Pronoun

Pronouns are classified into four types- personal, demonstrative, relative and interrogative. Below are discussed the pronouns.

Personal pronouns

Pronominal bases

I person	/müh/	'I'	/hAmAre/	'we'
II person	/tüh/	'thou'	/roure/	'you' (hon.)
			/tühAre/	'you' (pl)
III person	/u, se/	'he/she'	/umAn/	'they'

The case markers added with the pronominal bases are $-ke$ (accusative/dative), $-se$ (instrumental/ablative), $-r$, $-Ar$, $-ker$ (genitive) and ϕ (locative) to form personal pronominal declension.

Demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns

The pronominal bases of these three classes of pronouns are

Demonstrative	<i>i</i>	'this'	<i>u</i>	'that'
		(proximate)		(remote)
Relative	<i>je</i>	'who' (person-specific)		
	<i>jou</i>	'which' (object/person specific)		
Interrogative	<i>ke</i>	'who' (person-specific)		
	<i>kou</i>	'which' (object/person-specific)		

The bases receive the same case markers as the personal pronouns, such as $-\phi$ (nominative), $-ke$ (accusative/dative), $-se$ (instrumental/ablative), $-ker$ (genitive) and $-\phi$ (locative) after the number marker $-mAn$ (for person-specific bases) and $-ga$ (for object-specific bases).

Postposition

Postpositions used with the nominals and the pronominals are of two types- nominal postposition and verbal postposition. Below are exemplified the postpositions.

Nominal postposition

/pache/	'after'	/lOgin/	'for'	/bhitre/	'into'
/laika/	'out of'	/sOdhe/	'with'	/bigOr/	'without'

Verbal postposition

kOri/kOn	ui jaikOri/kOn	'having gone'
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Verbs

Verbs may be categorised as auxiliary, finite and non-finite types of which the auxiliary-type is structured as base – tense marker – person- number marker (in the present and future tenses) and base – tense marker – ϕ – person – number marker (in the past tense).

The finite verbs are constructed of base – tense marker – auxiliary – person – number marker.

Tense markers

1. Present - *At* - > - *t* -
2. Past - *I* -
3. Future - *m* - (I singular) ~ - *Ab* - (I singular), - *b* - (I plural).

Person – number markers

	present	past	future
I person singular	- <i>Ā</i>	- <i>Ā</i>	- <i>u</i> , - ϕ
plural	- <i>i</i>	- <i>ī</i>	- <i>e</i>
II person singular	- <i>is</i>	- <i>ix</i>	- <i>e</i>
plural	- <i>A</i>	- <i>A</i>	- ϕ
III person singular	- <i>e</i>	- <i>A</i>	- <i>i</i>
plural	- <i>Ē</i>	- <i>Ē</i>	- <i>oi</i>

The verbal bases when forming paradigmatic sets make use of the respective tense and person – number markers.

The non-finite category of verbs have (i) infinitives and (ii) participles.

Below are exemplified the non-finite categories. Example

Infinitive	- <i>ek</i> , - <i>e</i>	
	<i>/pi - ek > piek/</i> 'to drink'	
	<i>/kha - ek > khaek/</i> 'to eat'	<i>/dekhe cahela/</i> 'wanted to see'
Participle	- <i>t</i> - - <i>i</i> - - <i>Al</i> - - <i>kAn</i>	
	<i>/jat rAhAlAl/</i> 'keep on going'	<i>/del delAk/</i> 'gave away'
	<i>/thAkAlahel/</i> 'got tired'	<i>/ghAr jaekAn/</i> 'having gone home'

Mood

Besides indicative there is imperative mood.

Imperative mood - ϕ Examples

/bAkSa bATe mAit dekh/ 'don't look at the basket'

/ja ghAr bhitre bAiThbe/ 'go and sit in the room'

Causative verb

- *aw* -

Example

/dekhawAthAl/ 'I make to see' */dekhawAthis/* 'thou makest to see'

/khiawthAl/ 'I feed' etc.

Compound verb

participle – finite verb

bAiTh ja 'sit down' etc.

Particles particles are three and these are exemplified below

Affirmative */hā/* 'yes' Negative - */ni/* 'not'

Emphatic - *e* as in */sAbh-e/* 'all' */kuch-e/* 'some'

AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY

BHUMIJ

J. Suresh

Family affiliation

Bhumij is considered as a dialect of Kherwari (Munda) of the Austro-Asiatic family in *Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir G.A. Grierson. Subsequent investigations among the Bhumij in parts of West Bengal and Orissa showed their switch over to Bengali or Oriya and the study revealed that Bhumij is different from Mundari.

Location

The Bhumij speakers are located essentially in the states of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal.

Statistical Data: Language, Mother Tongue and Bilingualism - 1991 Census

BHUMIJ (LANGUAGE)					BHUMIJ (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	45,302	22,713	22,589		T	39,389	19,709	19,680
	R	43,143	21,618	21,525		R	37,775	18,876	18,899
	U	2,159	1,095	1,064		U	1,614	833	781
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	27,669	13,945	13,724		T	26,513	13,357	13,156
	R	26,191	13,175	13,016		R	25,049	12,592	12,457
	U	1,478	770	708		U	1,464	765	699

Bilingualism:

Total Number of speakers		Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	45,302	22,485	12,712	9,773	Oriya	12,385	7,038	5,347	5,829	4,096	1,733
					Bengali	5,505	2,718	2,767			
					Hindi	2,474	1,797	677			
Orissa	27,669	12,742	7,390	5,352	Oriya	12,188	6,973	5,215	2,084	1,671	411
					Santali	276	139	137			
					Hindi	139	139	---			
					English	139	139	---			

Earlier works on Bhumij

Risley in his book *The tribes and castes of Bengal* (published in 1891) considered Bhumij as nothing more than a branch of the Mundas who spread to the East and mingled with the Hindus.

Information available in *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson (1906) has been that the Bhumij speakers numbering about 79,078 speak a language almost identical with Mundari. Grierson was also convinced that in several districts of Bengal, Orissa and Chhotanagpur Tributary states there was a considerable number of the Bhumij who spoke the speeches of their neighbours.

Regarding 'Manbhum Bhumij' T.C. Das (1931) indicated that percentage of Mundari speaking Bhumij was the lowest in that district and that the bulk of Bhumij population had adopted Bengali.

T.C. Roy Chowdhury (1929) in his article "The Bhumij of Mayurbhanj" published in *Man in India* Vol-IX No. 2, 1929, says 'whatever might have been the original language of the Bhumij, they now speak a kind of broken Oriya in which they have borrowed considerably from Bengali'.

Swarnalatha Prasad (1962) in her article 'Linguistic affinity of Bhumij dialect' opined that the Bhumij tribe speak a dialect allied to Bengali as well as a speech called "Thar".

Hodgson (1850) meant Ho speech data as the data of the Bhumij.

Nigam and Dasgupta (1964) in the article "Mundari and the speech of the Bhumij- A study in bilingualism" absorbed that the speech of the Bhumij was a case of gradual shading off of Mundari language into Bengali in the dimension of space and time and it indicated the results of language shift whereby at some stage due to reasons mainly socio-cultural, the Bhumij switched over from their Mundari, a Munda speech, to a structurally different speech, viz. Bengali. The same tendency of switching over to local variety of Oriya by the Bhumij Speakers has been observed during the present study.

Phonology

Segmentals

There are altogether thirty segmental phonemes in Bhumij of which ten are vowels and twenty are consonants.

Vowels

The ten vowel phonemes include five short vowels *i, e, a, o,* and *u* and their corresponding long counterparts. The short and long vowels contrast in the initial, medial and final positions. They show qualitative as well as quantitative contrast. The five vowels include the front, central and back vowels.

Alternatively the five short vowels contrast with their corresponding long vowels and length is abstracted as a supra-segmental phoneme, a co-occurring feature of the short vowels.

Below are presented the phonemic inventory chart of vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
Higher mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
Low		<i>a a:</i>	

Consonants

There are twenty consonant phonemes in Bhumij of which eleven are stops, four nasals, two fricatives, two laterals and one flap. The palatal stops */c, j/* are phonetically affricates. Since there is a gap in the stop series under the palatal column and as there are no other affricates except the palatal affricate, these palatal affricates have been taken phonemically as palatal stops in order to maintain the neatness of pattern and pattern congruity. The various consonant phonemes present in Bhumij are tabulated as below.

Phonemic inventory chart of consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>		
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>			
Flap			<i>r</i>				

Phonemic distribution

The five long and short vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

Among the 11 stop consonants the phoneme /ʔ/ does not occur initially. All the other stops with the exception of /D/ occur initially, medially and finally. The nasals /m, n/ occur initially, medially and finally while /N/ occurs always intervocally and /M/ always medially and finally. The fricative /h/ occurs initially and in a few instances medially but never finally. The lateral phoneme /l/ occurs in all the three places while /L/ occurs medially and finally. The flap /r/ occurs in all the three positions.

Nasalization

Nasalization in Bhumij is both a redundant and non-redundant feature. In the latter case, it occurs as a supra-segmental phoneme. Thus, we have instances where the nasalization co-occurring with a vowel is realised as the nasal phonemes /m/ or /n/ as the case may be depending upon the vowel. After a back vowel it is realised as /m/ and after a front vowel it is realised as /n/. Example

<i>aŋ</i>	<i>atom</i>	'side'
<i>mu:ɪ</i>	<i>mu:in</i>	'ant'

On the other hand we have instances where certain vowels occur with nasalization even though the following consonant is not a nasal phoneme. Such nasalized vowels always occur in free variation with non-nasalized vowels and both the words carry the same meaning and accepted by the native speakers as the same.

Example

[<i>ceNe</i>]	[<i>ceNe</i>]	'bird'
[<i>ceNe</i>]		
[<i>sā:sɪ</i>]	[<i>sā:sɪ</i>]	'tuberculosis'
[<i>sā:sɪ</i>]		
[<i>ǰā:imarɪM</i>]	[<i>ǰā:imarɪM</i>]	'faint/swoon'
[<i>ǰā:imarɪM</i>]		

Diphthongs

Initial diphthongs

<i>la-</i>	<i>lam</i>	'cry/weep'
<i>ai-</i>	<i>aidarɪ</i>	'officer'
<i>au-</i>	<i>au:b</i>	'evening'

Medial diphthongs

<i>-la-</i>	<i>kamiako</i>	'member'	<i>-iu-</i>	<i>ka:TTiuL</i>	'fox'
<i>-iu-</i>	<i>siu:d</i>	'essence'	<i>-ea-</i>	<i>reala</i>	'cold'
<i>-eu-</i>	<i>neula</i>	'mongoose'	<i>-e:u-</i>	<i>de:una:</i>	'native doctor'
<i>-ai-</i>	<i>sail</i>	'bison'	<i>-au-</i>	<i>maura:</i>	'venom/poison'
<i>-a:i-</i>	<i>ǰa:iba:</i>	'jasmine'	<i>-a:e-</i>	<i>ǰira:en</i>	'rest'
<i>-a:u-</i>	<i>ca:uli</i>	'rice'	<i>-au:-</i>	<i>ma:u:ɪ</i>	'elephant driver'
<i>-ai-</i>	<i>molɪ</i>	'she-buffalo'	<i>-ul-</i>	<i>kulli</i>	'cuckoo'
<i>-ua-</i>	<i>Tuā</i>	'orphan'	<i>-ua:-</i>	<i>sua:n mosla:</i>	'mace'

Final diphthongs

-ia	ba:rd <u>u</u> Dia	'bat'	-ia:	gia:	'continue'
-lo	jo <u>t</u> io	'even though'	-ei-	do <u>r</u> ea	'bay'
-eo	keo	'brushing'	-iu	giu	'shame/shy'
-ei	pa <u>N</u> ei	'weaver'			
-ai	da <u>i</u>	'sister'	-au	gau	'blister'
-a:i	ja <u>m</u> a:i	'son-in-law'	-o:u	ha <u>r</u> a:u	'defeat'
-oi	to <u>r</u> oi	'ashes'	-oe	goe	'death'
-oa	jo <u>a</u>	'cheek'	-ui	ha:u <u>i</u>	'ache/pain'
-ua	Da: <u>M</u> gua	'bachelor'	-ua:	co <u>t</u> ua:	'fluffed rice'
-u:i	cu: <u>i</u>	'calf'			

Triphthongs

Medial triphthongs

-aie-	ba <u>t</u> er	'rope'	-auo-	po <u>r</u> kauo <u>m</u> ni	'examinee'
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Final triphthongs

-ieu	si <u>e</u> u	'cultivate/tend crops'			
-aiu:	ta <u>i</u> u:	'dwell/live at'			
-aea	u <u>t</u> ihaea	'passion'	-aua	na <u>u</u> a	'now'
-oeo	ho <u>e</u> o	'air'	-uei	guei	'kill'

Consonant clusters

Medial identical two consonant clusters – c₁c₁

-pp-	go <u>p</u> po	'story'	-bb-	ba <u>b</u> bu	'penis'
-tt-	o <u>t</u> te	'earth/ground'	-dd-	o <u>d</u> da:	'ginger'
-TT-	mo <u>T</u> To	'fat'	-DD-	be <u>D</u> DoM	'gaint'
-cc-	hi <u>c</u> cir	'lightening'	-jj-	u <u>j</u> ju	'boil/wound'
-kk-	u <u>k</u> ku	'hide'	-gg-	bu <u>g</u> gi	'merit'
-mm-	ka <u>m</u> ma:ri	'injure a person'	-nn-	ba <u>n</u> na:	'bear'
-MM-a:	MMu:r	'grape'	-ss-	ha <u>s</u> sa:gada:	'grave'
-ll-	lo <u>l</u> lo	'heat'	-LL-	pi <u>L</u> Lei	'bladder'
-rr-	o <u>r</u> rakab	'raise'			

Medial non-identical two constant clusters

-pt-	ha: <u>p</u> ta:	'week'	-pD-	ip <u>D</u> i <u>p</u> ium	'firefly'
-pk-	hu <u>p</u> kai u <u>D</u> um	'appear' (come into sight)			
-pn-	o <u>l</u> ca: <u>p</u> ni	'printer'	-ps-	lu <u>p</u> su <u>r</u> du <u>r</u> a	'herb'
-pl-	a <u>p</u> lo <u>p</u>	'wing'	-pr-	ha <u>p</u> ra: u	'race' (engage in a contest)
-bg-	sa <u>k</u> abgi	'seduce'	-bn-	o <u>l</u> u <u>d</u> ubne?	'teacher'
-bl-	me <u>N</u> eT ga <u>b</u> la:	'breast plate'	-br-	a <u>b</u> ro <u>k</u>	'mica'
-ts-	po <u>t</u> siT <u>a</u> :	'purity'	-tr-	ba <u>t</u> ra:	'message'
-dk-	ja <u>d</u> ka:	'enough'	-dl-	ga <u>d</u> la <u>d</u>	'moss'
-dr-	go <u>d</u> ra:	'elephantiasis'	-Tk-	a <u>T</u> ka <u>r</u>	'feel/sense internally'
-dk-	bu <u>d</u> ki	'first wife'	-Dg-	ha <u>D</u> ga:	'wolf'
-Dh-	be: <u>D</u> ho <u>n</u>	'ugly'	-Ds-	pi <u>D</u> sa:	'diarrhoea'
-Dr-	ku <u>D</u> ru <u>M</u>	'on the back'	-cn-	bi <u>c</u> na:	'bed'
-jm-	li <u>m</u> a: li	'general'	-jn-	ka <u>o</u> jni	'acquit'
-jr-	ba: <u>j</u> ra:	'spiked miller'	-kt-	so <u>k</u> to	'strong'
-kT-	co <u>k</u> Ta: u	'mold' (shape plastic material)			
-kr-	bo <u>k</u> cond	'wonder'	-ks-	po <u>k</u> sa:	'lung'
-kr-	ak <u>r</u> iM	'sell'	-gD-	ba: <u>g</u> doM	'gesture' (as when talking)

-gN-	ogNibaron	'arch'	-gL-	dugLu	'jerk' (pull suddenly)
-mp-	kata:ampa:	'claw'	-mb-	ombol	'shade'
-mt-	samtul	'plain'	-md-	sumdi	'daughter-in-law's parents'
-mT-	cimTa:	'pincers'	-mD-	camDa:	'pandal'
-mc-	gonomciDa:u	'bargain'	-mk-	potracamka:	'timid'
-ma-	porkauomni?	'examinee'	-mN-	samNom	'gold'
-ms-	jomsai	'right side'	-mr-	omrua:r	'collect' (debts)
-np-	senparam	'pass by'	-nb-	dinba:r	'date'
-nd-	foronda:?	'stream'	-nT-	ja:nTi	'fence'
-nc-	manci	'chair'	-nj-	honja:r	'father-in-law'
-nm-	ma:nmi	'man'	-nh-	senhora:	'path'
-nl-	senlala:ike	'infantry'	-ns-	kua:nsi	'fog/mist'
-NT-	TuNTa:	'cripple'	-ND-	caNDa:m	'one step'
-MT-	ja:MTuli	'small pox'	-MD-	leMDa:	'left handed person'
-Mk-	Da:Mku	'tall'	-Mg-	goMgor	'cave'
-Mn-	sakam haTiMni	'postman'	-Mr-	roMrasika:	'merry'
-sp-	ispat	'steel'	-st-	dista:	'zinc'
-sT-	gosToM	'flatter'	-sk-	maska:l	'light'
-sg-	arda:sgi	'pray'	-sn-	besnom	'love'
-sl-	be:sleka:lei	'examine' (closely)	-sr-	asra:om	'hope'
-lp-	kulpu	'bolt'	-lb-	seMgalburu	'volcano'
-ld-	duldaL?	'waterfall'	-lc-	alei	'goad'
-lk-	helka:v	'wave'	-lg-	dulgiot	'empty' (a jar)
-lm-	ti:lm:M	'linseed'	-ln-	olni?	'author'
-lh-	ulhon	'student'	-ls-	olsaDi	'report'
-Lp-	solpo	'road'	-LN-	moLNa:	'dead body'
-rp-	ca:rpaTu	'cockroach'	-rb-	sirbol	'aluminium'
-rt-	Darti	'world'	-rd-	arda:s	'petition/prayer'
-rT-	sarTuMgi	'quiver'	-rc-	mu:rci	'chilly'
-rj-	garja:u	'growl'	-rk-	porkuti	'nature'
-rg-	girgiN?um	'centipede'	-rm-	tirmid	'rub'
-rn-	jarna:	'brook'	-rl-	horlosi	'cyclone'
-rh-	birhoLo	'baboon'			

Medial non-identical three consonant clusters – c₁c₂c₃

-mpl-	pampla:d	'butterfly'	-mbL-	ra:mbLa:	'black gram'
-ndr-	da:ndri	'cave'	-nsk-	hinska:	'habit'
-NTk-	hoNTkir	'snore'	-NDr-	joNDra:	'maize' (corn)
-Mkc-	kuMkca:v	'shrink'	-Mgl-	da:MgLukaLa:	'male servant'
-Mgr-	ta:Mgra:	'baldness'			

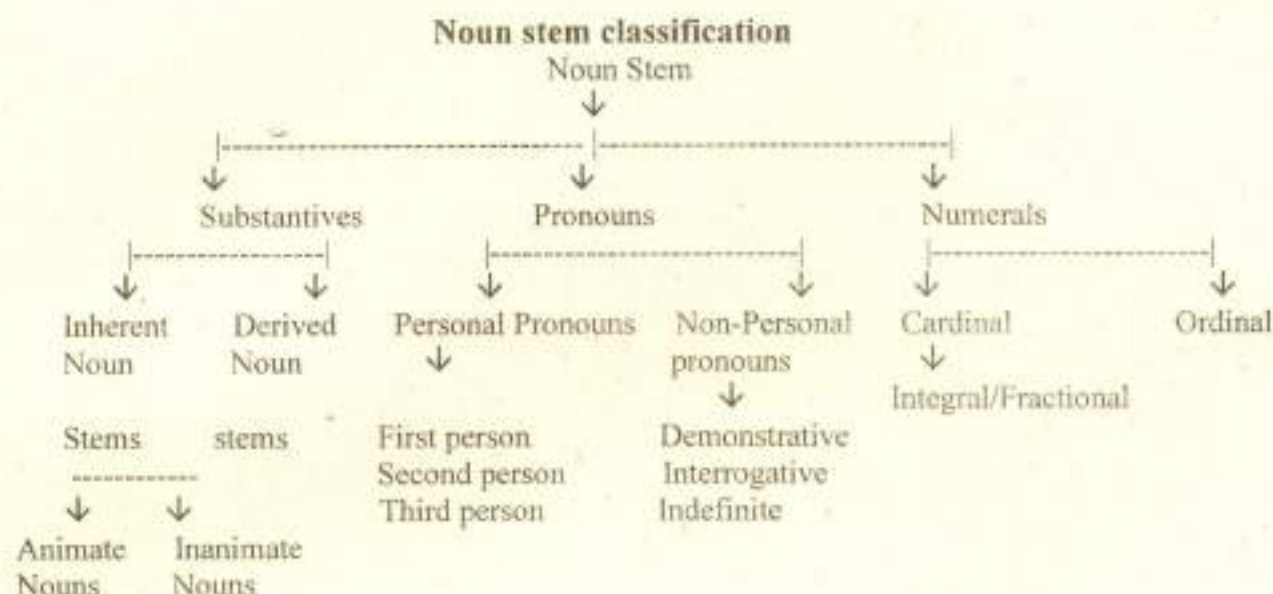
Final non-identical two consonant clusters – c₁c₂-

-nt	ja:nt	'crusher'	-nd-	bokcond	'wonder'
-nc	ca:nc	'metal cast'	-ns	ha:ns	'goose'
-nT	u:NT	'camel'	-ND	soND	'trunk of elephant'

Morphology

Noun

In Bhumij noun stems may be broadly classified into three classes, namely 1) substantives, 2) pronouns and 3) numerals. Below are presented the classification of noun stems.



Animate nouns

All those noun stems which in addition to the genitive suffixes and postpositions, can take dual and plural number suffixes /kin/ and /ko/ respectively belong to the category of animate nouns. These number suffixes are also marked in the verb phrase in the case of third person subject or object.

Example

<i>seta</i>	'dog'	<i>hai</i>	'fish'
<i>hoLoko</i>	'men'	<i>sadom</i>	'horse'
<i>ceNe</i>	'bird'		

Inanimate nouns

The inanimate noun stems differ from the animates by not taking suffixes for number and are not marked in the verbal phrase. In cases, where the duality or plurality is to be emphasised upon, they may take such suffixes.

Example

<i>daru</i>	'tree'	<i>diri</i>	'stone'
<i>lolo</i>	'heat'	<i>maskal</i>	'lightning'
<i>sakam</i>	'leaf'		

Pronoun

The pronouns in Bhumij are of two types, namely, 1) personal pronouns and 2) non-personal pronouns.

There are three personal pronouns in Bhumij, namely, first, second and third person and they show a three way number distinction, namely, singular, dual and plural. The first person dual and plural also show inclusive and exclusive distinction. Pronouns denoting the inanimates do not have dual and plural. The forms of personal pronouns are tabulated below.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	-in 'I'	-laM 'we' (inclusive) -liM 'we' (exclusive)	-bu 'we' (inclusive) -le 'we' (exclusive)
Second person	-m 'you'	-bin 'you' (N Hon) -ben 'you' (Hon)	-pe 'you'
Third person			
Hon	a:i 'he/she'	-kin 'he/she'	-ko 'they'
N Hon	nia 'it'	---	---

Hon= Honorific, N Hon=Non Honorific

Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns in Bhumij are classified into definite demonstrative and indefinite demonstrative.

Definite demonstratives

The following are the definite demonstrative forms.

<i>ne</i>	'this'	<i>en</i>	'that'
<i>han</i>	'yonder that'	<i>nimin</i>	'this much of'
<i>niminaM</i>	'just this much'	<i>imin</i>	'that much'
<i>iminaM</i>	'just that much'		

The forms *nimin* and *imin* qualify noun denoting living beings, where as *niminaM* and *iminaM* qualify nouns denoting inanimate objects.

Example

<i>ne</i>	<i>sadom</i>	'this horse'	<i>ne</i>	<i>setakin</i>	'these two dogs'
<i>en</i>	<i>horko</i>	'those children'	<i>han</i>	<i>daru</i>	'yonder tree'
<i>niminuM</i>	<i>buluM</i>	'this much of salt'			
<i>imin</i>	<i>ipil</i>	'just so many stars'			

Indefinite demonstratives

The indefinite demonstrative pronouns are as follows

<i>oko</i>	'some'	<i>ja</i>	'any'
<i>jeta</i>	'same'		

These receive number and case markers.

The form /*oko*/ qualifies both the animate and inanimate forms. The forms /*ja*/ and /*jeta*/ take the suffix /-n/ for qualifying the inanimates. /*ja*/ and /*jeta*/ are also compounded to mean 'some one'

ja / jeta - -n → *jan / jetan*

The enclitic /*ge*/ is always suffixed to the above demonstratives in short replies to questions, where the noun specified by the interrogatives in the question is understood, but not expressed in the answer.

<i>cimin</i>	<i>hoLoko</i>	<i>senako?</i>	'how many men will go?
<i>purage</i>	'many'		
<i>oLo</i>	<i>caulin</i>	<i>omamea?</i>	'shall I give you more rice?
<i>oLoge</i>	'yes, more'		

Interrogative

The common interrogative form is /oko/ but the exclusive root for this is /ci/ which is also used as a question marker as well as connective in sense of 'that' in a sentence. There are four exclusive suffixes in Bhumij which are added to the root form /ci/ to get the corresponding derived forms. They are 1)-kan 'kind or sort', 2)-lekan 'like', 3)-imin 'so much (animate)', 4)-imlanaM 'so much'(inanimate). From /oko/ the forms /okoe/ and /okoa/ are derived by suffixing -a? and -I?

oko - a ? okoa (inanimate)

oko - i ? okoe (animate)

These forms can also be used as interrogatives.

The form /ci/ is an interrogative particle used both as suffix and prefix. When suffixed to the last word of a proposition, it transforms that proposition into an interrogative one.

hoLoko hijutanakoci? 'are the men coming?'

hoLoko hijutanako 'the men are coming'

As prefix, it is used only to form interrogative compounds.

In the case of definite interrogative pronouns the suffixes /i?/ for the animate and /a?/ for the inanimate are suffixed to /cikan/ and /cilkan/ respectively. These two suffixes are for the personal and impersonal pronouns respectively.

Number

Bhumij shows a three way distinction with regard to number, namely, singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked - ϕ ; dual is marked by -kin and plural is marked by -ko. The number system in Bhumij is illustrated below:

Noun	Singular (mod sakam)	Dual (bar sakam)	Plural (asu sakam)	Meaning
seta	seta- ϕ	seta-kin	seta-ko	'dog'
ipil	ipil- ϕ	ipil-kin	ipil-ko	'star'
holo	holo- ϕ	holo-kin	holo-ko	'man'
hai	hai- ϕ	hai-kin	hai-ko	'fish'
pusi	pusi- ϕ	pusi-kin	pusi-ko	'cat'
da:ru	da:ru- ϕ	da:ru-kin	da:ru-ko	'tree'
a:i	a:i- ϕ	a-kin	a-ko	'he/she'
nia	nia- ϕ	nia-kin	nia-ko	'it/this'
hana	hana- ϕ	hana-kin	hana-ko	'that'(far)
ina	ina- ϕ	ina-kin	ina-ko	'that'(near)

ni? moeon gal

'this is a cow'

nikin gal-kin

'two cows'

niku gal-ko

'these are cows'

hanku seta-ko

'those are dogs'

Gender

In Bhumij, the gender system is based mainly on the meaning of the word. Meaning is basically sex-based. It divides the objects into masculine, feminine and neuter. In Bhumij, there are common genders which stand for both male and female. Besides this, in Bhumij there are morphological and syntactic gender categories. The various gender categories are discussed below.

Sex based classification of gender

The objects which come under this class do not carry either a morphological gender marker or a syntactic gender marker but the gender is inferred from the meaning of the word itself.

Example

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>seṭa:</i>	'dog'	<i>bulli</i>	'bitch'
<i>keDa:</i>	'he-buffallo'	<i>moisi</i>	'she-buffallo'
<i>jama:t</i>	'son-in-law'	<i>honkuLi</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>honja:r</i>	'father-in-law'	<i>hana:r</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>apum</i>	'your father'	<i>eMgam</i>	'your mother'
<i>ma:mu</i>	'maternal uncle'	<i>haṭam</i>	'maternal aunt'
<i>haga:</i>	'brother'	<i>misi</i>	'sister'
<i>da:da:</i>	'brother'(elder)	<i>bu:</i>	'sister'(elder)

Neuter gender

The objects which come under this class are inanimate things and they are not marked by any overt marker. Gender is inferred from the meaning of the word which stands for the object.

Example

<i>daru</i>	'tree'	<i>ḍiri</i>	'stone'
<i>oLa:</i>	'house'	<i>caTu</i>	'mud pot'
<i>sakam</i>	'leaf'		

Common gender

Common gender is the one which may refer either to masculine or feminine. There will not be any specific gender markers in it. Some examples are given below.

<i>merom</i>	'goat' (he and she)	<i>hoLo</i>	'human being'
<i>uri</i>	'cattle'	<i>bi:M</i>	'snake'
<i>hai</i>	'fish'	<i>ceNe</i>	'bird'

Morphologically marked gender

The forms which are grouped under this category are characterised by definite gender markers, namely, masculine and feminine. The suffix for the masculine is { -a: } and the suffix for the feminine is { -i }. The stems which take the masculine suffix { -a: } and feminine suffix { -i } are listed below.

Example

<i>pis-</i>	'uncle/aunt'	<i>ba:gin-</i>	'nephew/niece'
<i>beD-</i>	'sheep'	<i>dul-</i>	'young man/woman'
<i>coT-</i>	'lame'	<i>ka:l-</i>	'deaf'
<i>ka:N-</i>	'blind'	<i>koL-</i>	'male/female'
<i>ku:b-</i>	'hunch back'	<i>ko:nd-</i>	'dumb'
<i>ma:m-</i>	'uncle/aunt'	<i>mos-</i>	'uncle/aunt'(paternal)
<i>ra:ND-</i>	'widower/widow'		

Syntactically marked gender

In Bhumij, there are two forms for masculine and feminine namely, *sa:nDi* (masculine) and *eMga:* (feminine) which are placed before the nouns to show their gender. In the case of birds *sa:NDi* and for higher animal *a:NDia* are used for masculine and *eMga* for feminine.

Example

Masculine	Feminine	
<i>sa:NdDi si:m</i>	<i>eMga: si:m</i>	'cock/hen'
<i>sa:NDi si:m</i>	<i>eMga: mara:i</i>	'peacock/peahen'

<i>sa:NDi para:l</i>	<i>eMga:para:i</i>	'pigeon'
<i>a:NDia kula:</i>	<i>eMga: kula:</i>	'tiger'
<i>a:NDia tuyu</i>	<i>eMga: tuyu</i>	'jackal'
<i>a:NDia ha:ti</i>	<i>eMga: ha:ti</i>	'elephant'

Case

In Bhumij there are six cases which are marked by distinct case markers and the rest are unmarked explicitly and in some cases conveyed implicitly by placement in the construction. Nominative, accusative and dative cases belong to the later category.

Nominative

The nominative case is unmarked in Bhumij. The nominal base in the free form itself conveys the meaning.

Example

<i>daru- φ</i>	'tree'	<i>bi:r-φ</i>	'jungle'
<i>jiki-φ</i>	'porcupine'	<i>sukri-φ</i>	'boar'
<i>kurid-φ</i>	'kite'		
<i>ma: tiki isin keda</i>	'mother cooked the rice'		
<i>seta: kin ma: Di jom keda</i>	'the dog ate rice'		

Instrumental

The instrumental case is marked by *-te* and it is used to express the meaning with, by, through, the medium of, etc.

{ *-te* } ∞ *-te*

∞-*te* occurs with all nominal bases to give the meaning of with, by, etc.

<i>sabur-te</i>	'with soap'
<i>jalam-te</i>	'with net'
<i>a:i laukate gaDa: param jana</i>	'he crossed the river with the boat'
<i>a:i jalamte hai saptana</i>	'I am fishing with the net'
<i>ain moeod daru curite ma? kedain</i>	'I cut the tree with a knife'
<i>ain gaDa da? ten naTu tan-a</i>	'I am carried off by flood'

Genitive

The genitive forms generally indicate a possessor-possession relationship between a pronoun and a noun, or a noun and a noun. Bhumij has six distinct genitive markers to express the various relationships. They are *-φ*, *-a* ?/ *-a*, *-ren*, *-ra* ?/ *-rea*?, *-ta*? *ren* and *renik/rinik*. They occur in complementary distribution.

{ *-ren* }

∞ *-a* ? ~ *-a*? ~ *-φ* *-ra*? ~ *-rea*?, *-ta*? *ren*, *renik* ~ *rinik*.

∞-*ren* is used to express the relation of an inanimate object with an animate being.

ra:nci-ren 'of Ranchi' *daru-ren* 'of the tree'

ra:nciren urayko hoDote ko jagra 'the Uraons of Ranchi speak Mundari'

~ *-ra*? ~ *-rea*? expresses the relationship of an inanimate object with another inanimate object.

bi:r-ra? 'of the forest' *ruka-rea?* 'of the chisel'

bi:r-ra? daru 'the trees of the forest'

∞ *-ra*? *ren* expresses the relationship of a person with his off spring and domestic animals.

pasnata? ren honko sengel leltekajana 'pasna's children went to see the fire'

∞ *renik* ~ *-rinik* shows the relation of a man with wife when suffixed to the name of the man.

ra:mrenik sita: etakena 'Ram's wife is Sita'

mucra: irinik suma: etakena 'Muchrai's wife is suma'

∞ *-φ* is used to relate a person and his inanimate possession when the person is expressed by name.

ain hari-φ oDa? re tainme 'I stay in Hari's house'

∞ -a ? , -a occurs elsewhere.

Harua ? seta 'Haru's dog'

Sukrama ? ote 'Sukram's land' *noboa ? honko* 'Nobo's children'

Locative

The locative case expresses the place where an action had occurred or tell about a place or location. It is marked by -e, and -re in Bhumij.

{ ∞ -re }

∞ -re / ∞ -e

∞ -re / ∞ -e occurs after all nominal bases.

oDa ? -re 'in the house'

oDa ? -e

ne banduk -re 'on this gun'

ain a:i - ke bustiMkujalgare lelliain 'I saw her at the bus stand'

pokkarTre ta:Laiba: ? puTa:va 'the lotus flower will blossom in the water'

raguna:t kalikata:re tayutanare 'Ragunath is staying in Calcutta'

Ablative and comparative

In Bhumij, the ablative and comparative are expressed by the same case marker. The meaning is ascertained from the context. The markers are -ete, -ate, -a:te

{ ∞ -ete }

∞ -ete / ∞ -ate / ∞ -a:te

nia + ete > niate 'from here'

jeTe + ate jeTete 'from the heat/due to heat'

bau - te koDa misi - ete -e salaMgi -a
'his brother is taller than his sister'

Vocative

Vocative case is expressed in three ways.

(i) To address junior male members/servants.

(ii) To address female members/servants.

(iii) To address ladies, gentlemen, superiors and foreigner.

The respective markers are i) a: and hai ii) na: and iii) ga: The distribution is shown below.

{ ∞ ga: }

∞ -a: / -hai ; ∞ -na: , ∞ -ga:

∞ -a: / -hai occurs with names of junior male members and servants

sukram - a: 'oh! Sukram' *ra: m - a:* 'oh! Ram'

pasna - a: > pasna: 'oh! Pasna'

∞ -na is used with names of female members and servants.

mar, na: ! birsi miad leka dura:M lem

'here, Birsi sing one or two songs'

∞ -ga: is used to address ladies and gentlemen, superiors and foreigners.

a ba ga: ko tem tana ? 'oh! Father, where are you going?'

mar ga: dub ? -pe 'oh! (sir) please take your seat'

Possessive

There are three different suffixes to express possessive cases of family relations. For first person the possessive case suffix is *-iM*, for second person it is *-m* and for the third person it is *-te*.

<i>eMga-iM</i>	'my mother'	<i>eMga-m</i>	'your mother'
<i>eMga-te</i>	'his/her mother'	<i>apu-iM</i>	'my father'
<i>apu-m</i>	'your father'	<i>apu-te</i>	'his/her father'
<i>hili-iM</i>	'my elder brother's wife'		
<i>hili-m</i>	'your elder brother's wife'		
<i>hili-te</i>	'his/her elder brother's wife'		

Numerals

The numerals in Bhumij may be classified into (1)cardinals, (2) ordinals, (3)proportionals, (4)distributives and (5)fractionals.

Cardinals

The basic numerals found in Bhumij are from one to ten and for the number twenty. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the first nine numbers respectively to the word *gel* meaning ten. No Bhumij word exists for any number higher than twenty. The higher numbers are counted in stages of twenties. The 'forty' is called *bar hisi* meaning two twenties; sixty is *api hisi* meaning three twenties; eighty is *upun hisi* four twenties and so on.

The numbers from twenty to forty are formed by adding the first nineteen numbers respectively to the word for twenty. The basic numerals are

<i>moeon</i> - (1)	<i>bari-a</i> - (2)	<i>api-a</i> -(3)
<i>upun-ia</i> -(4)	<i>moNe-a</i> -(5)	<i>tu:ri-a</i> -(6)
<i>irai-a</i> -(7)	<i>are-a</i> -(8)	<i>irayil-ia</i> -(9)
<i>gel-is</i> -(10)	<i>hisi</i> -(20)	

The Bhumij numerals are being displaced more and more by Hindi in districts where Hindi is understood and in other areas by Oriya. Thus the word for hundred is not *moNehisi* 5x20 but *so* or *sau*. Similarly the word for thousand is *hazar* and not *gel so*. In Sambalpuri dialect of Bhumij the influence is too much that even the word *hisi* is replaced by *bi:s*.

The suffix *-a/-ia* occurring after the numerals from two to ten are usually dropped when they are placed before higher numerals.

Adjectives

Adjectives in Bhumij may be classified into two broad categories, namely, 1) simple adjectives and 2) derived adjectives.

Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives are mono-morphemic in nature and when placed before a noun they perform the function of an adjective.

Example

<i>eskar</i>	'alone/lonely'	<i>poNDe</i>	'damp'
<i>gulai</i>	'circle'	<i>sakot</i>	'crooked'
<i>sakoT</i>	'narrow'	<i>lum</i>	'drenched'
<i>rokka:</i>	'fresh'		

Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are generally bi-or polymorphemic depending upon the nature of the derivation process. In Bhumij, however, we have come across only bimorphemic adjectives in this category.

1) Derivation with /-n/

The demonstrative /-n/ is suffixed to a noun root to get the corresponding adjectival form.

Example

bugi - - *n* > *bugin* 'good' *eke* - - *n* > *eken* 'empty'
bogi - - *n* > *bogin* 'charming'

2) Derivation with /-an/

/ -an / is suffixed to words denoting animate, and inanimate nouns as well as certain qualities.

When these words end in the vowel -a the suffix is simply -n.

bilka - - *an* > *bilkan* 'kind' *boro* - - *an* > *boroan* 'fearful'
giu - - *an* > *giun* 'shy'

3) The perfect participle form /-akan/ is suffixed to the verb root and as such is used as adjectives.

Example

nu - - *akan* > *nuakan* 'drunk'

4) Derivation with /-p- /

-p- is infixed into qualitatives denoting dimensions to form their superlatives.

mara: *M* - - *p*- *mapra*: *M* 'very great'

5) Numeral adjectives

Simple form of numerical adjectives are derived by deleting the vowel(s)- (v) a occurring finally with these numbers and sometimes by deleting that occurring medially.

Example

miad > *mid* *baria* > *bar* *apia* > *api* *upunia* > *upun*
turia > *turi* *iralia* > *irali* *gelea* > *gel*

The shortened forms as stated above are used to form further cardinal numbers, when they are prefixed to the number which they multiply.

upun hisi three x twenty = sixty
bar hisi two x twenty = forty

In the case of distributive numerals used adjectively, the first syllable of the numeral is reduplicated.

baria > *ba - baria* 'in two's'

In the case of proportional numerals, the form /sa?/ is added to the shortened form of the numeral.

miad - sa? > *mid sa?* 'once'
baria - sa? > *bar sa?* 'twice'
apia - sa? > *apisa?* 'thrice'

Verbs

The verbs in Bhumij may be of finite and non-finite types.

Finite verbs

Tenses

In Bhumij there is no specific tense-marker. However, there are the concepts of time dimension as in past, present and future.

/ *tan* /, the 'definite present' marker may first appear to be the only tense-marker in Bhumij.

The notion of past, present and future in various degrees and dimensions are used as follows.

In the present tense, the non-completive indeterminate is used as an action going on or an event continuing at the present time as well. The marker / *tan* / is used for definite present and is very frequent.

Present definite

verb = <i>seno</i>	'to go away' (from a place)
<i>ain senotana</i>	'I am going'
<i>aliM-liM seno tana</i>	'we (two) are going'
<i>abu (n) senotana</i>	'we are going'
<i>ale - le senotana</i>	'we are going'
<i>aben senotana</i>	'you(two) are going'
<i>ape -pe senotana</i>	'you are all going'
<i>ako - ko senotana</i>	'they are going'

Present perfect

<i>ain sena-kana</i>	'I have gone'
<i>aliM-liM sena-kana</i>	'we have gone'
<i>am sena-kana</i>	'you have gone'
<i>akin - kin sena-kana</i>	'they have gone'

Present perfect continuous

<i>ain senautana</i>	'I have been going'
<i>aliM-liM senautana</i>	'we have been going'
<i>am senautana</i>	'you have been going'
<i>akin - kin senautana</i>	'they have been going'
<i>ako - ko senautana</i>	'they have been going'

Present indefinite

<i>ain seno?</i>	'I go'
<i>am seno?</i>	'you go'
<i>akin - kin seno?</i>	'they(two) go'
<i>ako -ko seno?</i>	'they(all) go'

Past indefinite

<i>ain seno jana</i>	'I went'
<i>aliM-liM seno jana</i>	'we went'
<i>ale - le seno jana</i>	'we(all) went'
<i>abin - bin seno jana</i>	'you(two) went'
<i>ape- pe seno jana</i>	'you(all) went'

Past imperfect

<i>ain seno tantai kena</i>	'I was going'
<i>aliM-liM senotan tai kena</i>	'we were going'
<i>abin-bin senotantai kena</i>	'you were going'
<i>akin-kin senotan tai kena</i>	'they (two) were going'
<i>ako -ko senotan tai kena</i>	'they were going'

Past perfect

<i>ain sen kena/lena</i>	'I had gone'
<i>a liM-liM senkena/lena</i>	'we had gone'
<i>akin - kin senkena/lena</i>	'they(two) had gone'
<i>ako - ko senkena/lena</i>	'they (all) gone'

Past perfect continuous

<i>ain senautan taikena</i>	'I had been going'
<i>aliM-liM senautan taikena</i>	'we had been going'
<i>ale-ale-le senautantaikena</i>	'we had been going'
<i>ako-ko senautantaikena</i>	'they had been going'

Future tense

Future definite

Future tense has no marker at all and the simple addition of copula to the root as in the case of indeterminate present denotes the simple future.

Example

<i>ain seno-a</i>	'I shall go'	<i>aliM-liM seno-a</i>	'we shall go'
<i>ale-le seno-a</i>	'we shall go'	<i>akin-kin seno-a</i>	'they will go'
<i>ako-ko seno-a</i>	'they will go'		

Future imperfect

<i>ain senta?</i>	'I will be going'	<i>aliM-liM senta?</i>	'we(all) will be going'
<i>akin-kin senta?</i>	'they will be going'	<i>ako-ko senta?</i>	'they will be going'

Future perfect

<i>ain senokanoa</i>	'I shall have gone'
<i>aliM-liM senokanoa</i>	'we shall have gone'
<i>akin-kin senokanoa</i>	'they (two) shall have gone'
<i>ako-ko seno kanoa</i>	'they (all) shall have gone'

Future perfect continuous

<i>ain senauakanaua</i>	'I shall have been going'
<i>aliM-liM senauakanaua</i>	'we shall have been going'
<i>ale-le senaua kanaua</i>	'we shall have been going'
<i>akin-kin senaua kanaua</i>	'they (two) shall have been going'
<i>ako - ko senaua kanaua</i>	'they (all) shall have been going'

Syntax

In Bhumij, the sentences are of two types. These are 1) Major sentences and 2) Minor sentences. Major sentences can be divided into three sub-types, viz., 1) Simple sentences, 2) Compound sentences and 3) Complex sentences. The non-verbal sentences are also known as appositional sentences.

The major sentences can be analysed into one or more than one constituents called clauses. Simple sentences contain a single main clause. Compound sentences are built up of two or more main clauses. In addition to main clauses the compound sentences may contain one or more than one subordinate clauses. The clauses can be further analysed into one or more constituents which are called phrases. The phrases are of different types like noun phrase, verb phrase, and so on.

Phrases: noun phrase

Noun phrases are endocentric constructions. The noun phrases are divided into attributive and co-ordinate noun phrase.

Attributive noun phrase

Attributive noun phrase has a noun as the head of the construction. The preceding constituents, that is, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, nouns or genitivals serve as the attributes. The following are the examples of attributive noun phrases. Example

<i>ne sadom</i>	'this horse'	<i>en honko</i>	'those children'
<i>oko koLa</i>	'which boy'	<i>han daru</i>	'that(yonder) tree'

Adjectival phrase

The adjectival phrases are of three main types viz., that which takes genitival bound morphemes, single or compound, that which has participle form and one with intensifiers and emphatic particles.

Example

<i>ne daMgaLa kuLi</i>	'girl of this young man'
<i>sarilia? kasur</i>	'the guilt of Sarili'
<i>bir - ra? daru</i>	'tree of the jungle'
<i>bir - rea? daru</i>	
<i>daru - ra? -jo</i>	'the fruit of the tree'

The genitive suffix *-ren* is generally suffixed to the animate or inanimate nouns but is governed by the animate noun only.

Example

<i>da? ren bi:M</i>	'the snake of the water'
<i>moeon sirmaren kuLi</i>	'girl of one year'
<i>cuDki kuL iren honko</i>	'children of the first wife'
<i>mucra:iren kuLi</i>	'wife of Muchray'

Adverb phrase

The adverbial phrases use *-re*, *-te*, *-ta?*, *-ete* and *sa?* and in compounds are *ta?te*, *ta?ete*, *sa?te* and *sa?ete* as the relators for the locatives.

Example

<i>sirma - re - rakab</i>	'to climb on a height'
<i>bi:r - te - nino?</i>	'to flee to the forests'
<i>kami - ete - ruDa</i>	'to return from the work'

Temporal phrases

Three suffixes *-re*, *-te* and *ete* which function as relators for the locatives, are also used for the adverbs of time and they are suffixed to nouns or even to adjectives.

Example

<i>reMge?re</i>	'while hungry'
<i>seta?te</i>	'since morning'
<i>hola ete</i>	'since yesterday'

Verb phrases

Bhumij has very few types of verb phrases: 1) with imperatives, 2) with infinitives and 3) with intensifiers.

1) The two common imperative markers */dola/* and */mar/* may be used in preceding position with any verb and with all the three persons.

Example

<i>mar - seno- pe</i>	'you may go'
<i>dola - dub - aiM</i>	'let me sit'

2) The most common intensifier */ge/* is used with a verb in the tense, in order to constitute present continuous, differentiating them from pure perfects.

<i>dub - kaMge - a - e</i>	'(he) keeps on sitting'
<i>nira - kadgea - e</i>	'(he) keeps on running'

3) There are certain verb compounds in Bhumij which are quite different from compound verbs. The combining verbs generally lose their semantic identity and may stand neutral in action. Example-

<i>nir tab</i>	'to hasten to flee'	<i>jom eTe</i>	'to begin to eat'
<i>kami taba</i>	'to continue to work'		

Brief sociolinguistic information

According to Risley, Bhumij is a non-Aryan tribe closely allied to, if not identical with, the Mundas. The Bhumij people have formed themselves into a number of groups. In Orissa, they are called Tamaria, Bara-Bhumiya, Matia, Desi, Teli, Haldi Pokharia and Sahara-Bhumij. Each of these sections is again divided into a number of exogamous sub-groups.

The main occupation of this people is settled cultivation. They employ themselves in wage-earning, collection of jungle products and hunting.

According to Grierson, the Bhumij language is almost similar to Mundari, but it has undergone modification according to the area of their migration.

This language is spoken by one of the scheduled tribes of Orissa having no orthographic system of its own and consequently it has no written literary output at all.

As per the 1981 census the tribal population of Bhumij in Bihar is 136,109, in Orissa 157,614 and in West Bengal 233,906. Out of which Bhumij is returned as mother tongue by 7,815, 32,360 and 1,774 respectively.

Word list follows:

Sl. No.	English	Bhumij	Sl. No.	English	Bhumij
1	air	hoeo	44	widow	bewa
2	ashes	torey	45	wife	tiri
3	cloud	lahari	46	woman	kuLiko
4	cold	reya:D	47	ant	ta:NTo
5	darkness	nuvaba?	48	bird	che:ne:
6	earth	otte	49	cat	pu:si
7	eclipse	goron	50	claw	panja:
8	fire	ipiyum	51	cock	saNDisi:m
9	fog	kuhuLa	52	cow	gai
10	forest	bi:r	53	dog	seta
11	hill	buru	54	egg	peTTa:li
12	ice	aril	55	feather	i:l
13	moon	ca:nDu	56	fish	hai/haisap
14	mountain	maRaMg buru	57	fly	apir
15	rain	gama	58	fox	ka:TTiul
16	river	gaDa	59	goat	merOn
17	road	ro:D	60	grease	ittil
18	sand	gittil	61	guts	lay
19	wing	hoyo	62	horn	diriMg
20	wood	sa:n	63	back	deya:
21	baby	hon	64	belly	lay
22	boy	kala:hon	65	blood	mayom
23	bride	kOnya:	66	body	holomo
24	bride groom	bo:r	67	bone	ja:n
25	brother	haga:	68	breast	cupru
26	child	ho:n	69	chest	kulam
27	daughter	kuDi	70	ear	lattur
28	father	aba:	71	eye	men
29	friend	suMgutti	72	face	me?mocca:
30	girl	kuLi	73	fever	ha:su
31	husband	kisa:n	74	finger	Da:Do:
32	male	koLa:	75	flesh	ji:lu
33	man	hoLo/ma:nmi	76	foot	kaTTa:talka:
34	marriage	aNandi	77	hair	u:b
35	maternal uncle	mamu:	78	hand	ti:
36	maternal uncle's daughter	misi:	79	head	bo?
37	mother	ma:	80	heart	kalja:
38	nephew	putra:	81	leg	kaTTa:
39	niece	jhiya:ri	82	lip	lacco
40	old man	purna hoLo	83	liver	karja:
41	sister	misi:	84	lung	puspus
42	sister-in-law	buw	85	mouth	mocha:
43	son	hon koLa	86	neck	haTTO
			87	nose	mu:(n)

88	spine	<i>mrudoNDa</i>	136	white	<i>pu:NDi</i>
89	tongue	<i>alla:Mg</i>	137	yellow	<i>sasan</i>
90	tooth	<i>DaTTa</i>	138	hungry	<i>reMge</i>
91	waist	<i>mayaMg</i>	139	love	<i>be:sno:m</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo</i>	140	pain	<i>ha:su</i>
93	liquor	<i>illi:/arki(rice)</i>	141	true	<i>sartte</i>
94	milk	<i>ta:i/toa</i>	142	wish	<i>a:s</i>
95	salt	<i>buluMg</i>	143	ink	<i>kaDi</i>
96	smoke	<i>sukkul</i>	144	school	<i>oloLa:</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>cha:wuli</i>	145	student	<i>isku:l ho:n</i>
98	bed	<i>parkom</i>	146	teacher	<i>oludubni?</i>
99	door	<i>dua:r</i>	147	bullet	<i>guli</i>
100	house	<i>O:Ra</i>	148	first	<i>maNaMg/moyaMg</i>
101	roof	<i>saDima:</i>	149	second	<i>baria</i>
102	rope	<i>ba:yar</i>	150	third	<i>apia</i>
103	wall	<i>kant</i>	151	one	<i>moeon</i>
104	well	<i>Da:Di</i>	152	two	<i>bari</i>
105	window	<i>jorka:</i>	153	three	<i>api</i>
106	flower	<i>ba:?</i>	154	four	<i>upun</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo</i>	155	five	<i>moNe</i>
108	garden	<i>baga:n</i>	156	ten	<i>gel</i>
109	grass	<i>tasa:d</i>	157	sixteen	<i>ge:l turu:y</i>
110	guava	<i>peRa:</i>	158	twenty	<i>his</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>kanTal</i>	159	forty	<i>ba:r hissi</i>
112	leaf	<i>sakam</i>	160	do	<i>kami ine</i>
113	lily	<i>salki:tba</i>			
114	mango	<i>ulli</i>	161	pull	<i>o:r</i>
115	paddy	<i>ba:ba:</i>	162	push	<i>udur</i>
116	plough	<i>siyu:</i>	163	put	<i>do</i>
117	potato	<i>saMga:</i>	164	rub	<i>gessa:</i>
118	root	<i>red</i>	165	sell	<i>a:kriMg</i>
119	sweet	<i>sibil/heLem</i>	166	wash	<i>pakaLa:u/hebuMg</i>
120	tree	<i>daru</i>	167	work	<i>kami</i>
121	vegetable	<i>uttuaLa:</i>	168	sing	<i>du:reMgem</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakka:</i>	169	bring	<i>au</i>
123	bitter	<i>ha:Lad</i>	170	climb	<i>de:</i>
124	black	<i>hende</i>	171	come	<i>hiju</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:na:</i>	172	give	<i>omiya:</i>
126	blue	<i>koisa:hende</i>	173	go	<i>ju</i>
127	bright	<i>maskal</i>	174	jump	<i>khu:Dil</i>
128	brown	<i>dusaro</i>	75	vomit	<i>ulla:</i>
129	coldness	<i>realu</i>	176	say	<i>ka:ji</i>
130	green	<i>sagua</i>	177	write	<i>o:le:n</i>
131	hot	<i>lalo</i>	178	touch	<i>jutid</i>
132	light	<i>rabal</i>	179	bathe	<i>re:a:L</i>
133	red	<i>raMga:</i>	180	all	<i>goben/jotto</i>
134	sour	<i>jojo</i>	181	bad	<i>kara:p</i>
135	sweet	<i>sibil</i>	182	big	<i>maraMg</i>

183	dirty	<i>Oskara:</i>	219	for	<i>natin</i>
184	dry	<i>ro:L</i>	220	from	<i>tea</i>
185	few	<i>huDi</i>	221	he,she	<i>a:i</i>
186	full	<i>pere</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>a:ike</i>
187	good	<i>be:s/suga:L</i>	223	here	<i>nere</i>
188	hand	<i>ti:</i>	224	his/her	<i>aya:</i>
189	honest	<i>sa:du</i>	225	how	<i>cikka:lekka:</i>
190	long	<i>yimkihon</i>	226	I	<i>aiMg</i>
191	many	<i>kosiyā:</i>	227	it/this	<i>nia:</i>
192	narrow	<i>pucu?</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>niya:tte</i>
193	new	<i>na:va:</i>	229	its/of this	<i>nia:rea</i>
194	old	<i>pu:rna</i>	230	like	<i>likka:</i>
195	raw	<i>ro:D</i>	231	to me	<i>ainke</i>
196	rotten	<i>soa</i>	232	my	<i>aīma</i>
197	east	<i>pūru:b</i>	233	our	<i>abuā:</i>
198	end	<i>cheba</i>	234	not	<i>ka:ge/ka</i>
199	far	<i>saMgi:</i>	235	so/thus	<i>innate</i>
200	left	<i>leMga:</i>	236	that	<i>hana</i>
201	middle	<i>ta:la:</i>	237	to them	<i>akkoke</i>
202	near	<i>jappa:</i>	238	then	<i>innatayom</i>
203	north	<i>uttar</i>	239	those	<i>hana:ko</i>
204	out	<i>ba:har</i>	240	there	<i>haNDe</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>jomti/jomsai</i>	241	they	<i>akko</i>
206	south	<i>dokkin</i>	242	their	<i>akkoa</i>
207	again	<i>ODomisa:</i>	243	these	<i>nia:ko</i>
208	always	<i>sobendiMg</i>	244	to us	<i>abuke</i>
209	before	<i>pail/manaMg pail</i>	245	we	<i>abu</i>
210	daily	<i>di:nge</i>	246	what	<i>kana:</i>
211	day	<i>maka/singi</i>	247	when	<i>cimtaMg</i>
212	evening	<i>au:b</i>	248	where	<i>okkoRe</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>sekeLa:</i>	249	who	<i>okkoī</i>
214	afterwards	<i>tayamte</i>	250	why	<i>okkua:</i>
215	behind	<i>ta:yOm</i>			
216	between	<i>talare</i>			
217	by	<i>te:</i>			
218	down	<i>latta:r</i>			

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BONDA

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Family affiliation

Bonda, also known as Remo, belongs to the South-Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages.

Location

The Bonda tribe is found in Malkangiri of the Koraput district of Orissa state. The Bondas call themselves as *Remo* 'man' and their language as *Rem-sam*. So far in census returns of Bonda as mother tongue is concerned the last census where the bonda appeared is 1951 census, and the speakers strength in India as well as in Orissa was 2568.

Phonology

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Lower-mid			<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop.						
Vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>(c)</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricative		<i>s</i>				
Nasal vd.	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Trill vd.		<i>r</i>				
Lateral vd.		<i>l</i>				
Continuants	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

In Bonda language, the vowels are mostly short vowels. Because of the influence of local language Desia the loan words have got lengthened character. Example *a:ʈ / ha:ʈ* 'weakly village market'.

Phonemic distribution

All the vowel phonemes occur in all three places – initial, medial, final. Among consonant phonemes */c, j, d/* occur in word-initial and word-medial positions while */W/, /M'/* occur only word medially. Rest of the consonant phonemes */p, b, t, ʈ, D, k, g, ʔ, m, n, M', M, l, r, s, y/* occur in all three positions –initial, medial and final.

Diphthongs

The Bonda has following diphthongs occurring mainly in the final position. These are *ia, oi, oĩ, ui, ei, ai, eo, uo* but in the medial position *-ea-, -ai-, -ui-, -eo-* occurs infrequently.

Examples

	Medial		Final
<i>ia</i>	-	<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'
<i>oi</i>	-	<i>doboi</i>	'washer woman'
<i>oi</i>	-	<i>kimi-boi</i>	'bride'
<i>ui</i>	-	<i>niMkui</i>	'sister'
<i>ei</i>	-	<i>krimei</i>	'claw'
<i>ai</i>	<i>paiTTi</i>	<i>nilibai</i>	'blue'
<i>ea</i>	<i>iglearju</i>		
<i>eo</i>	<i>deobo</i>	<i>mOrea</i>	'brown'
<i>uo</i>		<i>DeO</i>	'house'
		<i>juO</i>	'fruit'

Consonant cluster

Clusters available are essentially two consonant clusters occurring in the word-initial and word-medial position. However, three consonant clusters are also possible.

The initial two consonant clusters are / *pl, br, mb, tr* / Example

<i>pla</i>	'tail'	<i>bri</i>	'stone'
<i>umba?Yon</i>	'two' (super)	<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'

The medially occurring two consonant clusters are / *pT, pk, pn, pr, bs, tt, TT, Tr, Dy, ss, kp, kt, KD, ks, kk, kl, kr, gb, gt, gD, gs, gm, gn, gl, ?p, ?t, ?T, ?s, ?k, ?l, ?r, ?y, mb, mt, mD, mk, ml, nt, ns, nj, nk, Mb, MT, MD, Ms, Mg, Mn, Ml, lk, ln, ll, rD, rs, rk, rg, rl, rr, wr, yt, yg* / Example,

<i>apTa - aPTi</i>	'grappling'	<i>upkar</i>	'benefit, aid'
<i>tipni</i>	'small basket'	<i>dapre</i>	'suddenly'
<i>anabson</i>	'husk fire'	<i>titti</i>	'hand'
<i>tiTTi surgunan</i>	'wood pecker'	<i>gulay aTrem</i>	'all people in the market'
<i>doDya</i>	'bad'	<i>assin'a</i>	'month'
<i>bokpiri</i>	'duck'	<i>daktor</i>	'milk'
<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'	<i>okser</i>	'to hang up'
<i>Tukka</i>	'inner part of an ant hill'	<i>junkle</i>	'lift'
<i>DOkragisey</i>	'male monkey'	<i>ugbOk</i>	'hair'
<i>pugto</i>	'horn'	<i>atugDen</i>	'to be tired'
<i>ugsoM</i>	'ashes'	<i>Dagmo?</i>	'tears'
<i>semugni?ta alumjora</i>	'come down from the tree'	<i>igluk</i>	'ear-wax'
<i>bile?pi</i>	'bird's feather'	<i>da?tor</i>	'milk'
<i>Mayntiti ni te</i>	'from his hand'	<i>ti?sun</i>	'leg'
<i>bile ?kunno</i>	'peacock's feather'	<i>mO?loi</i>	'five'
<i>ti?ram</i>	'six'	<i>umbar</i>	'two'
<i>somtiN</i>	'nine'	<i>sOmDinl</i>	'son's father--law'
<i>inrimkura</i>	'a quarrel some man'	<i>emlay</i>	'push'
<i>untu</i>	'near'	<i>ansiM ju</i>	'to squint'
<i>Dau manjea maM</i>	'third elder brother'	<i>dinke</i>	'daily, always'
<i>un?ber</i>	'caterpillar'	<i>amTi</i>	'finger of hand'

<i>amDaDik</i>	'to fast'	<i>aM siMor</i>	'a squint eyed person'
<i>DiMgia</i>	'tobacco'	<i>iyamnu</i>	'at the time'
<i>alka</i>	'easy'	<i>alni</i>	'food prepared without salt'
<i>jaille</i>	'jails'	<i>arDa</i>	'half rupee'
<i>arsim</i>	'upper part of fowls foot'	<i>arke</i>	'moon'
<i>argu</i>	'where'	<i>arlam</i>	'plate'
<i>arre</i>	'alas, how strange'	<i>Dawra</i>	'a kind of tree'
<i>gOytaM</i>	'cow'	<i>gOyga</i>	'died'

Three- member consonant clusters

Three member consonant clusters occur initially and medially. Example

Initially occurring

/bjk-/ → /bjkuMluk/ 'hornet'

Medially occurring

/nDr-/ → /anDra/ 'male'

/-rnD-/ → /gOrnDal/ 'piece'

Morphology

Nouns

Gender

Gender has a three tier system – masculine, feminine and neuter- in Bonda. Gender distinction between masculine and feminine is made in four ways :

(a) The masculine is unmarked which becomes feminine by adding suffix *-bOi* or *-l*

(b) or by having different forms to denote the masculine and feminine.

(c) or by adding *ba-* (i.e., father) for masculine and *Yon-* (i.e., mother) for feminine.

(d) or by adding *Dokra-* or *anDra-* for masculine where the feminine unmarked.

Example

1)	<i>Doba</i>	'washer man'	<i>DobOi</i>	'washer woman'
	<i>garam-a</i>	'crooked legged man'	<i>garanMbOi</i>	'crooked legged woman'
2)	<i>aja-tata</i>	'mother's father'	<i>aniDen</i>	'father's father'
	<i>konger</i>	'boy'	<i>sela</i>	'girl'
	<i>ba?</i>	'father'	<i>yOn</i>	'mother'
3)	<i>baku</i>	'male tiger'	<i>yONku</i>	'tigress'
4)	<i>anDraguso</i>	'male dog'	<i>guso</i>	'bitch'
	<i>Dokru : gisey</i>	'male- monkey'	<i>gisey</i>	'female- monkey'

Neuter

Neuters are neither male nor female. Example

<i>biri</i>	'stone'	<i>unDi</i>	'god'
<i>uli</i>	'mango'	<i>uirak</i>	'air'

Number

Numbers are singular and plural. Bonda has two plural suffixes *-e* and *-le* meaning 'some' and 'many' respectively.

Example

<i>iM'om</i>	'brinjal'	<i>iM'omle</i>	'brinjals'
<i>bri</i>	'stone'	<i>brile</i>	'stones'
<i>remo</i>	'man'	<i>remole</i>	'men'
<i>dobOi</i>	'washer woman'	<i>doboie</i>	'washer women'

Cases and postpositions

Cases are seven of which nominative is ϕ (zero) and the rest have the following markers.

Accusative / dative *a-*; genitive *a-*, *-n*, *-na*; instrumental *brom/ buron*; ablative *-Dini?*; locative *-bo*, *-re*; vocative *-i*. Example

1. *ju-lo-nin* 'I saw' *fuloney* 'we saw'
(Here *nin* and *ney* are nouns)
2. *a-remo-le OturO-be?* 'expel the men'
nOma deM-sa abe?- tO-nO-aniM daktor 'why don't you give me milk?'
3. *kirsani-remo-le a-sisa-remo-n tulingai wayto* 'the people of the Kirsani clan will bring (that is marry) the daughter of the Sisa people'
semug-na ulay - Dem 'leaf of that tree'
4. *ulag bron* 'with leaf' *DaM buron* 'with stitch'
5. *Semug-Di* 'from the tree' *Semug-ni? ta alum jora* 'come down from the tree'
6. *biri-bo* 'in the jungle' *mu? -bo* 'at one place'
7. *kuruwari* 'Hay Kuruva'
sukurawari 'Hay, Sukuravar'

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
I person	<i>nin</i> 'I'	<i>ney</i> 'we'
II person	<i>no</i> 'you'	<i>pe</i> 'you'
III person	<i>may</i> 'he/she/it'	<i>maye</i> 'they'

Adjectives: Examples of Bonda adjectives are like the following

Simple

<i>muna</i>	'big'	<i>Dau</i>	'small'
<i>paNi pai</i>	'good'	<i>tuyi</i>	'white'
<i>dobyu</i>	'bad'	<i>dug</i>	'dirty'

Numerals

The cardinal numerals are 1 to 10. Numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by addition as 10+1, 10+2 etc. Again Kore '20' is the unit which is the base for formation of higher numerals. E.g. *mo?* Kore 'hundred' (5 x 20).

<i>mui</i>	'one'	<i>umbar</i>	'two'
<i>ingen</i>	'three'	<i>u?M</i>	'four'
<i>mo?loi</i>	'five'	<i>ti?ri</i>	'six'
<i>gi</i>	'seven'	<i>tonam</i>	'eight'
<i>somtiM</i>	'nine'	<i>go?</i>	'ten'
<i>gomui</i>	'eleven'	<i>gomba?r</i>	'twelve'
<i>goingen</i>	'thirteen'	<i>gou?n</i>	'fourteen'
<i>gomo'loi</i>	'fifteen'	<i>goti?ri</i>	'sixteen'
<i>gogiM</i>	'seventeen'	<i>gotomam</i>	'eighteen'
<i>gosomtin</i>	'nineteen'	<i>kore</i>	'twenty'

Verbs

Finite verbs

Tense

Bonda has three tenses- Present, Past and Future. The tenses receive the markers as:

- present - *ditta* ; past - *ga* ; future - *ti*. Example

Present	Past	Future	
<i>ebarDitta</i>	<i>ebarga</i>	<i>ebarti < ebar</i>	'scratch'
<i>akarDitta</i>	<i>akarga</i>	<i>akargi < akar</i>	'bring'
<i>ayun Ditta</i>	<i>ayumaga</i>	<i>auMti < ayuN</i>	'fly'
<i>uy Ditta</i>	<i>uyga</i>	<i>uygati < uy</i>	'go'

Person

Bonda has three persons - first, second, third and these are realized in two numbers - singular and plural. The personal markers are :

	Singular	Plural
I Person	<i>nin</i>	<i>ne</i>
II Person	<i>pe</i>	<i>peM</i>
III Person	<i>nei</i>	<i>mai</i>

Mood

In Bonda, moods are three - optative, prohibitive and obligative. Below are explained the moods

Optative mood

Optative mood is formed by addition of second person suffixes. Example

<i>pe uytim</i>	'you(singular) may go'
<i>pe uytimē</i>	'you(plural) may go'

Prohibitive mood

The prohibitive mood marker -*aiga* is realized for 'must not' or 'should not'. Example

<i>pe aiga Dia paiTTi Ditta</i>	'you must not do this work'
<i>ney aiga asmutim</i>	'we must not take too much food'

Obligative mood

It is opposite to prohibitive mood denoting 'must'. Example

<i>pe uigaDitta</i>	'you must go'
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Causative verb

The causative marker is - *tay* conveying the sense of 'to cause to do'. Example

<i>ji</i>	'to win' >	<i>ji tay</i>	'to make to win'
<i>ok ari</i>	'to close eyes' >	<i>okamitay</i>	'to make one to close the eyes'
<i>ge?</i>	'to worship' >	<i>ge? tay</i>	'to make one to worship'

Negative

The formation of negative verb is verb root - negative marker prefixed a -

Example

<i>nin oyka a spaptin</i>	'I am not coming today'
<i>tiTiM a suno</i>	'do not say this'
<i>koM susumna a nTa</i>	'this is not eatable'
<i>lemo suMsuri a yka</i>	'do not go to bed so soon'
<i>niM uyDittie niM arutiM</i>	'I had to go but I did not go'

Auxiliary verbs

In Bonda the auxiliary verbs occur in between the verb root and the tense- person marker.

Example

<i>niM eroga satim</i>	'I shall come tomorrow'
<i>niM sa gontim</i>	'I may come'
<i>may piri okoy gonta</i>	'he may kill the bird'

Non-finite verb

Infinitive

Verb root – infinitive marker - *a*. Example

<i>basa</i>	'to select'	<i>Dai -a</i>	'to ascend'
<i>Den-a</i>	'to do'	<i>ge? -a</i>	'to worship'
<i>una</i>	'to decrease'	<i>uk-a</i>	'to cry'
<i>uya</i>	'to scatter'		

Adverb

Adverbs occur before verb. Example

<i>luti</i>	'slowly'	<i>lutisa</i>	'come slowly'
<i>PaNi</i>	'neatly'	<i>PaNilik</i>	'write neatly'
<i>Dapre</i>	'quickly'	<i>Dapre sa</i>	'come quickly'
<i>PaMktiM tiMtiM</i>	'zig zag'	<i>giM buby PaM ktiM TiMtiMigni</i>	'the snake moves in zig zag'

Interjections

Example

<i>arre</i>	'alas!'		
<i>inDo</i>	'alas!'		
<i>et</i>	'remembrance'	<i>ereĩ</i>	'alas!'
<i>aoM</i>	'yes!'	<i>alad</i>	'gladness'
<i>oo</i>	'an addressing term'		
<i>oonro</i>	'yes'	<i>anDa</i>	'no, not'
<i>amo?</i>	'stop, do not do'		

Syntax

In Bonda language the order of words in a sentence is SOV (Subject + Object + Verb). But a sentence may comprise of subject and verb (where the object remains absent) or verb alone (where the subject remains understood). Below are explained the construction pattern.

Constituent structure Examples

1. Subject + object + verb
may piri okoygonta 'he may kill the bird'
he bird kill-may
2. Subject + verb
niM salsa gontim 'I may come'
I come may
3. Subject(+adverb)+verb
niM eroga satim 'I shall come tomorrow'
I tomorrow come- shall
4. (Adverb) + verb
luti sa '(you) come slowly'
slowly come
paNi lik '(you) write neatly'
neatly write
Dapre sa '(you) come quickly'
quickly come

But, in a bigger sentence the constituent structure may give out the following structure-types:

Complement to the object + object
+ attribute to the subject + subject
+ adverb + verb

kittiM gulane koM umbar
the dogs those two
gusone Dapre okoyga
boys quickly kill did

In the above sentence *kittiM gulane* is NP (constituted of complement to the object + object) and *koM umbar gusone* is NP (constituted of attribute to the subject + subject) and *Dapre okoyga* is the VP (constituted of adverb that is modifier to the verb+verb): Thus, the normal word-order pattern is deviated where in the object heads the constructions and the subject occurs in between the object and the verb.

Description of types of sentences

Interrogative

In Bonda language the interrogative sentences are formed by (a) adding the question word like *may* 'what', *nonne* 'why', *argu* 'where', *no* 'when, who', etc. (b) by employing the particle *ki* after the declarative sentence.

Example

<i>may nimi ma</i>	'what is his name?'
<i>nonne okapjaro gulay Ditta</i>	'how many children do you have?'
<i>pe ma som tupe</i>	'what will you eat'
<i>nin ma sum tim</i>	'what shall I eat?'

Declarative sentences transformed into interrogative are

nim aro uyitiM 'I shall go there' > *ni aro uyitim ki* 'shall I go there?'

nim ma sumtiM 'I shall eat it' > *niM ma sumtiM ki?* 'shall I eat it?'

Negative

Negative marker is prefixed to the verb in the construction. Example

<i>ko nima paTTi antra</i>	'it is not my work'
<i>nin ayi ignim</i>	'I am not going'
<i>nin gi tiM</i>	'I shall not go'
<i>nin deten agon tiM</i>	'I cannot do this'
<i>nin uyidittie nin grutiM</i>	'I had to go out, I did not go'
<i>nayim uyDttieniM grutim</i>	'we had to go, but we did not go'

Imperative

The imperative is used in second person and often the subject remains covert. The imperative does not take any suffix: Example

<i>ak</i>	'come'	<i>pe ak</i>	'you come'
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Causative

Suffix denoting causative is *-tay* and it is used with the verb to give a sense of 'to cause to act'.

Example

<i>ji</i> 'to win' > <i>jittay</i>	'to make one to win'
<i>okani</i> 'to close eyes' > <i>okanitay</i>	'to make one to close eyes'
<i>ge?</i> 'to worship' > <i>ge?tay</i>	'to make one to worship'

Co-ordination

The co-ordinative markers *sa.....sa.....* 'and' and *kina* 'but' are used in the construction at clause and phrase level. Example

NIMha tikuM sulosa tovaiga

'my foot slipped and I fell down'

tubete piri? kukumgisak sas apto

'many birds, peacocks and monkeys used to come'

gittiM gun iynsaDen eba? deMe

'that boy's mother and father'

nin uydittie kina nin avutiM

'I had to go but I did not go'

nayin uydittie kina nay avutiM

'we had to go but we did not go'

pemi uydittie kina nayavutiM

'you had to go but why did you not go'

Brief sociolinguistic information

Bonda is the mother tongue of a tribal community named Bondo Poroja who reside in the Bonda hills located in district of Koraput of Orissa state. They use their mother tongue in home domain. But they are well exposed to Desia, a Variety of Oriya language, in such a way that even in their home and kin domain communication network Desiya automatically comes up in their verbal repertoire. In extra-home and kin domain Bondas irrespective of their age group converse with the tribal and non-tribal brethren in Desia. As few of them are found to be literates they know Standard Oriya, the official language of the state. Hindi, the national language, is known to some.

Bonda has no script and literature of its own. It is not used as a medium of instruction in education, administration, judiciary, and so on.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Bonda	Sl. No	English	Bonda
1	air	uirak	45	wife	kumbik
2	ashes	ugsoM	46	woman	selane
3	cloud	trikDia	47	ant	biye?
4	cold	ruo	48	bird	piri?
5	darkness	uM'ur	49	cat	girem
6	earth	tubuk	50	claw	krimei
7	eclipse	surjoporog	51	cock	kumkum (peacock)
8	fire	suMO	52	cow	koytan/goytan
9	fog	trikDia	53	dog	guso?
10	forest	pathDa	54	egg	ntasiM
11	hill	silom	55	feather	bile
12	ice	barap	56	fish	aDoM
13	moon	arke	57	fly	ayun
14	mountain	kenDia	58	fox	guso
15	rain	sipuTap	59	goat	gime?
16	river	parak	60	grease	munaM
17	road	gari	61	guts	sulor
18	sand	borak	62	horn	pugtO
19	wing	somdOr	63	back	guran
20	wood	siM	64	belly	sulo?
21	baby	DaubaMe?	65	blood	boni
22	boy	gu	66	body	neri
23	bride	kimi-bo?	67	bone	sisam
24	bride groom	kimi Daula	68	breast	batukui
25	brother	biyen	69	chest	gire
26	child	o'n	70	ear	iglu
27	daughter	sela/Dauki	71	eye	kani
28	father	ba?	72	face	sarmO
29	friend	bailok	73	fever	si
30	girl	sela	74	finger	aMti
31	husband	Mgere	75	flesh	seli
32	male	anDra	76	foot	OriMko
33	man	remO	77	hair	ugbok
34	marriage	behan	78	hand	titi
35	maternal uncle	igle	79	head	bop
36	maternal uncle's daughter	iglearju	80	heart	dil
37	mother	yoM	81	leg	teksuM
38	nephew	baij	82	lip	tisuM
39	niece	bonanji	83	liver	liertom
40	old man	Dokra	84	lung	gire
41	sister	NiMkui	85	mouth	tumo?
42	sister-in-law	arjM'	86	neck	glugu?
43	son	o'o?	87	nose	anami
44	widow	goi suMdui	88	spine	sisam
			89	tongue	leam

90	tooth	gine	138	hungry	kuDu
91	waist	lempuM	139	love	monDem
92	fruit	bulu	140	pain	ogi
93	liquor	ili	141	true	sotto
94	milk	daktOr	142	wish	sotto
95	salt	bitik	143	ink	sira
96	smoke	mugsiM	144	school	iskul
97	uncooked rice	akOtO	145	student	pilla
98	bed	lemO	146	teacher	sikai
99	door	kopeT	147	bullet	goli
100	house	DeO	148	first	nesenuk
101	roof	asuM	149	second	umbarDro
102	rope	gigei	150	third	ngenDro
103	wall	kOnti	151	one	mui
104	well	kū i Dak(water)	152	two	umbar
105	window	jOlka	153	three	ingen
106	flower	sari	154	four	u?M
107	fruit	juO	155	five	mo?loi
108	garden	bahicha	156	ten	go?
109	grass	koren	157	sixteen	goti?ri
110	guava	jaām	158	twenty	kore
111	jack fruit	uMkusi	159	forty	umbar kore
112	leaf	semug	160	do	Den
113	lily	sari	161	pull	rap
114	mango	sali	162	push	emlay
115	paddy	liyuM	163	put	Ogaī
116	plough	sine	164	rub	Otao-otoM
117	potato	alu	165	sell	suM
118	root	regi	166	wash	toM
119	sweet	suley	167	work	paiTTi
120	tree	gilga	168	sing	oser
121	vegetable	ma	169	bring	inDe
122	wheel	gaOi	170	climb	akar
123	bitter	unu	171	come	sa
124	black	kalīa	172	give	biken
125	blind	mO	173	go	ya
126	blue	nili bai	174	jump	Dogaī
127	bright	Otara	175	vomit	lor
128	brown	mOrea	176	say	Do
129	coldness	sep	177	write	likto
130	green	semDa	178	touch	taram
131	hat	Topi	179	bathe	kuma?
132	light	tok	180	all	gulay
133	red	selaM	181	bad	doDya
134	sour	pusi	182	big	munapai
135	sweet	suli	183	dirty	dug
136	white	tuyi	184	dry	nsOr
137	yellow	saMsaM	185	few	slugo

186	full	busu	231	to me	Di
187	good	pani	232	my	nina
188	hand	titi	233	our	anDa
189	honest	pani	234	not	anDa
190	long	muna	235	so/thus	okoM
191	many	gaTi	236	that	arO
192	narrow	sakor	237	to them	mayi
193	new	Otime	238	then	ditlo
194	old	Obair	239	those	kom
195	raw	kaccha/saripa	240	there	aro/toNre
196	rotten	sOsO	241	they	maye
197	cast	gutober gari	242	their	mai
198	end	ses	243	these	kon
199	far	suluM	244	to us	gittin
200	left	basa gari	245	we	ney
201	middle	moM'jai	246	what	ma
202	near	untu	247	when	no
203	north	tomboren	248	where	argu
204	out	bar	249	who	ja
205	right/side/hand	susum-ti	250	why	man/ManDu
206	south	jangar-gari			
207	again	mar			
208	always	dinke			
209	before	pahela			
210	daily	isa			
211	day	bel			
212	evening	miDip			
213	fast/quick	Dapre			
214	afterwards	turgu			
215	behind	turgu			
216	between	mOM'jai			
217	by	Ditte			
218	down	aluM			
219	for	palai			
220	from	ni? / Di			
221	he,she	may			
222	to her, to him	anin			
223	here	a:ka			
224	his/her	maM			
225	how	nonne			
226	I	nin			
227	it/this	ko			
228	to it/to this	Dena			
229	its/of this	?a			
230	like	pani			

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DIDEI

P. Edward Vedamanickam

Family affiliation

Didei or Gata? belongs to lower Munda of the south Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family.

Thurston (1909: Vol.-II:- 171) mentions Didei as a sub-division of Poroja. According to him, the Durporojas are known as Didei Poroja (1909: Vol.VI:-210).

Location

The Dideis are a hill tribe inhabiting principally in the district of Malkangiri (formerly the district of Koraput) of Orissa.

As per 1981 census, total population of Didei (Didayi) tribe was 1978 (Male 962, Female 1010).

The Dideis use mother tongue in the home domain and speak 'Desia', a variety of Oriya while interacting with the other tribals. Further, a good number of them can also speak Oriya.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Middle	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High-mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Trill			<i>r</i>				
Fricatives		<i>s</i>					<i>h</i>
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Major allophonic distribution

- i. /n/ [M'] occurs only before palatal stops
[n] occurs elsewhere. Example

[M'jir]	'three'	[neu]	'oil'
[M'ca]	'bore'	[nisot]	'lazy'
[ntir]	'leaf cup'	[andra]	'basket'
[pan]	'distance'		

- ii. /s/ [S'] occurs only before palatal stops
[s] occurs elsewhere. Example

[keS'ce]	'at'	[makS'ca]	'why'
[snin]	'sun'	[slon]	'far'
[pisan]	'big man'	[ags]	'ashes'

Phonemic distribution

Distribution of vowel phonemes

Out of five vowel phonemes /i, u, a/ are distributed in all the three positions – initial, medial and final and /e, o/ are distributed in the medial and final positions only.

Distribution of consonantal phonemes

Out of seventeen consonant phonemes /k, g, n, M, l, r, s/ occur in all the three positions – initial, medial and final and /p, b, t, d, T, D, c, j, m/ occur in the initial and medial positions and /ʔ/ in the medial and final position. Examples of phonemic distribution of vowel and consonantal phonemes are

Vowel

initial			medial		final
/i/	/iliboj/	'husband'	/giring/	'cat'	/si/ 'plough'
/u/	/uʔ/	'to cry'	/suʔ/	'oil'	/blu/ 'to pay'
/e/	---	---	/keradial/	'river'	/gehel/ 'rope'
/o/	/loila/	'go'	/kopal/	'forehead'	/ko/ 'to sit'
/a/	/ambug/	'chaff'	/haʔro/	'fish'	/pola/ 'for me'

Consonants

/p/	/pol/	'snake'	/kopal/	'forehead'	
/b/	/bo/	'to put'	/mbial/	'elder sister's husband'	
/t/	/tuga/	'yesterday'	/putil/	'short'	
/d/	/dua/	'water'	/andini/	'which'	
/T/	/Tangi/	'axe'	/diTi/	'if'	
/D/	/Din/	'to happen'	/nDia/	'water'	
/c/	/cikbo/	'pant'	/ncal/	'bone'	
/j/	/jal/	'who'	/njur/	'air'	
/k/	/kal/	'to sit'	/takara/	'near'	/prek/ 'after'
/g/	/gol/	'to dig'	/singla/	'mat'	/ug/ 'drink'
/ʔ/					/sniʔ/ 'sun'
/n/	/nisot/	'lazy'	/inkra/	'now'	/akan/ 'this'
/m/	/maloe/	'battle axe'	/kimin/	'son's wife'	
/M/	/Mkuʔ/	'tiger'	/gaMha/	'blood'	/riM/ 'fight'
/l/	/leun/	'road'	/maloe/	'battle axe'	/kajul/ 'bangle'
/S/	/Sniʔ/	'sun'	/pisan/	'big man'	/ags/ 'ashes'
/r/	/remol/	'man'	/prek/	'after'	/ngir/ 'male-boy'

Clusters

The clusters are essentially two-consonant clusters occurring in the word-medial and word-initial positions and rarely three-consonantal clusters occurring only word-medially. There is no final cluster in the language.

Three consonantal clusters are /-nDr-/ , /-nkt-/ , /-nkr-/ , /-ngd-/ and /-Mkt-/ . Examples

/-nDr-/ → /-inDre-/	'fly'	/-nkt-/ → /pankti dinkti/	'zigzag'
---------------------	-------	---------------------------	----------

/-ngd-/ → /bangdi/
 /-Mkl-/ → /diti diMkladi/

'come'
 'anyhow'

/-nkr-/ → /inkral/

'now'

Two-consonantal clusters are
 Word-initial

/pl-/ → /pla/
 /bl-/ → /blu/
 /sn-/ → /sna/
 /nl-/ → /nlan/

'tail' /pr-/ → /prek/
 'to pay' /sl-/ → /sla/
 'sambar deer' /sn/ → /snī/
 'tongue' /Mk-/ → /Mkui/

'after'
 'very'
 'sun'
 'water pot'

Word-medial

/-kb-/ → /cikbo/
 /-kD-/ → /njokDe/
 /-gD-/ → /gugDial/
 /-gs-/ → /ogsa/
 /-nn-/ → /Dinna/
 /-nD-/ → /manDa/
 /-md-/ → /somdi/

'pant' /-kt-/ → /iktia/
 'tomorrow' /-gb-/ → /kagbo/
 'back' /-gl-/ → /singla/
 'ashes' /-jr-/ → /majre/
 'nothing' /-nT-/ → /anTi/
 'sheep' /-mm/ → /semmo/
 'son's father-in-law' /-rt-/ → /kurtia/

'cow dung'
 'bund of field'
 'mat'
 'in between'
 'up'
 'yesterday'
 'horse'

Word-initial and word-medial

/tr-/ → /tril/
 /kr-/ → /kri:soM/
 /kl-/ → /klig gini/
 /mb-/ → /mbial/
 /nt-/ → /ntir/
 /ng-/ → /nga?/
 /Mg-/ → /Mgir/

'ebony'
 'to be hungry'
 'in the whole village'
 'elder's sister's husband'
 'leaf cup'
 'mongoose'
 'grown up boy'

/-tr-/ → /pitre/
 /-kr-/ → /dokra/
 /-kl-/ → /jinkle/
 /-mb-/ → /ambug/
 /-nt-/ → /intasin/
 /-ng-/ → /songit/
 /-Mg-/ → /taMgil/

'into'
 'old man'
 'third'
 'chaff'
 'egg'
 'with'
 'axe'

Diphthongs

The diphthongs occur in word-medial and word-final positions. The diphthongs -ea-, -eo-, -ui-, -ue- occur word-medially and -ai-, -ei-, -ua and -oe word-finally. Examples of medial and final clusters are

/-ui-/ /guik/
 /-ua/ /dua/
 /-ei/ /krimei/
 /-ea-/ /mak?ea/
 /-ue-/ /luen/

'to set fire'
 'house'
 'nail'
 'why'
 'road'

/-ui/ /pui/
 /-ai/ /gadai/
 /-oe/ /goe/
 /-eo-/ /neoM/

'ant'
 'child'
 'to die'
 'son'

Morphophonemics

When two or more morphemes occur together it may result in change at the meeting point and this type of change is called morphophonemics. Some such common changes are listed below.

- When the plural marker /-iM/ is added to a noun ending in -i, the sound -i is lost and in other cases no changes. Example
 /gini - iM > giniM/ 'villages'
 /inti - iM > intiM/ 'hands' /bolo - iM > boloiM/ 'houses'
 'bulls'
- The genitive morpheme /-ne/ when occurs with a noun ending with a nasal sound, the nasal of the noun is deleted.
 /goda/ 'child' - iM > /godaiM/ 'children'

/godaiM/	'children'	- -ne (of) >	/godaine/	'of the children'
/silamboi/	'lady'	- iM (ies) >	/silamboiM/	'ladies'
/silamboiM/	'ladies'	- -ne (of) >	/silamboine/	'of the lady'

Glides

Formation of glides between the vowels can also be considered as a morphophonemic change. The semivowel /w/ occurs between the vowels /a/ and /u/. Example /godawu/ 'daughter'

The semivowel /y/ appears between the vowels /i/ and /a/. That is
 /niya/ 'blood' /kiya/ 'sparrow'

Morphology

Nouns

A noun is a form class whose stems are inflected for number, gender and case. In Didei, nouns are primary or secondary in nature of which the primary nouns are mono-morphemic and the secondary nouns are bi- or multi-morphemic. The pronouns and numerals are also included in noun class.

Number

In Didei, a two-term number system is available as - singular and plural. A singular number is constituted of base - ϕ . Examples

/gubu/	'pig'	/dua/	'house'
/giri/	'cat'		

On the contrary, a plural number is formed of base - iM. Examples
 /gubu - iM > gubuiM/ 'pigs' /dua - iM > duaiM/ 'houses'
 /nca - iM > ncaiM/ 'bones'

The inanimate nouns do not take any number marker. Examples
 /dia/ 'water' /bitik/ 'salt'

To indicate exact number, specific numeral is prefixed to the nouns instead of the plural marker -iM. Examples

/gusu/	'dog'	/gusuiM/	'dogs'
/pakale gusu/	'two dogs'	/jikle gusu/	'three dogs'

Gender

In Didei there is three-tier gender system. That is masculine (referring of male), feminine (referring to female) and neuter (referring to non-animate). Forms denoting 'common gender' imply both masculine and feminine and such forms are

/giriM/	'cat'	/Mku?/	'tiger'
/gimi/	'goat'		

Examples of neuter formations are

/bitik/	'salt'	/dua/	'house'
/sn?/	'sun'	/sunu/	'broom'

Gender formation of animate nouns with masculine and feminine distinction is made in three different ways as

1. By adding masculine/feminine suffixes as -a and -i respectively. Example
 /dokra/ 'old man' /dokri/ 'old woman'

2. By adding the forms *-bo-* for masculine and *dia-* for feminine before the nouns
/boku?/ 'male tiger' */dia ku?/* 'tigress'
/boko?/ 'peacock' */diako?/* 'peahen'
3. By having two totally different words either consanguinal or affinal.
/nepa/ 'father' */niau/* 'mother'
/bolo/ 'bull' */horo/* 'cow'

Case markers

Case markers when used with bases establish relationship between nouns and other form classes in a sentence. Cases in Didei are nine. Below are exemplified the use of cases-

Nominative case *-φ* (unmarked). Example

<i>/gusu bhadiM/</i>	'the dog barks'	<i>/bobo ha?/</i>	'snake bites'
<i>/me paMkdin/</i>	'he has come'		

Accusative case *-ke*. Example

<i>/me niMke bug/</i>	'he beat me'	<i>/meike boba ha?/</i>	'snake has bitten him'
<i>/godavu peka kia/</i>	'the children see you'		

Locative case *-re, -ne, -bu, -φ* Example

<i>/konDa ne/</i>	'in the hill'
<i>/sni? kitogini re laika/</i>	'the sun is in the sky'
<i>/aten ginibu traDia Ndu/</i>	'there is no milk in this village'
<i>/aten sla? Uila Ndu/</i>	'there is non leaf in the tree'

Genitive case *-ne*. Example

<i>/sla? Ne uila/</i>	'leaf of the tree'	<i>/me ne lugo/</i>	'his neck'
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In the case of pronouns, genitive forms function as pronominal adjectives and as such precede the nouns in the construction. Example

<i>/niM baha/</i>	'my head'	<i>/na nuini/</i>	'your name'
<i>/niM kuni/</i>	'my wife'		

Instrumental case *-de?te*. Example

<i>/tengya de?te/</i>	'with an axe'	<i>/pende?te gual/</i>	'write with the pen'
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Dative case *-atla, -φ* Example

<i>/niM atla/</i>	'for me'	<i>/pe atla/</i>	'for you'
<i>/kiton bhog bika/</i>	'offered prasad to God.'		

Sociative case *-songith*. Example

<i>/sakori songith paMkla/</i>	'you come with the servant'
--------------------------------	-----------------------------

Ablative case *-ru*. Example

<i>/dauru oila/</i>	'go from the house'
<i>/pane neo giniru pan kdial/</i>	'your son has come from the village'

Vocative case -o (for masculine), -i (for feminine). Example
/monklo! Sukro! Guruvayi! Somari! /

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
I person	/niM/	'I'	/neM/	'we'
II person	/pe/	'you'	/(numeral) - pe/	'you'
III person	/ma/	'he/she' /aka/	'it' /mayi/	'they' /ata/
				'that'

Demonstrative

/akan/	'this'	/ata/	'that'
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Interrogative

/jo/	'who'	/are/	'what'
/jota/	'which'		

Adjectives

The adjectives in Didei qualify the nouns and they precede the noun in the construction. They are not inflected for number and gender. Example

/nusar bolol/	'lean bull'	/nusar horol/	'lean cow'
/nusar remol/	'lean man'	/buti remol/	'short man'
/dakani inti/	'small hand'	/pudi gusu/	'clever dog'
/nimoda gini/	'beautiful village'	/nimoda dua/	'beautiful house'

Numerals

In Didei, the basic numerals are from one to ten. Numerals between ten and twenty are obtained by additions. Still higher numerals are obtained by multiples of twenty.

Two types of cardinal numerals are used in Didei one for the humans and another for non-humans. Below are listed few numerals

Humans	Non-humans	
/muya/	/muiM/	'one'
/mbar/	/mbaya/	'two'
/njirua/	/nji klik/	'three'
/u?nd/	/u?n klik/	'four'
/malDa/	/mallik/	'five'
/turDa/	/tur klik/	'six'
/gu?/	/gu?klik/	'seven'
/tuma/	/tuma klik/	'eight'
/suntiM/	/suntiM klik/	'nine'
/gua/	/gua klik/	'ten'

Higher numerals between ten and twenty are formed compounding 10 + Herein, 10 + is ten and any numeral from 1 to 9. The higher numerals do not differ for human and non-human. Numerals beyond 'ten' are

/gu-mbiM/	'eleven'	/go-mbar/	'twelve'
/gu-nji/	'thirteen'	/go-u?n/	'fourteen'
/go-mal/	'fifteen'	/gu?-tur/	'sixteen'

/gu?-gu/	'seventeen'	/go-tma/	'eighteen'
/go-satiM/	'nineteen'	/go-sal-ga/kuri/	'twenty'

'Ten' is the unit for counting from 'eleven' to 'twenty'. From twenty onwards counting is done in twenties. Example

/mul kurimui/	1x20+1	'twenty-one'
/mbar kuri/	2x20	'forty'
/mal kuri/	5x20	'one hundred'
/gua kuri/	10x20	'two hundred'

Classifiers

Classifiers are bound morphemes which classify the nouns. In Didei *-klik*, the bound morpheme which occurs from 'three' to 'ten' is used for counting the non-human objects and thus makes division of humans and non-humans. Example

Human	Non-human	
/njiru/	/nji klik/	'three'
/u?nd/	/u?n klik/	'four'
/malda/	/malklik/	'five'
/turDa/	/tur klik/	'six'
/gu?/	/gu? Klik/	'seven'
/tuma/	/tuma klik/	'eight'
/suntiM/	/suntiM klik/	'nine'
/gua/	/gua klik/	'ten'

Verbs

Finite verbs

The finite verbs are inflected for person and number-gender while the non-finite verbs are not.

Tense

Three-way distinctions of tenses, viz., past, present and future are available in Didei. Example

Present	Past	Future	Meaning
/kesadi/	/kesaka/	/kesaye/	'catch'
/bikdi/	/bika/	/bike/	'give'
/paMkdi/	/paMka/	/paMke/	'go'

The respective tense markers are *-di* (present) *-ka* (past) and *-e* (future).

Person

The verbs are not inflected for person and number and as such there is no person-number concordance of pronouns and verbs in Didei.

Person	Object	verb root - tense	
I person	/niM/nen/		
II person	/pe/	/gusuke/	/kesa-di, -ka, -e/
III person	/ma/mayi/	Dog - case marker	catch - tense marker

Mood

Optative mood

The optative mood marker *pu-* indicating 'option' and occurring in the future tense only is exemplified as below

<i>/niMpu paMke/</i>	'I may go'	<	<i>/niM paMke/</i>	'I will go'
<i>/niMpu bike/</i>	'I may catch'	<	<i>/niMbike/</i>	'I will catch'

Obligative mood

The obligative mood is formed by adding a prefix *pe-* to the verb stem and it occurs only in the future tense. Example

<i>/niMpe paMke/</i>	'I must go'	<i>/pe pe paMke/</i>	'you must go'
<i>/ma pe paMke/</i>	'he must go'		

Aspect

Simple present or simple past and present continuous or past continuous forms are same.

Example

<i>/ma paMkidi/</i>	'he is going/he goes'	<i>/ma paMka/</i>	'he went/he was going'
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Frequentative aspect is formed by adding the emphatic clitic *-e* to the verb stem followed by the present tense form. Example

<i>/gusu bhadi/</i>	'dog barks'	<i>/gusu bhadiye/</i>	'dog always barks'
<i>/niM kesadi/</i>	'I catch'	<i>/niM kesadiye/</i>	'I always catch'
<i>/ma paMkidi/</i>	'he goes'	<i>/ma paMkidiye/</i>	'he always goes'

Causative

The causative marker *-kin* 'to cause to, to make to' is added to the verb stem. Example

<i>/so? - kin</i>	→ <i>sokin/</i>	'to make sell'
<i>/su? - kin</i>	→ <i>sukin/</i>	'to make wipe' (? is deleted due to morpho-phonemic change)
<i>/kol - kin</i>	→ <i>kolkin/</i>	'to make sit'

Negative

The negative marker */a-/* is prefixed to the different tense forms of the verb. Example

<i>/ake sadi/</i>	'not catching'	<i>/akesaka/</i>	'did not catch'
<i>/a kesaye/</i>	'will not catch'	<i>/a paMkadi/</i>	'not going'
<i>/a paMka/</i>	'did not go'	<i>/a paMke/</i>	'will not go'

Non-finite verb

Infinitive

The infinitive marker *-?* is added to the verb stem. Examples

<i>/kesa?/</i>	'to catch'	<i>/pason?/</i>	'to speak'
<i>/todi?/</i>	'to arise'	<i>/ro?/</i>	'to open'
<i>/so?/</i>	'to sell'	<i>/su?/</i>	'to wipe'
<i>/to?/</i>	'to pierce'	<i>/gui?/</i>	'to set fire'
<i>/ko?/</i>	'to sit'		

Gerunds

The gerund marker *-du* is added to the verb stem. Example

/soM - du > soMdu/ 'eatable' /ug - du > ugdu/ 'drinkable'

/kesa - du > kesadu/ 'catchable'

The negative marker *a-* is prefixed to the gerund formation and gives negative gerundial formation. Example

/a soMdu/ 'not eatable' /akan dia augdu/ 'this water is not drinkable'

Compound verbs

In Didei, compound verbs are composed of more than one verb stem with a connective */ci/* 'and'. Example

/paMci kesadi/	'come and catch'	/laikci lodi/	'lie and read'
/ber ci bikdi/	'purchase and give'	/blu ci ugdi/	'pay and drink'
/tod ci rodi/	'arise and open'		

Adverb

The adverbs precede the verbs they modify. Such adverbs are

/piche/	'behind'	/dire/	'slowly'
/preke/	'lately'	/peci/	'very (much)'
/giya/	'quickly'	/bilike/	'to be ripen'
/erace/	'to be cold'		

The simple adverbs get reduplicated when expressing greater intensity. Example

/giya giya/	'very quickly'	/preke preke/	'very lately'
/dire dire/	'very slowly'		

Particles

Particles are bound morphemes. The particles are interrogative particle and emphatic particle being marked by the morphemes */-ki/* and */-e/* respectively.

Interrogative particle *-ki*. Example

/pe paMke/	'you will come'	>	/pe paMke ki?/	'will you come?'
/atan muM gusula/	'it is a dog'	>	/atan gusula ki?/	'is it a dog?'

Emphatic particle */-e/*. Example

/gusu bhadi/	'dog barks'	>	/gusu bhadiye/	'dog often barks'
/me paMkdi/	'I go'	>	/me paMkdiye/	'I always go'

Interjections

The interjectional words are */nDu/* 'no' (disgust), */bes/* 'good' (surprise), */chup/* 'shut up' (anger). Besides these, certain vocatives and exclamations are expressed by the following formations in Didei. Vocatives : */hoo/* 'calling a neighbour', */o/* used for younger boys after their names (*/monklo/*), */l/* used for younger girls after their names (*/guruvayi/*).

Echo words

In echo formation, the second components begin with */di-/* after the basic word. Example

/paMkri diMkti/	'zig zag and the like'
/poMdu diMdu/	'kith and kin'
/sogada digada/	'cart etc.' (vehicles)

Syntax

The order of words in a sentence in Didei is SOV (subject + object + verb). The structure of sentences in terms of their constituents are

1. S → NP + VP
2. NP → (Demonstrative pronoun) + (Numerals) + (Adjective) + Noun + (Number) + (Case - marker).
3. VP → (NP) + (adverb) + Verb root + tense marker.

Noun phrase may contain all the below mentioned items or optionally drop any of them.

Demonstrative pronoun	/akan/	'this'
Numeral	/malik/	'five'
Adjective	/tuleikini/	'white'
Noun	/gusul/	'dog'
Number affix	/-iM/	's'(plural)
Case marker		

Noun phrase occurring in a verb phrase may contain all the below mentioned item or optionally drop any of them.

Demonstrative pronoun	/ata/	'that'
Numeral	/malik/	'five'
Adjective	/nusar/	'lean'
Noun	/gubul/	'pig'
Number affix	/-iM/	's'(plural)
Case marker		

Verb phrase consists of a root and the tense marker and optionally an adverb.

Adverb	/giya giya/	'quickly'
Root	/kesa/	'catch'
Tense marker	/-ka/	'did'

Example

/akan malik tuleikini gusuiM ata malik nusar gubuiMkengi ya giya kesaka/
'these five white dogs caught those five lean pigs quickly'

Description of types of sentences

Interrogative

The interrogative sentences are formed by (a) either changing the intonation pattern of the simple sentences from low pitch to high pitch or (b) by adding interrogative marker /-ki/ in the sentence final position after the verb and (c) by using the question words. Example

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| a) | /ma pene peon/ | 'she is your sister' > | /ma pene peon?/ | 'is she your sister?' |
| | /niM pe paMke/ | 'I must go' > | /niM pe paMke?/ | 'must I go?' |
| b) | /ma pene peon/ | 'she is your sister' > | /ma pene peon ki?/ | 'is she your sister?' |
| | /niM pe panke / | 'I must go' > | /niM pe panke ki?/ | 'must I go?' |
| c) | /pene peon antila/ | 'where is your sister?' | | |
| | /rupu anti laika/ | 'where is the parrot?' | | |
| | /ma muanim meare/ | 'what is his name?' | | |

Negative

The negative sentences are formed by prefixing negative morpheme /a-/ to the verb in a sentence.

Affirmative

/nin gusuke kesadi/ 'I am catching the dog'
/me paMkdi/ 'I am going'
/boboke bugla/ 'beat the snake'

Negative

/nin gusuke akesadi/ 'I am not catching the dog'
/ma apaMkdi/ 'I am not going'
/boboke a bugla/ 'don't beat the snake'

Imperative

The imperative sentences are constructions of second person + imperative. The imperative marker /-la/ is suffixed to the verb. Example

/niMasogada oila/ 'go to my cart' /pe vaMpala/ 'you bring'
/godavuke urla/ 'call the children' /kolla/ 'sit'

Causative

The causative sentences are formed by adding the causative marker /kin/ to the verb root. Example

/niM peke kolkondi/ 'I make you to sit'
/niM peke kolkinka/ 'I made you to sit'
/niM peka kolkine/ 'I will make you to sit'
/niM make sukinel/ 'I will make her to wipe'
/sokin/ 'to make sell'

Passive

In Didei, passive construction is rarely seen. The bound morpheme /sisal/ 'through' is used for passive construction. Example

/niM slei dinka/ 'I did the work'
/niM sisa slei dinka/ 'the work was done by me' ('through me')

Relative clause

In relative clause the relative pronoun /jo/ 'who' is used as the connective. Example
/o aco pubu bi?turka ate turi riM jo pudila/
'the wild cat that (which) came yesterday'

Co-ordination

In co-ordination, two independent clauses are connected by a connective morpheme /ak or ci/ 'and'. Example

/ataM pakale gusu ak muM kiriMla/ 'there are two dogs and a cat'
/ak?a silamboiM ak silamboine ghaim la/ 'the ladies and the baskets of the ladies are here'
/pe oi ci paMkla/ 'you go and then come'
/godavuke ur ci kole/ 'call the children and then sit'

Two independent clauses are also connected by a connective morpheme /diTi/ 'if' or /diti diMkaladi/ 'anyhow'. Example

/diTi ma kostare lai ke niM pesa pasone/
'if he is in difficulty, I will tell you'
/niM apaMke diti diMkladi pe pepaMkla/
'I will not come, anyhow you should come'

Complex sentences

The complex sentences are the formation of one principal clause (that is simple sentence) and one or more subordinate clauses. Example

/akan pubo pankti dinkti paMci, mun gusne lugo kesaka ak nevika/

'the snake while coming zigzagly, caught hold of the neck of a dog and went'

/akan pubo/

'the snake'

/pankti dinkti/

'zig zag'

/paMci/

'while coming'

/mun gusne/

'of the dog'

/lugo/

'neck'

/kesaka/

'caught'

/ak/

'and'

/nevika/

'went'

Brief sociolinguistic information

The Didayis are numerically a minor hill tribe inhabiting principally in the district of Koraput of Orissa. Their abode lies in the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern ghat range. The tribe is mentioned in the SC and ST order Act, 1951 as Dedayi.

According to 1961 census, only 2.7% of the population is literate. They use their language only among their tribe and they use Desia while communicating with others. A good number of them can speak Oriya language also. There is no literature in their language nor is there any separate script system. The usage is restricted to Didei tribe only.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Didei	Sl. No	English	Didei
1	air	<i>njur</i>	44	widow	<i>saMke?</i>
2	ashes	<i>ogsa</i>	45	wife	<i>kowe?</i>
3	cloud	<i>trig Dia?</i>	46	woman	<i>selame?</i>
4	cold	<i>cewi/sig</i>	47	ant	<i>gnalwa</i>
5	darkness	<i>taM</i>	48	bird	<i>pilig</i>
6	earth	<i>tebo?</i>	49	cat	<i>grim</i>
7	eclipse	<i>harke</i>	50	claw	<i>wara?</i>
8	fire	<i>gnuig/swa</i>	51	cock	<i>gia?</i>
9	fog	<i>tahu?lo?</i>	52	cow	<i>hiwe?</i>
10	forest	<i>bir</i>	53	dog	<i>gusu</i>
11	hill	<i>konDa</i>	54	egg	<i>nta?</i>
12	ice	<i>borop</i>	55	feather	<i>bile?</i>
13	moon	<i>harke</i>	56	fish	<i>ha?ro</i>
14	mountain	<i>porbot</i>	57	fly	<i>nDroe</i>
15	rain	<i>guria?</i>	58	fox	<i>geswa</i>
16	river	<i>kenDia</i>	59	goat	<i>meNda</i>
17	road	<i>luen</i>	60	grease	<i>gagRekne</i>
18	sand	<i>reta</i>	61	guts	<i>unekia?</i>
19	wind	<i>njur</i>	62	horn	<i>arroe</i>
20	wood	<i>sua</i>	63	back	<i>hoRim</i>
21	baby	<i>cirla'o</i>	64	belly	<i>lewe?</i>
22	boy	<i>ngire</i>	65	blood	<i>mia?</i>
23	bride	<i>uruve</i>	66	body	<i>gagRe</i>
24	bride groom	<i>Dokoi</i>	67	bone	<i>nia</i>
25	brother	<i>boranaM</i>	68	breast	<i>traRia?</i>
26	child	<i>ngireo</i>	69	chest	<i>gri</i>
27	daughter	<i>uhuM</i>	70	ear	<i>lug</i>
28	father	<i>ba</i>	71	eye	<i>mua?</i>
29	friend	<i>sangari</i>	72	face	<i>sarmua?</i>
30	girl	<i>selambwe?</i>	73	fever	<i>sa?ha</i>
31	husband	<i>hanDa</i>	74	finger	<i>warwa?</i>
32	male	<i>ngire</i>	75	flesh	<i>cili</i>
33	man	<i>ngir/boe?</i>	76	foot	<i>gtaco</i>
34	marriage	<i>bih</i>	77	hair	<i>kundriog</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>mama</i>	78	hand	<i>ti</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>sela mabwe?</i>	79	head	<i>ugbo?</i>
37	mother	<i>Dia</i>	80	heart	<i>grire</i>
38	nephew	<i>humbo/hanja</i>	81	leg	<i>nco</i>
39	niece	<i>uhuM bo?</i>	82	lip	<i>luwar</i>
40	old man	<i>Dokra</i>	83	liver	<i>gri</i>
41	sister	<i>tona</i>	84	lung	<i>bre?</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>graM be</i>	85	mouth	<i>tumua?</i>
43	son	<i>ngirbwe</i>	86	neck	<i>lego</i>
			87	nose	<i>mu</i>

88	spine	<i>tom kurcia</i>	136	white	<i>telwe</i>
89	tongue	<i>nelia</i>	137	yellow	<i>sia</i>
90	tooth	<i>geni</i>	138	hungry	<i>kriso?</i>
91	waist	<i>nsa</i>	139	love	<i>sardaDiM</i>
92	fruit	<i>cucune</i>	140	pain	<i>ambug</i>
93	liquor	<i>moDu/ili</i>	141	true	<i>dorom</i>
94	milk	<i>tra?ria?</i>	142	wish	<i>asa</i>
95	salt	<i>betig</i>	143	ink	<i>iMk</i>
96	smoke	<i>mo?so</i>	144	school	<i>sckool/bangul</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>reko?</i>	145	student	<i>sisyu</i>
98	bed	<i>benbe?</i>	146	teacher	<i>mesTer/guru</i>
99	door	<i>kapaT</i>	147	bullet	<i>bulloT</i>
100	house	<i>dua</i>	148	first	<i>sesak</i>
101	roof	<i>balaksaM</i>	149	second	<i>pakale</i>
102	rope	<i>gehek</i>	150	third	<i>jikle</i>
103	wall	<i>kugDa</i>	151	one	<i>muiM</i>
104	well	<i>kuiMsal</i>	152	two	<i>mbar</i>
105	window	<i>kiTki</i>	153	three	<i>njir</i>
106	flower	<i>sari</i>	154	four	<i>o</i>
107	fruit	<i>cu</i>	155	five	<i>malue</i>
108	garden	<i>DugDi</i>	156	ten	<i>gua</i>
109	grass	<i>ce?mua</i>	157	sixteen	<i>gotur</i>
110	guava	<i>bijri</i>	158	twenty	<i>kuri</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>plesa</i>	159	forty	<i>mbar kuri</i>
112	leaf	<i>ulia?</i>	160	do	<i>DiM</i>
113	lily	<i>basna</i>	161	pull	<i>egu?ram</i>
114	mango	<i>uli</i>	162	push	<i>ToraM</i>
115	paddy	<i>kia</i>	163	put	<i>bo?</i>
116	plough	<i>si</i>	164	rub	<i>Tuwa</i>
117	potato	<i>nela?</i>	165	sell	<i>so</i>
118	root	<i>ugsa?</i>	166	wash	<i>Tandia</i>
119	sweet	<i>mer?</i>	167	work	<i>sele</i>
120	tree	<i>sla?</i>	168	sing	<i>sar</i>
121	vegetable	<i>hma?</i>	169	bring	<i>eraM</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakar</i>	170	climb	<i>Dka</i>
123	bitter	<i>besok</i>	171	come	<i>paM</i>
124	black	<i>harek</i>	172	give	<i>bi?</i>
125	blind	<i>kona/ajumua?</i>	173	go	<i>voila</i>
126	blue	<i>nilia</i>	174	jump	<i>pewe?</i>
127	bright	<i>tarkig</i>	175	vomit	<i>lewar</i>
128	brow	<i>cira?</i>	176	say	<i>basoM</i>
129	coldness	<i>cewi/sig</i>	177	write	<i>gwar</i>
130	green	<i>talsia</i>	178	touch	<i>lig</i>
131	hat	<i>tupi</i>	179	bathe	<i>kumaria?</i>
132	light	<i>tarkig</i>	180	all	<i>sappa</i>
133	red	<i>ci</i>	181	bad	<i>dodia</i>
134	sour	<i>bowe?</i>	182	big	<i>munna</i>
135	sweet	<i>mer?</i>	183	dirty	<i>tupurlo?/jitoM</i>

184	dry	<i>ripripo/nswar</i>	229	its/of this	<i>akhane</i>
185	few	<i>i?tura/</i>	230	like	<i>segua</i>
186	full	<i>tna</i>	231	to me	<i>namke</i>
187	good	<i>bol</i>	232	my	<i>nima</i>
188	hand	<i>ti</i>	233	our	<i>neMa</i>
189	honest	<i>bolrema</i>	234	not	<i>nDu</i>
190	long	<i>calak</i>	235	so/thus	<i>o</i>
191	many	<i>gaTi</i>	236	that	<i>o?</i>
192	narrow	<i>cipa</i>	237	to them	<i>maye songth</i>
193	new	<i>tni</i>	238	then	<i>mayi</i>
194	old	<i>bawir</i>	239	those	<i>ale tokne</i>
195	raw	<i>glug</i>	240	there	<i>at/atte</i>
196	rotten	<i>rubkne</i>	241	they	<i>mapa</i>
197	east	<i>tintarsni</i>	242	their	<i>mayine</i>
198	end	<i>cidene</i>	243	these	<i>alekne</i>
199	far	<i>sla</i>	244	to us	<i>na?ke</i>
200	left	<i>be?sia?</i>	245	we	<i>nak</i>
201	middle	<i>moj</i>	246	what	<i>mak?bare</i>
202	near	<i>Dagra</i>	247	when	<i>o?NA</i>
203	north	<i>junjwar</i>	248	where	<i>anDi</i>
204	out	<i>DoM</i>	249	who	<i>ja</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>neonti</i>	250	why	<i>mak?sa</i>
206	south	<i>junjwarsni</i>			
207	again	<i>memidm</i>			
208	always	<i>o?naparle</i>			
209	before	<i>sask</i>			
210	daily	<i>kalaha?</i>			
211	day	<i>sml</i>			
212	evening	<i>lomDig</i>			
213	fast/quick	<i>jia?jia?</i>			
214	afterwards	<i>heriM/ntig</i>			
215	behind	<i>hriM</i>			
216	between	<i>moak</i>			
217	by	<i>Dkette</i>			
218	down	<i>alo</i>			
219	for	<i>sa?/nsa?</i>			
220	from	<i>bam</i>			
221	he,she	<i>Mak</i>			
222	to her, to him	<i>Masongith</i>			
223	here	<i>ak/akke</i>			
224	his/her	<i>mene</i>			
225	how	<i>uMdi</i>			
226	I	<i>naM</i>			
227	it/this	<i>akne</i>			
228	to it/to this	<i>akne songith</i>			

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GADABA (GUTOB)

Sibasis Mukherjee

Family affiliation

Gutob-Gadaba is a variety of Gadaba which belongs to the Southern Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages.

Location

Gutob is spoken mainly in the extreme south of the Koraput district of Orissa. A small number of Gutob population is also available in the Malkangiri district and its adjacent areas which were carved out from the erstwhile Koraput district. In Koraput district, the major concentration of Gutob speakers is in three blocks, namely, Semiliguda, Lamtaput and Nandpur. In Malkangiri district, they are mainly found in Khiraput block. In the census history of India Gutob is not returned. Instead, in 1981 census, we get the return of Gadaba, the another name of Gutob (another variety of Gadaba which is otherwise known as Ollari-Gadaba of the Dravidian family).

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

GADABA (LANGUAGE)					GADABA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	28,158	14,053	14,105		T	28,016	13,968	14,048
	R	27,135	13,561	13,574		R	26,996	13,477	13,519
	U	1,023	492	531		U	1,020	491	529
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	18,927	9,423	9,504		T	18,927	9,423	9,504
	R	18,343	9,150	9,193		R	18,343	9,150	9,193
	U	584	273	311		U	584	273	311

Bilingualism

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	28,158	16,216	8,257	7,959	Oriya	8,747	4,473	4,274	943	612	331
					Telegu	7,270	3,680	3,590			
Orissa	18,927	8,895	4,523	4,372	Oriya	8,517	4,315	4,182	662	377	285
					Telegu	189	94	95			

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High-Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low-Mid			<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i>	<i>t (d)</i>		<i>ʈ ɖ</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
Trill		<i>r</i>				
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Fricatives		<i>s z</i>				
Approximants	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>			

(*d*) is a marginal phoneme

Suprasegmentals

Nasalisation – Vowels contrast for nasalisation. Examples.

<i>/i/</i> - <i>/ĩ/</i>	<i>/Di/</i>	'from'	-	<i>/Dĩ/</i>	'day'
<i>/u/</i> - <i>/ũ/</i>	<i>/bu/</i>	'to kill'	-	<i>/bũ/</i>	'rack/shelf'
<i>/a/</i> - <i>/ã/</i>	<i>/aT/</i>	'eight'	-	<i>/ãT/</i>	'hard'
<i>/O/</i> - <i>/Õ/</i>	<i>/gO/</i>	'to cut'	-	<i>/gÕ/</i>	'obstinacy'

Major allophonic distribution

Allophones of the vowels

All the vowels in Gutob have the following allophones:

1. All the vowels are long interconsonantly.
2. Elsewhere the vowels are short.

<i>/i/</i>	→ <i>[i:]</i>	<i>/gira/</i>	<i>[gi:ra]</i>	'a kind of fish-net'
	→ <i>[i]</i>	<i>/kitir/</i>	<i>[ki:ti:r]</i>	'field rat'
<i>/e/</i>	→ <i>[e:]</i>	<i>/titi/</i>	<i>[ti:ti]</i>	'hand'
	→ <i>[e]</i>	<i>/ejel/</i>	<i>[eje:l]</i>	'count'
<i>/a/</i>	→ <i>[a:]</i>	<i>/selna/</i>	<i>[se:lna]</i>	'bed'
	→ <i>[a]</i>	<i>/sari/</i>	<i>[sa:ri]</i>	'flower'
<i>/O/</i>	→ <i>[O:]</i>	<i>/al/</i>	<i>[a]</i>	'bamboo'
	→ <i>[O]</i>	<i>/OrO/</i>	<i>[lO:rO]</i>	'to vomit'
		<i>/OlO/</i>	<i>[OlO]</i>	'to come'

/o/	→	[o:]	/Topi/	[To:pi]	'cap'
	→	[o]	/obsol/	[ob.sò:l]	'to show'
/u/	→	[u:]	/tumO/	[tu:mO]	'mouth'
	→	[u]	/kimul/	[ki:mu]	'miser'

Consonants

a) Consonants are short intervocally. Example

[kap.al]	/kapal/	'forehead'
[bOb.isi]	/bObisi/	'headache' etc.

b) Nasals and stops are unreleased in word-final position. The unreleased consonantal allophones are represented by [̚] sign. Example

[ʔOn.Op̚]	/ʔOnOp̚/	'grownup girl'
[kis.ab̚]	/kisab̚/	'waist'
[Or.Ot̚]	/OrOt̚/	'water wheel'
[ūT̚]	/ūT̚/	'camel'
[OD.ek̚]	/ODek̚/	'to make half'
[Dug̚]	/Dug̚/	'to be'

c) The ejective sound in Gutob [b'] is an allophone of the phoneme /b/. Thus,

/b/	→	[b'] occurs in the syllable-final positions.
	→	[b] occurs elsewhere.

Example

/bulw/	→	[bʰulʷ]	'ripe fruit'
/utobsiM̚/	→	[ut.obʰsiM̚]	'egg'
/bObisi/	→	[bObʰ.isi]	'headache'
/kisab̚/	→	[kis.abʰ]	'waist'

Phonemic distribution

The phonemic distribution of the consonants and the vowels in Gutob shows the following features.

1. All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.
2. All the consonants except /z/, /M/, /w/ and /y/ occur in all the three positions- initial, medial and final.
3. The consonant phonemes /z/, /w/ and /y/ do not occur in the word-final position and /M/ does not occur initially. Examples of phonemic distribution of /M/, /z/, /w/ and /y/ are given below-

/Phoneme/	Initial		Medial		Final	
/M/			/doMa/	'small boat'	/piTOM/	'goldsmith'
/z/	/zuzu/	'to visit'	/zuzu/	'to visit'		
/w/	/wOn/	'forest'	/jiwOn/	'life'		
/y/			/kuryu/	'big earthen pot'	/rumay/	'claw'

Diphthongs

Diphthongs are not available in Gutob.

Consonant clusters

Clusters are infrequent in word-initial and word-final positions. They occur mostly in the medial positions and occasionally word initial and final positions. Clusters can be either within a morpheme boundary or across a morpheme boundary.

Bi-consonantal clusters

Initial

/sr-/ → /sri/	'lake'	/Dr-/ → /DrO?/	'elephant'
/mb-/ → /mbar/	'two'		

Final

/-gh/ → /gegʰ/	'heat'	/-nD/ → /kunD/	'storage of water'
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Medial Clusters

	Within the boundary	Across the boundary		
/-pl-/	/laplap/	'black bee'		
/-br-/	/bObrei/	'husband's sister's husband'		
/-by-/	/Obyas/	'habit'		
/-bs-/		/Ob-sum/	'to feed'	
/-tr-/	/sOtri/	'mother-in-law'		
/-tl-/	/sitla/	'shade'		
/-Tk-/	/kiTki/	'window'		
/-kn-/	/Tekna/	'crutch'		
/-kl-/	/sikli/	'sickle'		
/-kr-/	/bakra/	'floor'		
/-mb-/	/umbay/	'elder sister's husband'		
/-nD-/	/kinDa/	'river'		
/-ng-/	/kimingai/	'brother's wife'		
/-nk-/		/Den-kay/	'family'	
/-nm-/	/anman/	'doubt'		
/-ns-/	/cOndOn-sulOb/	'sandalwood tree'		
/-Mg-/	/tuMg/	'earth'	/DeM-gu/	'to become'
/-Ml-/	/liMlanTi/	'rainbow'		
/-mk-/		/kilOM-kaM/	'guests'	
/-Mr-/	/boMra/	'blackbee'		
/-rt-/	/sOgOrta/	'marriage'		
/-rk-/	/arke/	'moon'		
/-rD-/		/ikOr-Den/	'hut'	
/-rg-/	/gOrgOra/	'slope'	/ter-gu/	'to share'
/-rp-/	/dOrpOn/	'mirror'		
/-rb-/	/burboi/	'snake'		
/-rs-/	/kursi/	'chair'	/bOr-sulOb/	'banyan tree'
/-lk-/	/ulkaDa/	'current'		
/-lb-/	/kilboi/	'husband's sister'		
/-ln-/	/selna/	'bed'		
/-tr-/		/bOl-ra/	'bad'	
/-b'g-/		/geb'-gu/	'to burn as fire'	

Tri-consonantal clusters

A few tri-consonantal clusters are found in the medial positions only. These are.

/-b?D/	/nerib? Dutu/	'pregnant woman'
/-mpk-/	/cimpkei/	'to pinch'
/-ntr-/	/mOntrO/	'hymn'
/-nDr-/	/sinDrOM/	'medicine'

Morphophonemics

The morphophonemic rules operating in Gutob, are as follows.

1. The voiced velar stop gets deleted when it is followed by a voiceless dental stop. Example

/Dug/ 'to be' - /tu/

"present tense marker" /Dugt/ > /Dutu/ 'to be (present tense marker)'

2. The gemination of the voiced velar stop gets simplified in sandhi in the intervocalic positions. Example

/Dug/ 'to be' - /gu/ "past marker" /Duggu/ > /Dugu/ 'to be (past) marker'

3. /ura/ is the negative element in Gutob. When /ura/ undergoes a sandhi process with a closed syllable word, /u/ gets deleted. Example

/bOl/ 'good' - /ura/ 'no' = /bOtra/ 'bad'

4. The following is the rule of assimilation

/tOr/ 'to shiver' - /tOr/ > /tOttOr/ 'to shiver'

Here, /r/ - /t/ → /tt/ in the process of regressive assimilation.

5. /Dak/ 'to cover' - /be/ 'to give' > /Dakke/ 'to give cover'.

Here, /k/ - /b/ > /kk/ in the process of progressive assimilation.

Morphology

Nouns

The nouns show distinction for three grammatical categories, namely, gender, number and case.

Gender

In Gutob, two genders are available. They are masculine and feminine. Example

/Oru-On/	'son or nephew' versus	/On-Op/	'daughter or niece'
/Oru-Op/	'man' versus	/On-Op/	'woman' etc.

The distinction of gender is lexical as well as derivational. The lexical gender is expressed by totally different lexical items whereas, the derivational gender is expressed by the derivational suffixes. Examples

/apuM/	'father' versus	/iOM/	'mother' (lexical gender)
/guga/	'crow' versus	/kumay-guga/	'female crow' (derivational gender is

marked by the use of feminine prefix /kumay-/ with the base /-guga/)

Number

The numbers are two - singular and plural. Dual is not seen in Gutob. In Gutob, the plural number suffix is /-nen/. Example

/eten/	'this' versus	/eten-nen/	'these'
/gaja/	'cock' versus	/gaja-nen/	'cocks' etc.

Sometimes plurality is indicated by the numerical uses- /kore lOk/ 'twenty people' etc.

In sentences, the noun-verb or the pronoun-verb concord is also reflected by the use of plural marker. Examples

/eten niM-nu Den/	'this is my house' versus	/eten-nen niM-nu Den-nen/	'these are my houses'.
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Cases

Nominative

The marker for nominative is / ϕ /.

Nominative case is assigned to the subject which is generally suffixed to the verbs in the first and second person. Example

/niM jO niM/ 'I see I' that is 'I see myself'

Accusative and dative-

/o-/ , /-lay/ and /lay/ (dative postposition) are the accusative and dative markers respectively.

Example

/niM/	'I'	/O-nin/	'to me'
/nOm/	'you'	/O-nOm/	'to you'
/iOM lay/	'to the mother'	/O-niM lay/	'for me'

Instrumental

/-buroM/ 'with' is the instrumental case marker. Example
/O? -nen buroM/ 'with the children'

Ablative

/Di?/ 'from' is the ablative case marker. Example
/sulOb 'Di?/ 'from the tree'.

Genitive

/-nu/ and in a very few cases /- ϕ / are the genitive case markers. Examples
/may-nu/ 'his' /sulOb 'sitla/ 'shade of tree'

Postpositions

The postpositions are either free or bound. A few of the postpositions show the quality of nouns and decline like adjectives.

Free postpositions

/kuruM/	/giden kuruM/	'at the back'
/aluM/	/petya aluM/	'in the box'
/tOmnaM/	/Den-tOmnaM/	'on the house'

Bound postpositions

/-bO/	/den-bO OIO/	'come inside the house'
/-ali/	/sarmO-ali/	'in front of'

Pronouns

The following are the pronouns used in Gutob.

Personal	Singular		Plural	
First	/niM/	'I'	/ney/	'we'
Second (honorific)	/pen/	'you'	/pen/	'you'
Second (non-honorific)	/nOm/	'you'	/pen/	'you'
Third	/may/	'he/she'	/may-nen/	'they'
Demonstrative				
Proximate	/eten/	'this'	/eten-nen/	'these'
Remote	/utun/	'that'	/utun-nen/	'those'
Interrogative				
Animate	/lay/	'who'		
Inanimate	/ki/	'what'		
Collective	/sObul/	'all'		

Adjective

Adjectives qualify nouns. In Gutob, an adjective precedes a noun without agreeing with the noun in number, gender and case. Examples

/bOl ?On/	'good boy'	/bOl ?On-On/	'good girl'
/men Den/	'small house'	/men Den-nen/	'small houses' etc.

A list of adjectives found in Gutob are presented below:

/sObu/	'all'	/muirOl/	'alone'
/bOlra/	'bad'	/bilei/	'big'
/salak/	'clever'	/guteg/	'costly'
/sirei/	'deep'	/imar/	'dirty'
/usOr/	'dry'	/kOnDek/	'few'
/martal/	'fold'	/nikOl/	'nice'
/dT/	'hard'	/bOj/	'heavy'
/usas/	'light'	/bayal/	'mad'
/gaTiOl/	'many'	/kimul/	'miser'
/men/	'narrow/small'	/pOtakar/	'notorious'
/bapir/	'old'	/inOsta/	'poor'
/burOn/	'raw'	/sakar/	'rich'
/bulul/	'ripe'	/gial/	'shy'
/OlOp/	'slow'	/dOlOm/	'thick'
/patOl/	'thin'	/sitli/	'wet' etc.

Numerals

Numerals can be either cardinals or ordinals. In Gutob, some of the numerals have both superior or inferior forms. Examples

/muil/	'one(inferior)'	/muirOl/	'one(superior)'
/m-bar/	'two (inferior)'	/m-bar-jul/	'two(superior)'
/i-gen/	'three(inferior)'	/i-gen-ro/	'three(superior)'

The superior numerals are used for the animate nouns and the inferior numerals are used for the inanimate nouns. In case of females, Gutob speakers use the inferior variety only.

The other numerals are-

/un/	'four'	/mollar/	'five'
/tir/	'six'	/gil/	'seven'
/aT/	'eight'	/nOl/	'nine'
/gol/	'ten'		

The numerals beyond 'ten' upto 'nineteen' are counted by using 'ten' as the unit. From twenty onwards, counting is done generally in 'twenties'. The term used for twenty is /selga/. The numerals for thirty, forty and fifty are /tiris/, /salis/ and /pōcas/ respectively.

Fractionals

The fractional numerals are influenced by Oriya. Example

/muirO ODa/	'one and half' (ODa < Odha 'half')		
/ODa/	'half'	/pan/	'one fourth'
/muirO pan/	'one and a quarter'		

Ordinals

Ordinals are generally formed by suffixing inflectional suffixes to the cardinals. Example

/muirOl/	'one' - inflectional suffix -On > /muirOn/ 'first'
/m-bar/	'two' - inflectional suffix - On > /mbarOn/ 'second' etc.

Gutob has also /pelol/ 'first' < Hindi. /pEhla/ 'first' which is a suppletive base of /ek/ 'one'.

Verbs

Gender distinction is not available in the PNG markers. The following tenses are available in Gutob.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Present tense: | Simple present, | present continuous. |
| 2. Past tense: | Simple past, | past continuous. |
| 3. Future tense: | Simple future. | |

Present tense

Simple present- [/ui/ 'to go' - tu 'simple present marker']

Person	Singular	Plural
I	niM uitO niM	ney uitO ney
II	nOm uitO nOm	pennen uitO nen
III	may uitO	may-nen uitO nen

Present continuous- [/ui/ 'to go' - /Dutul/ 'present continuous marker']
 (/Dutul/ = /Dug/ 'to be' - /tu/ 'present marker')

I	niM ui niM (Dutu)	ney ui ney (Dutu)
II	nOm uinOm (Dutu)	pennen uinen (Dutu)
III	may ui (Dutu)	maynen uinen (Dutu)

[() indicates the optional occurrences.]

Past tense

Simple past- [/ui/ 'to go' > /igil/ 'went' (replative)]

I	niM iginIM	ney iginey
II	nOm iginOm	pennen iginen
III	may igi	maynen iginen

Past continuous- [/igi/ 'went' - /Dugul/ 'continuous past marker']
 (/Dugul/ 'to be' - /gu/ 'past marker')

I	niM igniM (Dugu)	ney iginey (Dugu)
II	nOm iginOm (Dugu)	pennen iginen (Dugu)
III	may igi (Dugu)	maynen iginen (Dugu)

Future tense

Simple future- [/ui/ 'to go' > /igil/ 'went' > /ilOM/ 'shall/will to']

I	niM ilOM niM	ney ilOM ney
II	nOm ilOM nOm	pennen ilOM nen
III	may ilOM	may nen ilOM nen

Person

Persons are three- first, second and third. In all the tenses and the moods, these categories are distinguished. Example

/niM ilOM niM/	'I shall go'	/nOm ilOM nOm/	'you will go'
/may ilOM/	'he will go' etc.		

Only the second person Imperative modal verb form does not take any inflectional suffix.

Example

/OIO/	'(you) come' etc.
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Mood

Moods are of two types, namely, imperative and subjunctive.

Imperative mood

Verbs in the imperative mood denote command or command-cum-request. A verb base - transitive, intransitive and causative functions as imperative singular form. An imperative plural marker is added to the bases to form imperative plural. Example

/OIO/	'come (II person singular)'
/OIO -nen/	'come (II person plural)'

Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive mood expresses wish, desire, etc. Example

-gOM- is the subjunctive marker. /Nim uigOMlOM niM/ 'I may go'

Person	Singular	Plural
I	niM uigOMlOM niM	ney uigOMlOM ney
II	nOm uigOMlOM nOm	pennen uigOM lOM nen
III	may uigOMlOM	maynen uigOMlOM nen

Aspect

Aspects are of two types, namely, progressive and perfect.

Progressive marker is -tu denoting continuation of an action. Examples

/niM bugniM Dutul/	'I am beating'
/niM uiniM Dutul/	'I am going' etc.

Perfect denotes the action of the verb just finished. Examples

/nin iglinin Dugul/	'I have gone'
/nOm iglinin Dugul/	'you (singular) have gone'
/may igi Dugul/	'he has gone' etc.

Causative

/-Ob/ is the causative marker prefixed to the verbal root. Examples

/sum/	'to eat' → /Ob-sum/	'to feed'
/riM/	'to bring' → /Ob-riM/	'to make somebody bring'
/pOel/	'to float' → /Ob-pOel/	'to make something float' etc.

Negative

Negative is formed by adding -ura 'no/not' after the verb. Examples

/niM ilOMniM Dugul/	'I have gone'
/niM ilOMnin Dugu ura/	'I have not gone'

-ura can also be used in the beginning of a reply sentence. Examples

/utu niMnu tOnam/	'she is my sister'
/ura, utu niMnu tO nam/	'no, she is not my sister' etc.

Non-finite verb

Infinitive

The infinitive marker -tu is added to the base. Examples

/pi-/	'break' → /pi-tu/	'to break.'
/sum-/	'eat' → /sum-tu/	'to eat'
/Ob-sum-/	'feed' → /Ob-sum-tu/	'to feed' etc.

Verbal Noun

Verbal noun marker /-lay/ is suffixed to the verb. Example

/sOsOm lay bOlra/	'drinking is not good'
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Gerund

Gerund marker /-nun/ is suffixed to the verb base. Examples

/sOsOm/	'eat' -	/sOsminun/	'eatable'
/sOsOmmun luTub/	'eatable flour'		

Participle

Participles are two - present participle and past participle.

Present participle

/gusO aoliguni piMgi/ 'the dog comes barking'

Past participle

Marker is /-ki/ 'having'. This marker is an Oriya adaptation.

/lekeiki-..../ 'having written', /sumki .../ 'having slept' etc.

There is another type of participle, called the conjunctive participle which is marked by /-lo/. This also can be added to many bases that is transitive, intransitive, causative etc. Example

/meDiM-lo ki/ 'having acted' etc.

Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs modify the action of the main verbs. The auxiliary verbs in Gutob are

1. Dutu 'to be (present)' 2. Dugu 'to be (past)' 3. -gOM- 'may/can' etc.

The auxiliary verbs are generally used in the sentence final positions except -gOM being used as an infix. Examples

/niM uigOMIOM niM/ 'I may/can go' /niM IOM niM/ 'I shall go'

/niM uiniM Dutu/ 'I am going' /niM iginiM Dugu/ 'I was going' etc.

Compound verbs

Compound verbs are formed by combining two or three or more verbal forms. The first verb is called the 'main verb' and the remaining one the 'operator'. They can be formed as follows-

1. Participle - Operator : /Debe/ < Dab 'cover' - /be/ 'to give' = /Dabeibe/ 'to give the cover'

2. Infinitive - Operator : /pitu/ < pi 'eat' - /be/ = /pitube/ 'eat'

Adverbs

Adverbs may be simple or derived. Simple adverbs are mono-morphemic and derived adverbs consist of more than one morpheme. Examples

Simple adverb- /IsOM/ 'today'

Derived adverb- /e-nO/ 'here' /u-nO/ 'there' etc.

Particles

Two particles are available in Gutob. They are conjunctions and interjections.

Conjunctions serve as a link between two words, phrases and sentence. Example

/enO-nen muirO girem mRO muirO gusO/ 'here are a cat and a dog'

The different types of conjunctions are : mRO 'and' (conjunctive), mOr 'if' (conditional), su 'then' (adverbial), oten 'that' (complementary).

Interjections are - basic and functional.

Basic - wa wa 'well done'

Functional

1. Substantive- ram ram 'oh! God' as in /ram ram! utun manta/ 'Oh! God what is that'

2. Pronominal- maM 'what' as in /maM! eten niMnu laMbO/ 'what! is this my field?'

Echo words

Echo formations of nominals and verbals are exemplified as below-

Nominal echo formation

/rung sung/ 'ice, etc' /suDu DuDu/ 'wrestling etc.'

Verbal echo formation

/sum tum/ 'eating etc' /riM tiM/ 'bringing etc.'

Syntax

Syntax is the study of the arrangement of the words in a sentence. In Gutob, the word-order is of SOV pattern. Example

/gus giremlay bukei/ 'the dog barks at the cat'

The basic formula to construct a simple sentence is,

S = NP (Auxiliary) VP (NP = + Noun + Pronoun + Adjective+Article+Quantifier)

And VP V + (NP). Example

/muirO gusO/ 'a cat' = NP. /bukei/ 'bark' = v - ϕ = VP. Thus,

/muirO gusO bukei/ 'a dog barks' = NP - VP = Sentence.

Descriptions of the types of sentences

1. Interrogative

In an interrogative sentence, verb comes in the first position or an auxiliary verb begins the sentence. *wh-* words also give the interrogative sentences. Example

/utun niMnu tO nam/ 'she is my sister' > /utun niMnu tO nan ki?/ 'is she my sister?'

2 Negative

In a SOV order sentence negative element occurs at the end of a sentence. Example
/utun ninnu tOnam/ 'she is my sister' > /utun niMnu tO nam ura/ 'is she not my sister?'

Again in some negative construction in reply type of sentences the negative element precedes the construction. Example

/ura, utun niMnu tO nam/ 'no, she is not my sister'

3. Imperative

Imperative sentences denote sense ordering. As such they occur in the second person and the verbs take zero markers. Example

/enO OIO/	'come here'	/leisa/	'sit'
/riM/	'bring' etc.		

4. Passive

A passive sentence is created from an active sentence by i) bringing object to the subject position, ii) putting subject to the object position, iii) adding 'by', iv) changing the verb form to its participle forms. Example

niM (subject) *pOti* (object) /*pO renin/* (read, present first person singular) 'I read the book' > /*pOti* (subject) *niM-nu* (object - genitive suffix) *Di* (by) *pO raidengu* (past participle form) 'the book is read by me'. Passive formations are very rare in Gutob.

5. Causative

The causative sentences are formed by prefixing causative marker *Ob-* to the verb. Example

/sum/	'to eat'	/Ob-sum/	'to feed' as in
/niM sum-niM/	'I eat'	/niM Ob-sum-niM/	'I feed' etc.

6. Relative clause

In Gutob, the relative clause is formed by using /lay/. Example
/gurab u?nta utobsiM Dugu utu utobsiM lay guga niko jo tOn DemOsu DuDugu/ 'in the nest, there were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care' Coordination

In Gutob, *mRO* 'and' *pOtek* 'until' are the coordination markers. Example

/niM-nu bobrai-nen mŕO tO nam-nen DenbOl

'my brothers and sisters are at home'

/may mOnjə nOy pOtek ansum Dugu/

'he worked until the late hours of night'

Complex sentences

A sentence having one principal clause followed by one or more subordinate clause (s) is a complex sentence. Example

/utu sulOb -nu muŕO pulubO muŕO Dei burboi DuDugu utu(burboi) lay

guga-nen gaTiO butoM Dugu/ 'in a hollow of that tree, there lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly'.

Brief sociolinguistic information

Gutob speakers are bilingual. They speak in their mother tongue among themselves and in Desia with others. Because of their regular interaction with the Telugu speakers in the bordering districts of Andhra Pradesh adjoining the Koraput district of Orissa state, a majority of them speak in Telugu as well. Further, the literate section of Gutobs are exposed to standard Oriya, the official language of the state and Hindi also.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Gutob	Sl. No	English	Gutob
1	air	<i>OjOj</i>	44	widow	<i>kirOkui</i>
2	ashes	<i>u?sOM</i>	45	wife	<i>kumei</i>
3	cloud	<i>tinib</i>	46	woman	<i>?ŌnOp</i>
4	cold	<i>ruMgO</i>	47	ant	<i>gunalO</i>
5	darkness	<i>nOe</i>	48	bird	<i>piDi</i>
6	earth	<i>mOspur</i>	49	cat	<i>girem</i>
7	eclipse	<i>gOrOnsula</i>	50	claw	<i>rumay</i>
8	fire	<i>suMOl</i>	51	cock	<i>gisiM</i>
9	fog	<i>DuMri DalO</i>	52	cow	<i>kitaM</i>
10	forest	<i>wOn</i>	53	dog	<i>gusO</i>
11	hill	<i>birOM</i>	54	egg	<i>utobsiM</i>
12	ice	<i>ruMgO</i>	55	feather	<i>poki</i>
13	moon	<i>arke</i>	56	fish	<i>aDoM</i>
14	mountain	<i>birOM</i>	57	fly	<i>urei</i>
15	rain	<i>Da</i>	58	fox	<i>kokopāDi</i>
16	river	<i>kinDa</i>	59	goat	<i>gime</i>
17	road	<i>baT</i>	60	grease	<i>ginul</i>
18	sand	<i>bitil</i>	61	guts	<i>ku</i>
19	wing	<i>ojoj</i>	62	horn	<i>siM</i>
20	wood	<i>suMgOl</i>	63	back	<i>gi?DaM</i>
21	baby	<i>?Ōn</i>	64	belly	<i>sulei</i>
22	boy	<i>men Oru</i>	65	blood	<i>iam</i>
23	bride	<i>biba ?ŌnOp</i>	66	body	<i>neri</i>
24	bride groom	<i>biba Oru</i>	67	bone	<i>sisam</i>
25	brother	<i>Obrai</i>	68	breast	<i>gire</i>
26	child	<i>?Ōn</i>	69	chest	<i>gire</i>
27	daughter	<i>?ŌnOn</i>	70	ear	<i>litir</i>
28	father	<i>apuM</i>	71	eye	<i>mO</i>
29	friend	<i>Disel</i>	72	face	<i>sarmO</i>
30	girl	<i>?ŌnOp</i>	73	fever	<i>sOrOM</i>
31	husband	<i>remOl</i>	74	finger	<i>aMTi</i>
32	male	<i>remOl</i>	75	flesh	<i>seli</i>
33	man	<i>Oru</i>	76	foot	<i>susuM</i>
34	marriage	<i>biba/sOgOrta/jOla</i>	77	hair	<i>senDi</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>mama</i>	78	hand	<i>titi</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>tOnam</i>	79	head	<i>bOb</i>
37	mother	<i>iOM</i>	80	heart	<i>dil</i>
38	nephew	<i>OruOn</i>	81	leg	<i>susuM</i>
39	niece	<i>?ŌnOn</i>	82	lip	<i>sonDi</i>
40	old man	<i>kina</i>	83	liver	<i>kOIOf</i>
41	sister	<i>buDi</i>	84	lung	<i>pOpOs</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>bu/kimigai(e/y)</i>	85	mouth	<i>tumO</i>
43	son	<i>Oru</i>	86	neck	<i>gatli</i>
			87	nose	<i>mi</i>

88	spine	<i>laTi sisaM</i>	136	white	<i>sada/bhurei</i>
89	tongue	<i>lam</i>	137	yellow	<i>hOIdi</i>
90	tooth	<i>gine</i>	138	hungry	<i>kuru</i>
91	waist	<i>kisab</i>	139	love	<i>bOl</i>
92	fruit	<i>ayer/bulu</i>	140	pain	<i>isi</i>
93	liquor	<i>ili</i>	141	true	<i>nikO</i>
94	milk	<i>Da?iOr</i>	142	wish	<i>ic</i>
95	salt	<i>biti</i>	143	ink	<i>sai</i>
96	smoke	<i>musOM</i>	144	school	<i>iskul</i>
97	uncooked rice		145	student	<i>pOrei</i>
98	bed	<i>selna</i>	146	teacher	<i>masTer</i>
99	door	<i>kOpal</i>	147	bullet	<i>guli</i>
100	house	<i>Den</i>	148	first	<i>muirOn</i>
101	roof	<i>bilei</i>	149	second	<i>mbarOn</i>
102	rope	<i>gei</i>	150	third	<i>igenrOn</i>
103	wall	<i>kOti</i>	151	one	<i>muirO</i>
104	well	<i>kūi</i>	152	two	<i>mbar</i>
105	window	<i>kiTki</i>	153	three	<i>igenrO</i>
106	flower	<i>sari</i>	154	four	<i>u?n</i>
107	fruit	<i>ayer/bulu</i>	155	five	<i>molai</i>
108	garden	<i>sariarO</i>	156	ten	<i>gol</i>
109	grass	<i>saga</i>	157	sixteen	<i>tirgol</i>
110	guava	<i>pirOka</i>	158	twenty	<i>kore</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>pOlnOs</i>	159	forty	<i>mbar kore</i>
112	leaf	<i>saDOr</i>	160	do	<i>Dem</i>
113	lily	<i>lili</i>	161	pull	<i>Tanei</i>
114	mango	<i>amO</i>	162	push	<i>Telei</i>
115	paddy	<i>kerOM</i>	163	put	<i>bOM</i>
116	plough	<i>sunei</i>	164	rub	<i>gOsei</i>
117	potato	<i>alu</i>	165	sell	<i>sOMO</i>
118	root	<i>bunD</i>	166	wash	<i>tOnO</i>
119	sweet	<i>miTha</i>	167	work	<i>ramani</i>
120	tree	<i>sulOb</i>	168	sing	<i>sera</i>
121	vegetable	<i>utunia</i>	169	bring	<i>riM</i>
122	wheel	<i>tair</i>	170	climb	<i>Dai</i>
123	bitter	<i>pita</i>	171	come	<i>Olo</i>
124	black	<i>isoj</i>	172	give	<i>be</i>
125	blind	<i>OndhO</i>	173	go	<i>ui</i>
126	blue	<i>nili</i>	174	jump	<i>Tep</i>
127	bright	<i>jOlei</i>	175	vomit	<i>lOrO</i>
128	brown	<i>kairi</i>	176	say	<i>sunO</i>
129	coldness	<i>ruMgO</i>	177	write	<i>lek</i>
130	green	<i>haria</i>	178	touch	<i>taram</i>
131	hat	<i>Topi</i>	179	bathe	<i>kiman</i>
132	light	<i>usas</i>	180	all	<i>sOb</i>
133	red	<i>rOM</i>	181	bad	<i>bOlra</i>
134	sour	<i>khaTa</i>	182	big	<i>silei</i>
135	sweet	<i>miTha</i>	183	dirty	<i>imar</i>

184	dry	<i>usOr</i>	232	my	<i>niMnu</i>
185	few	<i>konDek</i>	233	our	<i>neynu</i>
186	full	<i>uslei</i>	234	not	<i>ura</i>
187	good	<i>nikO</i>	235	so/thus	<i>to</i>
188	hand	<i>titi</i>	236	that	<i>uten</i>
189	honest	<i>nikO</i>	237	to them	<i>Omay nen</i>
190	long	<i>silei</i>	238	then	<i>su</i>
191	many	<i>gaTiO</i>	239	those	<i>uten-nen</i>
192	narrow	<i>men</i>	240	there	<i>unO</i>
193	new	<i>time</i>	241	they	<i>may-nen</i>
194	old	<i>bapir</i>	242	their	<i>mayne nu</i>
195	raw	<i>burOn</i>	243	these	<i>etennen</i>
196	rotten	<i>kuei</i>	244	to us	<i>Oney</i>
197	east	<i>udiya</i>	245	we	<i>ney</i>
198	end	<i>OntO</i>	246	what	<i>manDe</i>
199	far	<i>sulOM</i>	247	when	<i>unDei</i>
200	left	<i>esa</i>	248	where	<i>OmO</i>
201	middle	<i>mOlai</i>	249	who	<i>lay</i>
202	near	<i>loge</i>	250	why	<i>kāi/ceida</i>
203	north	<i>Orgu</i>			
204	out	<i>Dan</i>			
205	right/side/hand	<i>etOm/etOm titi</i>			
206	south	<i>Dokin</i>			
207	again	<i>meO</i>			
208	always	<i>sOrtel</i>			
209	before	<i>amuM</i>			
210	daily	<i>Dinke</i>			
211	day	<i>Din</i>			
212	evening	<i>nOnDi</i>			
213	fast/quick	<i>bigi</i>			
214	afterwards	<i>pOse</i>			
215	behind	<i>tirgi</i>			
216	between	<i>mOlai</i>			
217	by	<i>burOM</i>			
218	down	<i>nic</i>			
219	for	<i>lay</i>			
220	from	<i>Dī</i>			
221	he,she	<i>may</i>			
222	to her, to him	<i>O-may</i>			
223	here	<i>enO</i>			
224	his/her	<i>may-nu</i>			
225	how	<i>kemti</i>			
226	I	<i>niM</i>			
227	it/this	<i>eten</i>			
228	to it/to this	<i>Oeten</i>			
229	its/of this	<i>etennu</i>			
230	like	<i>para</i>			
231	to me	<i>OniM</i>			

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Ho J.Suresh

Introduction

Family affiliation

The language 'Ho' belongs to Northern Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family.

The term 'Ho' means 'human beings' and it is similar to the word *har* and *hara* 'man' in 'Santali' and Mundari respectively.

Location

Hos or the Ho Mundas are a group of tribal people found on the hills of the Simlipahar range. They are found in the districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum and Chotanagpur of Bihar and Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundargarh districts of Orissa. Although Hos are found both in Bihar and Orissa States, the main home of the present day Hos is Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar districts of Orissa and other contiguous villages of Singhbhum district of Bihar.

The Ho territory lies in the midst of the country inhabited by the Mundaris and Santalis.

History of Linguistic Studies on Ho

The earliest reference of the Ho language is noticed in the "grammatical construction of the whole language" by S. K. Tickell in the year of 1840.

Lionel Burrows (1914)

A grammar of the Ho language - An Eastern Himalayan Dialect:
Cosmo publications, New Delhi

Burrows observed that the three dialects - Santali, Mundari and Ho of the so called Munda family of languages contain marked features of common descent. They in course of time due to distinct ecology and environment, drifted apart on many points of usage, vocabulary and pronunciation.

G. A. Grierson

LSI Vol. IV (1906): gives a short account of the Ho language and puts Ho under Kherwarian group of Austro-Asiatic family.

Rev. J. Deeney S.J. (1975)

Ho grammar and vocabulary ; Xavier Mission, Chainbasa. The book gives a description of Ho language.

Statistical data: Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

HO (LANGUAGE)					HO (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	949,216	473,700	475,516		T	942,845	470,417	472,428
	R	887,253	441,035	446,218		R	881,311	437,986	443,325
	U	61,963	32,665	29,298		U	61,534	32,431	29,103
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	292,619	145,870	146,749		T	291,942	145,517	146,425
	R	281,233	140,044	141,189		R	280,616	139,718	140,898
	U	11,386	5,826	5,560		U	11,326	5,799	5,527

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	949,216	302,176	192,088	110,088	Hindi	160,047	112,597	47,450	74,072	56,114	17,958
					Oriya	129,626	72,511	57,115			
					Bengali	7,885	3,958	3,927			
					Santali	2,936	1,467	1,469			
					English	1,495	1,481	14			
Orissa	292,619	114,060	67,101	46,959	Hindi	2,926	1,459	1,467	11,678	10,211	1,467
				Oriya	106,749	62,724	44,025				
				Santali	2,926	1,459	1,467				
				English	1,459	1,459	-----				

Phonology
Segmentals
Phonemic inventory
Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
Higher-Mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
Low		<i>a a:</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p</i>		<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Fricatives		<i>v</i>		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Laterals				<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>			
Flap				<i>r</i>				
Semi-vowel						<i>y</i>		

Phonemic distribution of consonants

The ten segmental vowel phonemes, five short and five long occur initially, medially and finally. Among the stop consonants *p, b, t, d, T, D, k, g, c* and *j* occur initially and medially while *p, b, d* and *g* occur finally also. *ʔ* occurs in the medial and the final positions.

Among the nasals *m* and *n* occur in all the three positions while *N* and *M* occur medially and finally only.

The fricative *h* occurs initially while *v* and *y* occur medially in the after vowel position. Of the laterals *l* occurs in all the three positions while *L* occurs medially and finally only.

Diphthongs

Ho diphthongs occur initially, medially and finally. Examples

Initial diphthongs

<i>ia-</i>	<i>iam</i>	'cry/weep'
<i>eo-</i>	<i>eob</i>	'first'
<i>ae-</i>	<i>aer</i>	'first'
<i>au:-</i>	<i>au:b</i>	'late evening'
<i>ai-</i>	<i>ai</i>	'law'

Medial Diphthongs

<i>-ia-</i>	<i>kamiako</i>	'member'
<i>-io-</i>	<i>jiol</i>	'imprisonment'
<i>-ia:-</i>	<i>basia:m</i>	'breakfast'
<i>-iu-</i>	<i>glu</i>	'shame'
<i>-iu:-</i>	<i>siu:d/miu:m</i>	'essence/calf'
<i>-ea-</i>	<i>kereaD</i>	'parrot'
<i>-eo-</i>	<i>Teom</i>	'wolf'
<i>-eo:-</i>	<i>deo:na</i>	'native doctor'
<i>-ai-</i>	<i>tain</i>	'crocodile'
<i>-au-</i>	<i>cauli</i>	'rice'
<i>-oi-</i>	<i>moisi</i>	'she-buffalo'

-oā:-	loa:M	'clove'
-ui-	tuila:	'bag'
-ua-	tuān	'orphan'
-ua:-	kua:m	'chest'

Final diphthongs - V₁ V₂

-ia	daeDia	'beard'
-io	jotio	'eventhough'
-iu	siu	'ploughshare'
-ei	piLLei	'bladder'
-ea	dorea	'bay'
-eo	keo	'brushing'
-ai	lai	'belly'
-au	Dau	'guava'
-oi	hogoi	'murder'
-oa	paroa	'pigeon'
-ou	ga:NDrou	'an insect'
-ui	ca:Dui	'divorce'
-ua	kua	'male'
-ua:	cotua:	'fluffed rice'

Triphthongs

Triphthongs are also available in Ho in medial and final positions. Example

Medially

-o eo-	ko?o boeol	'fiber'
-ua i-	juainum	'gambling'

Finally

-lua	diriua	'cave'
-aiu	taiu	'dwell'
-oeo	hoeo	'air'
-uiu	guiu	'brook'

Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters in Ho may be either identical or non-identical

Medial identical two consonant clusters- C₁ C₂

-pp-	Tuppi / Toppa	'hat/buy'
-bb-	dobba	'washerman'
-tt-	otte	'earth'
-dd-	ri:ddiri	'grinding stone'
-TT-	kaTTea	'rat'
-DD-	urdoDDa;	'dig'
-cc-	macci	'chair'
-ss-	hassagada	'grave'
-ll-	billi	'egg'
-LL-	piLLei	'bladder'
-rr-	orrakab	'raise'
-jj-	kejja/ujju	'barter/wound'

-kk-	ukku	'hide'
-gg-	buggi	'merit'
-mm-	kamma:r	'blacksmith'
-nn-	canna	'horsegram'

Medial non-identical two consonant clusters - C₁ C₂

-pt-	hapta:	'week'
-pn-	ol ca:pni	'printer'
-pl-	aplop	'wing'
-br-	abrok	'mica'
-ts	atsar	'bow'
-tr-	patra:	'message'
-Tk-	aTkar	'feel'
-Ts-	aTsa:r	'bow'
-dl-	godlad	'moss'
-dr-	godra:	'elephantiasis'
-Dg-	haDgar	'hyena'
-Dr-	caDra:bo	'bald'
-cn-	bicna:	'bed'
-jr-	ba:jra:	'spiked millet'
-ks-	poksa:	'lung'
-kr-	akriy	'sell'
-mp-	pampal	'butterfly'
-mb-	ombul/umbul	'shade'
-Md-	mara:Mdi sum	'continent'
-Mk-	kiMkidi	'fox'
-Mg-	guMgu	'nephew/niece'
-ST-	po:STu	'post'
-sk-	biskuT	'biscuit'
-lc-	alci	'goadling'
-lk-	tolkubi	'cabbage'
-lj-	giljiala:y	'desert'
-sj-	mosjid	'mosque'
-rb-	ma:rbal	'marble'
-rt-	hrtar:	'sole'
-rj-	garja:w/sirjan	'grain/nature'
-rk-	arki	'brew'
-rm	sirma:	'sky'
-rn-	jorna:	'brook'
-rs-	tursaM	'ray'
-?b-	nu?ba:	'darkness'
-?D-	me?Djini	'cage'
-?j-	ota?jur	'press'
-?N-	dak?Ni	'magic'
-mi-	hamte	'husband'
-mD-	samDi	'parents-in-law'
-mj-	ta:mjilim	'flatten'
-mk-	gomke	'master'
-mr-	omrua:r	'collect'

-nt-	da?ulinta	'waterfall'
-nd-	a:ndi	'marriage'
-nj-	honja:r	'father-in-law'
-nk-	ja:Na: honkin	'twin'
-nm-	ma:nmi	'artificial'
-ns-	honso	'goose'
-ND-	uNDi	'younger brother'

Medial non-identical three consonant clusters- C₁ C₂ C₃

-mbL-	ra:mbLa	'black gram'
-ndr-	ka:ndruja:M	'spinehead'
-Mkr-	siMkri	'hinge'
-MgD-	laMgDa:	'cripple'
-str-	mistri	'head labourer'

Final non-identical two consonant clusters -C₁ C₂

-nt	be:nt	'cane'
-nd	bokcond	'wonder'
-nc	ca:nc	'clay mould'
-n?	gosoen?	'wipe off'
-nT	u:nT	'camel'
-nD	uiunD	'earwax'
-?D	a?D	'lose'
-?m	e?m	'pay'
-?l	o?l	'pull out'

Syllables

Syllable is the smallest unit in a word. Ho, being an agglutinating language syllabification of the word is simple. In Ho always the morphemic boundary coincides with the syllabic boundary thus making a correlation between morphophonemic and phonetic divisions. In Ho we have mono-, di- and poly- syllabic words consisting of six syllables. The syllables are both open and close.

Mono-syllabic word

Open

V	i:	'human excrement'	VVCu	au?u	'belch'
VV	ua	'bite' (as a dog)	CV	nu	'drink'
VVV	aea	'seven'	CV	ti:	'hand'
			CVV	rea	'season/cold'
CVV	Tu:l	'parrot'			
CVV	gua:	'arecanut'			

General structure

$$(C) \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ V \\ U \end{matrix} \right\} VV$$

Close

VC	ol	'write'
VC	u:b	'hair'
VCC	e?m	'pay'
VVVCC	uluND	'ear-wax'
VCC	u:nT	'camel'
CVC	hon	'child/young ones'

CVC	<i>ca:b</i>	'yawn'
CVVC	<i>nail</i>	'plough'
CVCC	<i>soND</i>	'trunk of elephant'
CVCC	<i>ha:ns</i>	'goose'
Structure	(C) ($\frac{u}{v}$) (C) ($\frac{u}{v}$) (C) (C)	

In all these the vowel constitutes the peak of a syllable and forms vocalic cluster within the same syllable. In the case of consonant clusters they occur in between the syllables that mean they form syllable boundaries resulting in abutting.

Now considering the syllable as the basic constituent of an utterance we can say that the whole utterance is a sequence of syllables. Any Ho utterance can be represented by the general structure.

V { V (C) } CV [VC]

The di-, tri-, tetra-, penta- and hexa- syllabic forms confine to the above structure and they all show open- and close-type syllables.

Morphology

Noun

In Ho noun stems are classified into three classes, namely substantives, pronouns and numerals. Of these, substantives are further categorized into non-derived and derived noun stems and the non-derived noun stems are divided into animate nouns and inanimate nouns.

Animate nouns

All those noun stems, which in addition to the genitive suffixes and post positions, can take dual and plural number suffixes *kin* and *ko* respectively belong to the category of animate nouns. These number suffixes are also marked in the verb phrase in the case of third person subject and object.

Example

<i>Teom</i>	'wolf'	<i>kuid</i>	'vulture'
<i>tu:ʔ</i>	'squirrel'	<i>Tua:u</i>	'cuckoo'
<i>ho</i>	'human being'		

Inanimate nouns

The inanimate noun stems differ from the animates by not taking suffixes for number and are not marked in the verb phrase. In cases where the duality or plurality is to be emphasized upon they may take such suffixes. Example

<i>Duki</i>	'urine'	<i>ula:</i>	'vomit'
<i>ji:</i>	'soul'	<i>tetaM</i>	'thirst'

Gender

The animate nouns undergo genderisation basing on the sex differences conveyed through meaning of the words.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>kua</i>	'male'	<i>era:kui</i>	'female'
<i>kuma:M</i>	'maternal uncle'	<i>hatom</i>	'maternal aunt'
<i>honja:r</i>	'father-in-law'	<i>hana:r</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>bor</i>	'groom'	<i>nama era</i>	'bride'
<i>sa:ND seta</i>	'dog'	<i>eMga sata</i>	'bitch'
<i>sa:ND xi:m</i>	'cock'	<i>eMgasi:m</i>	'hen'
<i>ruda miNDi</i>	'sheep' (M)	<i>eMga miNDi</i>	'sheep' (F)
<i>keDa:</i>	'buffalo' (M)	<i>moisi</i>	'buffalo' (F)

Number

Ho has three way distinction of number, namely, singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked - ϕ and dual and plural are marked by -*kiM* and -*ko* respectively.

Singular	Dual	Plural	Meaning
<i>ipil -ϕ</i>	<i>ipil-kiM</i>	<i>ipil-ko</i>	'star'
<i>guyu -ϕ</i>	<i>guMu-kiM</i>	<i>guyu-ko</i>	'hut'
<i>ka:Di-ϕ</i>	<i>ka:Di-kiM</i>	<i>ka:Di-ko</i>	'key'
<i>joTTo-ϕ</i>	<i>joTTo-kiM</i>	<i>joTTo-ko</i>	'coconut leaf'
<i>ulli -ϕ</i>	<i>ulli-kiM</i>	<i>ulli-ko</i>	'mango'

The dual and plural suffixes may only be used with inanimate objects. Nouns denoting family relations take *te* before the dual and plural suffixes

(Dual)	<i>guMgu-te-kiM</i>	'father's (elder) brother'
(Plural)	<i>gumgu-te-ko</i>	'father's (elder) brother'
(Dual)	<i>misi-te-kiM</i>	'younger sister'
(Plural)	<i>misi-te-ko</i>	'younger sister'

Cases

There are eight cases in Ho. Of these, nominative and accusative are not marked. All the other cases use specific markers.

Dative

The suffixes are two namely -*tare*, -*tate*. These are used with animate nouns where indirect object is not included in the verb. Example

<i>ho-tare</i> , <i>ho-tate</i>	'to the human being'
<i>gitil-tare</i> , <i>gitil-tate</i>	'to the sand'
<i>sirjan-tare</i> , <i>sirja-tate</i>	'to the nature'

Instrumental

The suffix is -*te*. It occurs with all inanimate nouns. Example

<i>gila:si-te</i>	'with glass'	<i>rukku-te</i>	'with chisel'
<i>doMga:-te</i>	'with boat'		

Ablative

The suffixes are -*te*, -*taete*, *paete*

These are grouped under two categories, namely definite and indefinite. The first two belong to definite category and the latter one to indefinite category. Example

<i>haTia-taete</i>	'from the lane'	<i>oli?-ete</i>	'from the author'
<i>bilki-paete</i>	'from the vicinity of the magician'		
<i>a:r paete</i>	'from near the yoke'		
<i>ol-paete</i>	'from near the book'		

Genitive

The suffixes are -*a*, -*ren*, -*rea*

These convey the senses of possession, partitive and relation.

{ -*ren* } ∞ -*ren*, -*rea*, -*a*

<i>kira:ni-ren</i>	'of the clerk'	<i>kamila:-rea</i>	'of the goldsmith'
<i>da:Ndie-a</i>	'of the broker'		

Locative

The suffixes are -*re*, -*tare*, -*pare*

These are used divergently, namely, definite and indefinite. Example

<i>hasa:re</i>	'in the soil'	<i>daru-tare</i>	'in the tree'
<i>soLopo-pare</i>	'in the vicinity of the road'		

The above suffixes have three variants, namely, *te*, *tate* and *pate* respectively and these indicate location and motion.

Vocative

The suffixes are *-ate*, *-atea*. Example

<i>ate ho</i>	'oh, man'	<i>aTea kiyōTa</i>	'oh, fisherman'
<i>ate ra:ja:</i>	'oh, Raja'		

Pronoun

In Ho, there are two-types of pronouns, namely, personal pronoun and non-personal pronouns. The personal pronouns are three- first, second and third showing three way number distinction, namely, singular, dual and plural. The first person dual and plural also show inclusive and exclusive distinction. Pronouns denoting the inanimates do not have dual and plural. The forms of personal pronouns are as below

Person singular			dual		plural	
I	<i>aiM</i>	'I'	<i>alaM</i>	'we'	<i>abu</i>	'we(inclusive)
			<i>aliM</i>	'we(exclusive)	<i>ale</i>	'we(exclusive)
II	<i>am</i>	'you'	<i>abhin</i>	'you(non-honorific)'	-	
			<i>aben</i>	'you(honorific)'	<i>ape</i>	'you'
III	<i>ai</i>	'he/she'	<i>akiM</i>	'he/she'	<i>ako</i>	'they'
	<i>nia</i>	'it'				

The formation of all the personal pronouns is made by prefixing a non-personal */a-/* which is a free form marker. The exception to this general rule are the third person singular human and non-human forms. When the pronominal subject is emphasised it can occur independently with free form marker */a/* as prefix and emphasis marker */ge/* as suffix.

Non-personal pronouns

The non-personal pronouns are interrogative, indefinite and demonstrative pronouns.

Interrogative pronoun

Animate-	<i>okoe</i>	'who'
Inanimate-	<i>okona, cikana</i>	'what'
	<i>cilekama</i>	'what sort of'

These pronouns are declinable like the others. But the dual and plural forms of the animate interrogative pronoun are - *okoetekim* and *okoeteko* respectively. The adjectival forms, namely, *okoM*, *cikan* and *cilekan* are used before animate and inanimate nouns alike.

Indefinite pronoun

These are obtained from the indefinite adjectives *jan*, *eTa* and *ja* in the same way as demonstrative pronouns are formed from demonstrative adjectives.

		Singular		Dual		Plural
<i>jan</i>	'any'	<i>jani</i>	'any one'	<i>jankiM</i>		<i>janko</i>
		<i>jana</i>	'anything'	<i>jana</i>		<i>jana</i>
<i>eTa</i>	'other, another'	<i>eTai</i>	'another one'	<i>eTakiM</i>		<i>eTako</i>
		<i>etaa</i>	'another thing'	<i>eta:</i>		<i>eta:</i>
<i>ja</i>	'any at all'	<i>jai (ge)</i>	'any one at all'	<i>jakiM</i>		<i>jako</i>
		<i>jaa</i>	'anything at all'	<i>ja:</i>		<i>ja:</i>

Demonstrative pronouns

These pronouns are formed from the demonstrative adjectives *ne* 'this' *en* 'that' and *ter* 'that far away', by the addition of *-i*, *-kiM*, *-ko* when animate objects are denoted and by the addition of the neuter form *'a'* when inanimate objects are indicated.

Demonstrative adjectives		Demonstrative pronouns		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>ne</i>	'this'	<i>ni</i> 'this' (animate)	<i>nikiM</i>	<i>niku, neko</i>
<i>en</i>	'that'	<i>ini, eni</i> 'that' (animate)	<i>inkiM</i>	<i>enk</i>
			<i>enkiM</i>	
<i>ter</i>	'far off'	<i>teri</i> 'that' (animate)	<i>ferkiM</i>	<i>terko</i>

All these forms can be declined in the same way as nouns and personal pronouns.

The word *leka* 'like' is added to the demonstrative adjectives to form compounds. By adding the simple personal forms *-i*, *-kiM* and *-ko* and the demonstrative pronouns *ni*, *nikiM* and *neko* we get the compound forms. Burrows treats them as compound demonstratives.

Singular	Dual	Plural	Meaning
<i>nilekai</i>	<i>nilekakiM</i>	<i>nilekako</i>	'any animate thing like this'
<i>nilekani</i>	<i>nilekankiM</i>	<i>nilekanko</i>	
<i>inilekai</i>	<i>inilekakiM</i>	<i>inilekako</i>	'any animate thing like that'
<i>inilekani</i>	<i>inilekankiM</i>	<i>inilekanko</i>	
<i>terlekai</i>	<i>terlekakiM</i>	<i>terlakako</i>	'any animate thing like that' (far off)
<i>terlekani</i>	<i>terlekankiM</i>	<i>terlekanko</i>	

Adjectives

Adjectives in Ho are of two types. These are simple and derived adjectives.

Simple adjectives - ϕ

<i>saben</i>	'all'	<i>etka</i>	'bad'
<i>mara:M</i>	'big'	<i>kaDubuM</i>	'curved'
<i>osa:r</i>	'broad'	<i>rea</i>	'cold'
<i>ikir</i>	'deep'	<i>ro?</i>	'dry'
<i>rokka:</i>	'fresh'	<i>lolo</i>	'hot'

Derived adjectives

<i>-n</i>	<i>bugi</i>	'good'	<i>-- n ></i>	<i>bugin</i>	'good'
<i>-an</i>	<i>bilk - an ></i>			<i>bilkan</i>	'kind'
<i>-akan</i>	(used in perfect participle)				
	<i>bul - a kan</i>	'to drink' >	<i>bulakan</i>	'drunk'	
<i>-a</i>	(dropped when occurring with numerals)				
	<i>baria > bar</i>	'two'	<i>apia > api</i>	'three'	
	<i>gelea > gel</i>	'ten' etc.			
<i>-sa</i>	(suffixed to the numerals to get proportional forms)				
	<i>mid - sa? > mid sa?</i>	'once'			

First syllable is duplicated to get distributives

bar > ba-baria < baria 'in twos'

Numerals

Ho numeral system is similar to other Munda languages. The simple numerals are counted from one to ten. The higher numerals are counted as multiples of twenty. The Ho forms are listed below.

<i>miad</i>	'one'	<i>baria</i>	'two'
<i>apia</i>	'three'	<i>upunia</i>	'four'
<i>moa</i>	'five'	<i>turnia</i>	'six'
<i>aca</i>	'seven'	<i>irulia</i>	'eight'
<i>area</i>	'nine'	<i>gelia</i>	'ten'
<i>hisi</i>	'twenty'		

The form *miad* has two more alternative forms, namely, *puNua/eob* (used with all nouns except animals) and *aer* (used only with names of animals). Example

<i>puNua hon</i>	'first child'	<i>eob ua?</i>	'first house'
<i>aer miun</i>	'first calf'	<i>eob ol/accar</i>	'first alphabet'

The higher numerals are obtained by multiplying twenty. Example

'40'	<i>barhisi</i>	as	$20 \times 2 = 40$
'60'	<i>apihisi</i>	as	$20 \times 3 = 60$
'100'	<i>moahisi</i>	as	$20 \times 5 = 100$

The forms *puNua/eob* and *aer* also function as the ordinal forms. For fractionals the original Ho forms are lost and the corresponding Oriya forms are borrowed and used as such.

Verbs

The verb roots in Ho are of two broad classes, namely, transitive and intransitive having different sets of tense and aspect markers. Below are presented the tense and aspect markers.

[Transitive verb]	→	Present	-tan-
	→	Past	-ked-
	→	Future	Not overtly marked: The copula is directly added to the root
	→	Imperfect	<i>tantaiken</i>
	→	Perfect	<i>akad, tad</i>
	→		
[Intransitive verb]	→	Present	-tan-
	→	Past	-ken-, -ean-
	→	Future	Not overtly marked. The copula is directly added to the root
	→	Imperfect	-tantaiken
	→	Perfect	<i>akan</i>
	→		

Structure: {Verb Stem} + Tense + {Copula etc.}

Conjugation of verb *seno* 'to go'

Present tense { -tan- }

seno-e-tan-a-iM

'I am going'

seno-e-tan-a-m

'you are going'

seno-e-tan-a-e

'he/she is going'

Dual

seno-e-tan-a-ben

'you two are going'

seno-e-tan-a-kiM

'they two are going'

Plural

seno-e-tan-a-pe
seno-e-tan-a-ko

'you are going'
 'they are going'

Past tense { - ked - }**Singular**

seno-ked-a-iM
seno-ked-a-m
seno-ked-a-e
seno-ked-a

'I went'
 'you went'
 'he/she went'
 'it went'

Dual

seno-ked-a-laM
seno-ked-a-liM
seno-ked-a-ben
seno-ked-a-kiM

'you and I went'
 'he/she and I went'
 'you two went'
 'they two went'

Plural

seno-ked-a-bu
seno-ked-a-le
seno-ked-a-pe
seno-ked-a-ko

'you and I went'
 'they and I went'
 'you went'
 'they went'

In Intransitive verbs, the past tense markers are *ken* and *ean* in place of *-ked-*.

Future tense

In future tense the copula is directly added to the root.

Singular

seno-e-a-iM
seno-e-a-m
seno-e-a-e
seno - e - a

'I will go'
 'you will go'
 'he/she will go'
 'it will go'

Dual

seno-e-a-laM
seno-e-a-liM
seno-e-a-ben
seno-e-a-kiM

'we(two) will go'
 'he/she and I will go'
 'you two will go'
 'they two will go'

Plural

seno-e-a-bu
seno-e-a-le
seno-e-a-pe
seno-e-a-ko

'you and I will go'
 'they and I will go'
 'you will go'
 'they will go'

Aspect/Imperfect { -taiken- } Example

seno-e-tantaiken-a-iM
seno-e-tantaiken-a-ben
em-ako-tantaiken-a-bu
hisi Ta: ka:re ne minko-e akriMko tana

'I was going'
 'you two were going'
 'you and I were giving to them'
 'he is selling these calves for twenty rupees'

Perfect { -a akad- } Example

<i>seno-akad-a-iM</i>	'I had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-m</i>	'you had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-e</i>	'he or she had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a</i>	'it had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-laM</i>	'you and I had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-liM</i>	'he/she and I had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-ben</i>	'you two had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-kiM</i>	'they two had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-bu</i>	'you and I had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-le</i>	'they and I had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-pe</i>	'you had gone'
<i>seno-akad-a-ko</i>	'they had gone'

The alternative perfect marker { -tad } is used only with the animate direct object.

Conditional { -redo }

Present	<i>seno-e-tan-redo-liM</i>	'if I am going'
Imperfect	<i>seno-etan taikenredoIM</i>	'if I was going'
Perfect	<i>senoakadreadoiM</i>	'if I had gone'
Past	<i>senokedreadoiM</i>	'if I would have gone'
Future	<i>senoeredoiM</i>	'if I will bring it'

Prohibitive { -a:lo- }

It is generally followed by indicative future.

<i>a:lom senoa</i>	'don't go'
<i>a:lom gitia</i>	'don't sleep'
<i>a:lom rapudea</i>	'don't break it'

Interrogative { -ci }

It is placed at the end of the sentence.

<i>haTTem senoea na:ci?</i>	'did you go to the market?'
<i>aiMlom hujua ci?</i>	'will you come with me?'

Negative { ka- }

It is placed immediately before the verb.

<i>kaiM senoetana</i>	'I am not going'
<i>kaam emakala</i>	'you have not given it to him'
<i>ne daru ka go?otana</i>	'this tree is not dying'

Auxiliary verb { mena- } 'to be'

Singular

<i>menaiMga</i>	'I am'
<i>menamea</i>	'you are'
<i>menaea</i>	'he/she is'
<i>mena</i>	'it is'

Dual

<i>menalaMga</i>	'you and I are' etc.
<i>menaliMga</i>	'he/she and I are'
<i>menabena</i>	'you two are'
<i>menakiMa</i>	'they two are'

Plural

<i>menabua</i>	'you and I are'
<i>menalea</i>	'they and I are'
<i>menapea</i>	'you are'
<i>menakoa</i>	'they are'

/mena/ is also used to express possession. Example

<i>aina miad seta menaea</i>	'I have got a dog'
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Adverb

Adverbs are categorized into a) adverb of time b) adverb of place and direction c) adverb of quality and d) adverb of manner

Adverb of time

<i>tisiM</i>	'to day'	<i>gapa</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>meaM</i>	'the day after tomorrow'		
<i>dimsi</i>	'every day'	<i>ne sirma</i>	'this year'
<i>kalom</i>	'next year'	<i>huju ca:NDu?</i>	'next month'
<i>haT mutid</i>	'every week'		

Adverb of place and direction

<i>nenre</i>	'here'	<i>enre/enta</i>	'there in that place'
<i>leMgaTi: pa:re</i>	'on the left hand'	<i>sirmare</i>	'above the top'
<i>bitarre</i>	'inside'	<i>japare</i>	'near/close by'
<i>taiomere</i>	'behind'	<i>canabre</i>	'at the end'

Adverb of quality

<i>isu</i>	'much'	<i>timba</i>	'very much'
<i>huriM</i>	'a little'	<i>ciminaM</i>	'how much'
<i>oNDu</i>	'again'		

Adverb of manner

<i>aujate</i>	'quickly'	<i>borote</i>	'timidly'
<i>malte</i>	'softly'	<i>kurkurte</i>	'angrily'
<i>hapalekate</i>	'quietly'	<i>nelolekate</i>	'visibly'

Syntax

Ho is a SVO type of language and Ho sentences are phrase based.

Phrases

Syntactically, the phrases are divided into four main groups, namely, noun phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase and verb phrase.

Noun Phrase (NP)

The noun phrases are generally endocentric and rarely exocentric. A noun phrase may be either attributive, additive, appositional or a vocative.

Attributive (NP)

Herein, noun the head of the construction receives modifiers as -demonstrative, adjectives, numerals, possessives and emphatic particles attributively. Example

<i>ne kua</i>	'this male child'	<i>en daru</i>	'that far off tree'
<i>isu pura? cauli</i>	'sufficient rice'	<i>maid koDa seta</i>	'(any) one dog'
<i>bar darukiM</i>	'two trees'	<i>daru rea? oe</i>	'bird of the tree'

ain seta
merom-o
gaLa atom

'my dog'
'even the cattle'
'the riverside'

oe -ge
kuahon -do

'only the bird'
'the young boy'

Additive (NP)

The additive NP have two heads juxtaposed. Here, the connector is optional.

uri?merom
ram oDo sita

'cattle'
'Ram and Sita'

koLahon ci kuihon
kula: ad uri?

'boy or girl'
'tiger and the bull'

Appositional (NP)

Here, two nouns function as attributes to each other. Example

gria hatu 'the village griha' simplipahaD buru 'the hill Simplipahar'

when used with identifiers: am bugin kua 'you, the good boy'

Loga, etken ho 'Loga, bad man'

Vocative (NP)

Vocative may be identified by intonation. Example

am hoko

'you men'

ate mamu

'my uncle'

am sepeD

'you bachelor'

jia:MO

'oh! grand mother'

elo uNDi

'oh! my younger brother'

Adjective phrase (AP)

Herein, the combination of words or morphemes may be replaced by a single word of the category of adjective within a clause or sentence. Example

ne gomke daru

'tree of this master'

bi:r ra? daru 'tree of the jungle'

daru rea jo

'fruit of the jungle'

susiren era: 'wife of Susi'

with intensifier:

ne isu mara:M daru

'this very big tree'

oDo ulu

'more anxious'

maru:M ja?

'big perhaps'

huDiM- huDim

'very small'

Adverb phrase

Herein, combinations of free and dependent morphemes which form adverb phrases are replaced by a single word of the category of adverb within a sentence. The adverb phrases are of locative and temporal types.

Locative phrase

The locative phrases have the relators -re, -tare and -pare and their variants -te, -tate and -pate-

kami-tate-ruda:

'to return from the work'

daru-tare-rakab

'to climb on a tree'

bi:r-re sena

'to go into the forest'

Temporal phrases

Here also relators -re, -tare and -pare are used for adverb of time and these are suffixed to nouns or adjectives. Examples

seta: -re

'since morning'

holatare

'since yesterday'

musin

'one day'

moa-ma

'five days'

main-main

'slowly'

jur-jur

'very smooth'

Verb phrase (VP)

Herein, a phrase can be substituted by a single word of the category of verbs. The verb phrases are of three types: 1) with infinitives, 2) with intensifiers and 3) with imperative markers. Example

<i>jom eTe</i>	'to begin to eat'	<i>kamiToDa</i>	'to continue to work'
<i>dola seno? aiM</i>	'let me go'	<i>mar seno?pe</i>	'you may go'

Description of types of sentences

Ho sentences may be broadly classified into two categories, namely, minor sentences and major sentences.

Minor sentences are those which are structurally deviant but acceptable. They occur in isolation and thus differentiated from clauses or phrases. It can be either incomplete or stereo-type. On the other hand, major sentences are those which are structurally and semantically well-formed. They are classified as simple, compound and complex depending upon the clausal structure within their frame.

A simple sentence may be either a statement, question, command or request. Each of these in turn may take any of the three voices- active, passive and reflexive and they have their own intonational pattern. Again, it can be either affirmative or negative.

A compound sentence takes more than one principal clause and thus it will have more than one finite verb and the subject may be either same or different.

Sentences which have one independent clause and one or more sub-ordinate clauses are complex sentences. It has only one subject and one finite verb. Example

doMgolte senoeakotacte sermaM bar hokiM rua: kanakiM

'only two men who went to Sirsi have returned'

akoa miNDimeromko jomkotaiken kula haturenko holako jalomkia

'yesterday the villagers trapped the tiger which used to eat their sheep and goats'

gusina giTitantaiken oare kumbukobukedako 'the thieves make a hole in the wall of the room in which the owner was sleeping'.

Brief Sociolinguistic Information

The earliest notice for any of the language of the Munda group was, perhaps, that of Ho language only, when S.K. Tickell published his work entitled "*Grammatical Construction of the Ho Language*" in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1840 (Vol. IX, Part-II). After that a number of studies on this language were made and published in the form of articles as well as books and monographs.

So far as dialects activities, use in mass-media and in basic educations are concerned there is nothing significant to mention in the HO language. Production of grammar and the dictionaries, etc. are very marginal, although quite recently some concerted efforts have been made to prepare teaching materials for primary schools. However, they are yet to be put to practical use. This language uses Roman, Devanagari and Varankshite scripts, the last one being a system said to be devised by a native speaker of this language. Scholars like Pinnow and Norman Zide, however, have differences of opinion regarding the originality of the script system produced by the native scholar.

All India Radio services in the state of Orissa broadcast occasional programs in this language. This language, however, finds a prominent place in the religious activities and rituals connected to the Hindus as well as Christians. However, other than home domain, the only place where it is used is rural local markets where the native speakers use this language.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Ho	Sl. No	English	Ho
1	air	hoeo	44	widow	ra:Ndi
2	ashes	toroi	45	wife	era:
3	cloud	rimil	46	woman	era:
4	cold	rea	47	ant	mu:in
5	darkness	nu?ba:?	48	bird	oe/ceNe
6	earth	otte	49	cat	bila:i
7	eclipse	sirisabaka?ia	50	claw	kaTa: rompa:
8	fire	seMgel	51	cock	si:m
9	fog	ku:la:	52	cow	gu:Ndi
10	forest	bi:r	53	dog	seta:
11	hill	buru	54	egg	jarom
12	ice	aril	55	feather	i:l
13	moon	ca:NDu?	56	fish	haku
14	mountain	mara:M buru	57	fly	roko
15	rain	gama:	58	fox	kiMkiDi
16	river	gaLa:/gaDa:	59	goat	merom
17	road	hora?soLopo	60	grease	ittil
18	sand	gitil	61	guts	khadyano:Di
19	wind	ba:le hoeo	62	horn	diriMg
20	wood	sa:n	63	back	doa
21	baby	ba:le hon	64	belly	lai
22	boy	kuahon	65	blood	maom
23	bride	namaera	66	body	homo
24	bride groom	bor	67	bone	jaM
25	brother	da:da:, y-uNDi	68	breast	nunu
26	child	siTia	69	chest	kua:m
27	daughter	honera	70	ear	luttur
28	father	apu	71	eye	me?n
29	friend	ju:Di	72	face	me?n mua:n
30	girl	kuihon	73	fever	hasu
31	husband	hamte	74	finger	kaTTub/rama:
32	male	kua	75	flesh	salam/ji:lu
33	man	ho	76	foot	kaTTa: talka
34	marriage	a:ndi	77	hair	u:b
35	maternal uncle	ma:mu/kuma:M	78	hand	ti:
36	maternal uncle's daughter	misiera:	79	head	bo?o
37	mother	ma:	80	heart	i:?m
38	nephew	guMgu	81	leg	kaTTa
39	niece	guMgu	82	lip	lu:TTi
40	old man	buDa:ho	83	liver	i:m
41	sister	nana:/ajiM(e)	84	lung	borkot
42	sister-in-law	tena:M kui	85	mouth	a?/mocca:
43	son	kua hon	86	neck	hoTTo
			87	nose	muan

88	spine	<i>ka:ndru ja:M</i>	136	white	<i>pu:NDi?</i>
89	tongue	<i>alaM/lele</i>	137	yellow	<i>sasa:M</i>
90	tooth	<i>DaTTa:</i>	138	hungry	<i>raMe?tana</i>
91	waist	<i>muya:M</i>	139	love	<i>sukku:</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo</i>	140	pain	<i>hasu</i>
93	liquor	<i>arki</i>	141	true	<i>sa:rige:</i>
94	milk	<i>toa</i>	142	wish	<i>aM'M'a:asa:mena:</i>
95	salt	<i>buluM</i>	143	ink	<i>kaLi</i>
96	smoke	<i>mo?o</i>	144	school	<i>lsku:l</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>ca:vli</i>	145	student	<i>paDa:utan honko</i>
98	bed	<i>aNaTeD</i>	146	teacher	<i>ma:sTar</i>
99	door	<i>du:r</i>	147	bullet	<i>gulli</i>
100	house	<i>ua?</i>	148	first	<i>miad</i>
101	roof	<i>ca:l</i>	149	second	<i>baria</i>
102	rope	<i>bair</i>	150	third	<i>apia</i>
103	wall	<i>ka:nto</i>	151	one	<i>miyen</i>
104	well	<i>cua:n</i>	152	two	<i>ba:riye</i>
105	window	<i>kuDuki</i>	153	three	<i>appiya:</i>
106	flower	<i>ba?</i>	154	four	<i>upunia</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo</i>	155	five	<i>moa/moneya</i>
108	garden	<i>bakkai</i>	156	ten	<i>gelia</i>
109	grass	<i>satta:D</i>	157	sixteen	<i>gelturuyi</i>
110	guava	<i>Dau</i>	158	twenty	<i>hisi</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>cannago</i>	159	forty	<i>ba:r hissi:</i>
112	leaf	<i>sakam</i>	160	do	<i>paiTime</i>
113	lily	<i>saluku</i>	161	pull	<i>or</i>
114	mango	<i>ulli</i>	162	push	<i>udur</i>
115	paddy	<i>ba:ba:</i>	163	put	<i>em</i>
116	plough	<i>nail</i>	164	rub	<i>iskir</i>
117	potato	<i>a:lu</i>	165	sell	<i>akriM</i>
118	root	<i>soLopo</i>	166	wash	<i>gasar/soboD</i>
119	sweet	<i>nogoD</i>	167	work	<i>paiTi</i>
120	tree	<i>daru</i>	168	sing	<i>dura:Mem</i>
121	vegetable	<i>utu:itia:</i>	169	bring	<i>a:gui</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakka:</i>	170	climb	<i>rakab</i>
123	bitter	<i>me:r</i>	171	come	<i>huju?</i>
124	black	<i>hende</i>	172	give	<i>e?m</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:na:</i>	173	go	<i>seno</i>
126	blue	<i>li:l</i>	174	jump	<i>ui?</i>
127	bright	<i>siMgma:rsa:l</i>	175	vomit	<i>ulla</i>
128	brown	<i>li:lroM</i>	176	say	<i>kaji:</i>
129	coldness	<i>rea</i>	177	write	<i>ol</i>
130	green	<i>ga:dde:D</i>	178	touch	<i>juTTi?</i>
131	hot	<i>lolo</i>	179	bathe	<i>oDa:n</i>
132	light	<i>ma:rsa:l/ma:ska:l</i>	180	all	<i>saben</i>
133	red	<i>ara:?</i>	181	bad	<i>etka</i>
134	sour	<i>moroi?</i>	182	big	<i>mara:M</i>
135	sweet	<i>Nogo?D</i>	183	dirty	<i>ojara</i>

184	dry	<i>ro?</i>	220	from	<i>te:D</i>
185	few	<i>niminaM</i>	221	he,she	<i>inni:/ inni:</i>
186	full	<i>pere?</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>inkiMg</i>
187	good	<i>bugin</i>	223	here	<i>nenta:</i>
188	hand	<i>keDe</i>	224	his/her	<i>aya:</i>
189	honest	<i>darmo</i>	225	how	<i>cilkayatte</i>
190	long	<i>jiliM</i>	226	I	<i>ayaMg</i>
191	many	<i>esupura:/esusaMe</i>	227	it/this	<i>niya:</i>
192	narrow	<i>battari</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>Mgya:ke:</i>
193	new	<i>nama:</i>	229	its/of this	<i>nŋya:?a</i>
194	old	<i>mare</i>	230	like	<i>bugin</i>
195	raw	<i>berel</i>	231	to me	<i>aMke:</i>
196	rotten	<i>Ta:nsi</i>	232	my	<i>anna</i>
197	east	<i>purob</i>	233	our	<i>ale:ya</i>
198	end	<i>mucca:d</i>	234	not	<i>ba:no</i>
199	far	<i>sanaIM</i>	235	so/thus	<i>enna:diyette</i>
200	left	<i>leMga</i>	236	that	<i>hanna:</i>
201	middle	<i>tala:</i>	237	to them	<i>inku</i>
202	near	<i>jappa</i>	238	then	<i>enna:ta:yam</i>
203	north	<i>uttar</i>	239	those	<i>neyako:</i>
204	out	<i>pipa:</i>	240	there	<i>ha:nta:</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>ma:NDi</i>	241	they	<i>inku:</i>
206	south	<i>dakin</i>	242	their	<i>a?uwa:</i>
207	again	<i>aNDomissa:</i>	243	these	<i>niya:ko</i>
208	always	<i>sara:ko:n</i>	244	to us	<i>abu?a:</i>
209	before	<i>a:ya:r</i>	245	we	<i>alleko</i>
210	daily	<i>sabindin</i>	246	what	<i>chenma:</i>
211	day	<i>siMgi</i>	247	when	<i>chintam</i>
212	evening	<i>ayu:b samay</i>	248	where	<i>okkonta:re</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>anjo:</i>	249	who	<i>okkoye</i>
214	afterwards	<i>ta:ynamte(hifum)</i>	250	why	<i>chena:</i>
215	behind	<i>ta:ynom</i>			
216	between	<i>talla:re</i>			
217	by	<i>te:</i>			
218	down	<i>latta:r</i>			
219	for	<i>enna:diyette</i>			

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JUANG S.Rajendran

Introduction

Family affiliation

Juang belongs to Central Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages.
Juang is located in the keonjhar and DhenKanal districts of Orissa State.

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and...

JUANG (LANGUAGE)					JUANG (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	16,858	8,304	8,554		T	16,858	8,304	8,554
	R	16,810	8,280	8,530		R	16,810	8,280	8,530
	U	48	24	24		U	48	24	24
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	16,848	8,299	8,549		T	16,848	8,299	8,549
	R	16,800	8,275	8,525		R	16,800	8,275	8,525
	U	48	24	24		U	48	24	24

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	16,858	8,673	4,398	4,275	Oriya	8,673	4,398	4,275	83	83	—
Orissa	16,848	8,673	4,398	4,275	Oriya	8,673	4,398	4,275	83	83	—

Earlier Works

Grierson (1891 – 1926) following Sten Konow, presented a sketch of Juang language in very brief in Linguistic Survey of India volume-IV. Later on Pinnow (1960), Mahapatra (1962) Matson (1962) and Dasgupta (1978) each contributed to the grammar of Juang. Matson's work is not different from Mahapatra's except that he has added a syntactic sketch of the Juang language. Dasgupta's work distinguished two dialects of Juang spoken in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanol of Orissa. Besides, a primer magazine, named, 'Banakua', Bhubaneswar published 'Juang Grammar' in July, 1978 under the editorship of Shri Upendra Misra. The book is written in Oriya script.

Juang has two major regional dialects, namely, Keonjhar dialect of Juang and Dhenkanal dialect of Juang and the latter is more influenced by Oriya than the former.

Grammatical sketch

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmental phonemes

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>
Affricate					<i>c ɟ</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>		
Trill			<i>r</i>			
Spirant			<i>s</i>			

Suprasegmentals

Length

Long vowels are not attested intra-morphemically. They are attested only inter-morphemically.

Example

[gatake] 'he says' [ga:take] 'I say'

From Morpho-phonemic point of view the long vowels are taken as geminated vowels /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, /uu/

Nasalization

A vowel is nasalized when preceded or followed by /N/. Nasalization occurs also as a free variant in a vowel preceding or following any nasal consonant. Example

Predictable nasalization

/guNiD/ [gũRiR?] 'fly' /bONO/ [bŌRŌ] 'wasp'
Free variation
/nua/ [nũa] ~ [nua] 'new'
/D iM'O/ ~ [DiM'O] 'gave'

Unpredictable nasalization -- contrast with non-nasalized vowels

/bŌrO/ [bŌrO] 'whirlpool' /bOrO/ [bOrO] 'smeared'
/bũl/ [bũl] 'mother' /bui/ [bui] 'book'

Herein, unpredictable nasalization is phonemic while predictable nasalization is allophonic.

Major allophonic distribution of Vowels

- All the vowels bear a palatal off-glide before a palatal consonant followed by a consonant or word-juncture and also before /a/ and /o/ in the case of /i/ and /e/.
- All the vowels bear a palatalized onset following a palatal consonant.

- (iii) The vowels /i/, /e/, /O/, /u/ are slightly long at the word-final position when followed by /b/, /d/, /D/, /j/, /g/ or #.
- (iv) The high front vowel /i/ comes to be realized as a semi-vowel, palatal continuant, intervocally and between /k/ and a vowel, a vowel and a consonant and word finally after /e/, /a/, /O/.
- (v) /a/ is slightly raised in the initial syllable of the disyllabic words of the structure (c) v (c) cvc and of the multi-syllabic words.
- (vi) /u/ is realized as a semivowel, bilabial cotinuant, word initially between /a/ in between /k/ and a vowel

[i] / -palatal c $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stop } c \\ \# \end{array} \right\}, / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ O \end{array} \right\}$

/niM'ba/ [ni²M'ba] 'we (dual)'
 /DiO/ [Di²yO] 'good'
 /juLia/ [juL²a] 'cyclone'

[ʔi] / palatal c -

Example

/kuM'jimDag/ [ku²M'ʔimDagʔ] 'star'
 /ijiM/ [ʔi²ʔiM] 'leg'

[y] / v₁ - v₂ /k/ - v₁/v₁ - c $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /e/ \\ /a/ \\ /O/ \end{array} \right\}$ -#

where v₁ ≠ i ≠ v₂
 /gOiOLO/ [gOyOLO] 'wild-buffalo'
 /bODEi/ [bOREy] 'carpenter'
 /OilaM/ [O'LaM] 'tongue'
 /saMkOi/ [saMkOy] 'hen'

[i] /- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /b/ \\ /d/ \\ /D/ \\ /j/ \\ /g/ \end{array} \right\} \#$

/tubDid/ [tubDi.d²] 'white ant'
 /usuNij/ [usuRʔj²] 'navel'
 /aDi/ [aRi] 'who'

[i] elsewhere

/kiLOg/ [kiLOg²] 'tiger' /itaM/ [itaM] 'cowdung'
 /e/ → [e²] / - [palatal c $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stop } c \\ \# \end{array} \right\}, / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /a/ \\ /O/ \end{array} \right\}$

/keM'cua/ [ke²M'cua] 'a kind of worm'
 /mOtej/ [mOte²j²] 'nose'
 /TOkeO/ [TOke²O] 'deceived'

[e] /- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /b/ \\ /d/ \\ /D/ \\ /j/ \\ /g/ \end{array} \right\}$ #

/egeD/ [ege.R²] 'stone'
 /Olej/ [OLE²j²] 'cow'
 /ese/ [es] 'louse'

[e] elsewhere

/kOLEM/ [koLeM] 'mouse'
 /emOM/ [emOM] 'forehead'

/a/ → [a²] / - palatal c

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{stop } c \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$
 'to me'
 'fire'

/aM'te/ [a²M'te.]
 /la²aj/ [la²aj²]

[²a] / palatal c -

/aja/ [a²j²a] 'mother's father'
 /iM'a/ [iM²a] 'house'

[A] / c-(e) cvc/ c -N.....N.....

/ajOD/ [A²jOR²] 'sour'
 /kaLia/ [kaL²a] 'black'

[a] elsewhere.

/lata/ [lata] 'cave'
 /gima/ [gima] 'rain'

[O] - [O²] / - palatal c $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{stop } c \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$

/mOM'ca/ [mO²M'c²a] 'small hut'
 /kampj/ [kamO²J] 'a kind of ant'

[²O] / palatal c -

/gOjO/ [gO²j²O] 'died'
 /pOM'cOra/ [pO²M'c²Ora] 'nib'

[O] /- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /b/ \\ /d/ \\ /D/ \\ /j/ \\ /g/ \end{array} \right\}$ #

/kinOb/ [kinOb²] 'back'
 /OmOD/ [OmOR²] 'eye'
 /kiLOg/ [kiLOg²] 'tiger'

/u/ → [u²] / - palatal c $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{stop } c \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$

/kuM'kaD/ [ku²M'kaR²] 'father-in-law'
 /uhuj/ [ulu²J] 'penis'

[²u] / palatal c -

	/juaNi	[ʃuaRiʔ]	'maize'
	/keM'cua/	[keʔM'cʔua]	'a kind of worm'
[w] /	/k/ - v / # - a		
	/kua/	[kwa]	'mist'
	/uaLi/	[waLi]	'child'

[u] / -

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /b/ \\ /d/ \\ /D/ \\ /j/ \\ /g/ \end{array} \right\} \#$$

	/ruMkub/	[ruMkubʔ]	'rice'
	/lutuD/	[lutuRʔ]	'ear'
	/laku/	[lakul]	'fruit'
[u] elsewhere			
	/babuM/	[babuM]	'snake'
	/udusO/	[udusO]	'bedbug'

Consonants

- i) The voiced stop consonants including the affricate /j/ are glottalized and unexploded.
- ii) The alveolar retroflex stop /D/ becomes a flap intervocally.
- iii) The voiced palatal /j/ and voiceless palatal /c/ are stops before a stop and affricates elsewhere.
- iv) The velar stops /k/ and /g/ are palatalized before palatal vowels /i/ and /e/.
- v) The alveolar nasal /n/ is dentalized before the dental stops /t/ and /d/.
- vi) The alveolar retroflex nasal /N/ becomes a flap intervocally.
- vii) The alveolar lateral /l/ is palatalized following /i/ and any palatal stop.
- viii) /r/ is a flap before /i/ and slightly trilled elsewhere.
- ix) The voiceless alveolar spirant /s/ is palatalized before or following /i/.

/p/ → [p] wherever it occurs.

/pagO/	[pagO]	'broke'
/apa/	[apa]	'you'

/b/ → [bʔ]

/bOkOb/	[bOkOb]	'lead'	/itib/	[iti:bʔ]	'belly'
[b] elsewhere					
/ObLOgO/	[ObLOgO]	'dropped'	/banai/	[bAnay]	'bear'

/t/ → [t] wherever it occurs

/tatO/	[tatO]	'heat'
/iti/	[iti]	'hand'

/d/ → [dʔ] /- #

/tubDid/	[tubDidʔ]	'white ant'	/lujid/	[luʔʃidʔ]	'heavy'
----------	-----------	-------------	---------	-----------	---------

/T/ → [T] wherever it occurs

/Tuman/	[Tuhan]	'broke'
/kaTO/	[kaTO]	'comb'

/c/ → [c] / - stop c	/OLeckia/	[OLe ^ɛ ckɪ ^ɛ a]	'cows'
/j/ → [j] / stop c	/le ^ɛ ʔtak/	[le ^ɛ ʔtak]	'hiccup'
[j?] / - #	/gONDedj/	[gONDed ^ɛ j]	'squirrel'
	/usuNij/	[usuNɪ ^ɛ j]	'navel'
[j] elsewhere	/ijim/	[i ^ɛ jim]	'leg'
/k/ → [k] / - { /t/ /e/ }			
	/kimiNDai/	[kimiNDai]	'younger brother's wife'
	/keLeM'/	[kele ^ɛ M']	'wound'
[k] elsewhere	/ka/ · [ka]		'elder brother'
	/bOkOLab/	[bOkOLab ^ɛ ʔ]	'grandson'
/m/ → [m] wherever it occurs	/mOsa/	[mOsa]	'mosquito'
	/tumNia/	[tumNɪ ^ɛ a]	'bill'
	/aMatOm/	[aMatOm]	'yawn'
/n/ → [n] - { /t/ /d/ }			
	/dandulu/	[dandulu]	'fat'
	/kOnteD/	[kOnte ^ɛ R]	'bird'
/n/ elsewhere	/nOkO/	[nOkO]	'nail'
	/kOnOn/	[kOnOn]	'young one'
/N/ → [R] / v - v	/iNi/	[iRi]	'body'
	/guNiD/	[guRi ^ɛ R]	'fly'
/N/ elsewhere	/juNTa/	[ʃuNTa]	'hair'
	/gaNDami/	[gaNDami]	'four'
/M/ → [M'] wherever it occurs	/iM'am/	[i ^ɛ M' ^ɛ am]	'blood'
	/jIM'jari/	[ʃi ^ɛ M' ^ɛ ari]	'millet'
/M/ → [M] wherever it occurs	/raMa/	[raMa]	'cold'
	/gOTaM/	[gOTaM]	'road'
/l/ → [L] / { /t/ palatal c }			
	/jilaDO/	[ʃiLaRO]	'long'
[l] elsewhere			

/utuD/	[utuR ²]	'ear'
/buluM/	[buluM]	'salt'
/L/ → [L] wherever it occurs		
/sekaLO/	[sekaLO]	'morning'
/kubLiJ/	[kubLiJ ²]	'low'
/r/ → [R] / - i		
/rigiLi/	[RigiLi]	'pebble'
/irira/	[iRira]	'earring'
[r] elsewhere		
/leraM/	[leraM]	'moon'
/bOrO/	[bOrO]	'bridegroom'
/s/ → [S'] - /i/ → [i'] -		
/sisirO/	[S'iS'irO]	'dew'
/siNgO/	[S'iMgO]	'horn'
[s] elsewhere		
/sONDO/	[sONDO]	'bull'
/susu/	[susu]	'testicle'

Phonemic distribution - Vowels

All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

Diphthongs

The followings are the diphthongs in Juang.

/ii/	giitOke	'I sing'
/ia/	tumNia	'bill'
/iO/	DiO	'good'
/ei/	eNTeikDO	'hill'
/ee/	DeenO	'I came'
/eO/	tOLeO	'massaged'
/eu/	seu	'apple'
/ai/	kimiNDai	'younger brother's wife'
/ae/	aeDO	'bone'
/aa/	gaatOke	'I said'
/āO/	gāO	'village'
/au/	sau	'husband'
/Oi/	sOiDaM	'shade'
/Ōi/	nŌisi	'he -buffalow'
/Oe/	seNkOe	'hen'
/Ou/	gOuDO	'milkman'
/ui/	kuiMkaD	'father-in-law'
/ūi/	būi	'mother'
/ua/	uaLi	'child'
/ūa/	gūag	'crow'
/uO/	kuO	'well'
/uu/	uurO	'I ate'

Triphthongs

/aiO/	OMgaiO	'he peeled'
/OiO/	kOiOke	'blow as wind'
/aia/	jaia	'mole'
/Oia/	akOiaM	'a kind of corn'

Phonemic distribution- consonants

- All voiceless stops (including affricate) occur word initially and medially.
- All the voiced stops (including affricate) occur word initially, medially and finally. In the word final position there is no contrast between voiceless and voiced stops and they freely vary correspondingly with each other in the final position.
- Among the nasals /m/, /n/ and /M'/ occur in the three positions. /N/ and /M'/ occur only in the medial and final position.
- The lateral /l/ occurs initially and medially and /L/ occurs only medially.
- The trill /r/ occurs initially and medially.
- The spirant /s/ occurs initially and medially.

Consonant clusters

- Consonant clusters are restricted to medial position.
 - Geminated consonant clusters are not found intra-morphemically; they are found inter-morphemically. Also a number of other consonant clusters occur inter-morphemically only.
 - Only two consonant clusters are attested in the field data.
 - The following are the consonant clusters attested in the data.
- | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| /pp/ | appeTeO | 'he caused to beat' |
| /pt/ | eJOptaruD | 'a kind of plant' |
| /pT/ | epTaiO | 'he untied' |
| /pk/ | sOpke | 'he catches' |
| /ps/ | sOpseke | 'he has caught' |
| /bb/ | bOkObbO | 'with head' |
| /bD/ | tubDid | 'white ant' |
| /bj/ | abjOe | 'he will show' |
| /bg/ | abgOgO | 'he sent' |
| /bl/ | gOblekOn | 'nephew' |
| /bL/ | mObLeD | 'lightning' |
| /br/ | kabra | 'white spots on the body' |
| /bs/ | kObsOran | 'he caused (it) to dry up' |
| /tp/ | tubDitpa | 'white ant' |
| /ti/ | tubDitte | 'white ant' (accusative case) |
| /tk/ | tubDitkia | 'white ants' |
| /Db/ | tubiDbO | 'with white ant' |
| /dr/ | OdraNi | 'slope' |
| /Dp/ | OmODpe | 'eye' |
| /Db/ | lutuDbO | 'ear' |
| /Dt/ | kOnteDte | 'bird' (accusative case) |
| /DD/ | egeDDe | 'stone' |
| /Dk/ | gaDke | 'he begged' |

/cp/	OLecpe	'cow'
/ct/	goNDecte	'squirrel' (accusative case)
/ck/	OLeckia	'cows'
/jb/	mOtejbo	'with nose'
/jD/	suNijDe	'the navel'
/kp/	kiLOkpe	'tiger'
/kt/	Olakte	'leaf' (accusative case)
/kk/	kiLOkkia	'tigers'
/kr/	bakra	'room'
/gb/	Dagbo	'with water'
/gD/	DagDa	'the water'
/gj/	jOgjOgO	'he swept'
/mp/	bampO	'stream'
/mb/	OmbaTO	'two'
/mt/	amte	'to you'
/md/	gemdOMO	'he lent it'
/mD/	kOmDOD	'honey'
/mk/	merOmkia	'goat'
/mm/	ammajeO	'cause to rinse'
/mN/	tumNia	'snout'
/mM/	amM'OrOman	'appeared'
/ms/	kemserOjO	'he squeezed out'
/np/	seMOnpa	'fire-wood'
/nb/	sOnOnbo	'fire-wood'
/nt/	kOnteD	'bird'
/nd/	kanda	'elder brother's son'
/nT/	enTej	'small'
/nD/	DenDe	'he came'
/nc/	Denceran	'he had come'
/nk/	Denke	'he comes'
/nn/	DennOmDe	'he is coming'
/ns/	tinseke	'he has buried'
/NT/	uNTilag	'grass-hopper'
/ND/	laNDi	'daughter'
/Nk/	guLuNke	'it crawls'
/M'b/	niM'ba	'we two'
/M't/	aM'te	'to me'
/M'T/	muM'TO	'one'
/M'c/	kOM'ceO	'turtle'
/M'j/	kuM'jimDag	'star'
/M'k/	kuM'kaD	'father-in-law'
/Mp/	jiMpare	'your (dual) foot'
/Mb/	aluMbO	'inside'
/Mt/	leraMta	'from moon'
/MD/	kOM'cO laMD	'the girl'
/Mk/	TOMkO	'mountain'
/Mg/	siMgO	'horn'
/Mm	musaMmOD	'one eyed'
/ML/	baMLIJ	'necked person'

/Mr/	laMrui	'cock'
/Ms/	galaMsiM	'a kind of honey'
/rb/	gOrbia	'proud'
/rt/	jOrtOre	'tighten'
/rk/	jOrka	'window'
/rg/	gergerO	'he scratched an itch'
/rs/	bOrsO	'year'
/st/	mistiri	'mason'
/sT/	masTurO	'teacher'

The combination of consonants can be charted as follows:

	p	b	t	d	T	D	c	j	k	g	m	n	N	M'	M	l	L	r	s
p	x		x		x				x										x
b		x				x		x		x						x	x	x	x
t	x		x																
d		x																x	
T																			
D	x	x	x			x			x										
c	x		x						x										
j		x				x													
k	x		x						x									x	
g		x				x		x											
m	x	x	x	x		x			x		x		x	x					x
n	x		x	x	x	x	x		x			x							x
N					x	x			x										
M'		x	x		x		x	x	x										
M	x	x	x			x			x	x							x	x	x
l																			
L																			
r			x	x					x	x									x
s			x		x														

Syllabic structure

The following syllabic patterns are found.

Monosyllables

The monosyllabic words are of the structure

ve	aM'	'I'
cv	ni	'this'
cvv	DiO	'good'
cvc	dag	'water'
cvvc	gūag	'crow'

Disyllabic word

v-cv	Ole	'mango'
vv-cv	uali	'child'
v-cvc	Olag	'leaf'
vc-cv	aNTu	'knee'

vv-vc	<i>Olag</i>	'nest'
cv-cvc	<i>tOmOD</i>	'mouth'
cvv-v	<i>kOiO</i>	'wind'
cvv-vc	<i>mOiaM</i>	'day-after-tomorrow'
cvv-cv	<i>neuLO</i>	'mongoose'
cvvc-cv	<i>muinTO</i>	'one'
cvc-cvc	<i>tubDid</i>	'white-ant'
cv-cvv	<i>sakOi</i>	'monkey'
cvc-cvv	<i>tumNia</i>	'bill'
cv-cv	<i>lata</i>	'cave'
cvv-cvv	<i>buirai</i>	'daughter-in-law'

Trisyllabic words

v-cv-cvc	<i>ONOsOm</i>	'jack fruit'
vc-cv-cvc	<i>uNTilag</i>	'grass hopper'
vc-cvvc-cv	<i>enTeikDO</i>	'hill'
vc-cv-cv	<i>OdyaNi</i>	'slope'
v-cv-cvv	<i>atirai</i>	'mother's sister'
cv-cv-cvc	<i>susuteD</i>	'egg'
cvc-cv-cv	<i>kumblrO</i>	'crocodile'
cv-cv-cv	<i>pObOnO</i>	'air'
cvv-cvc-cv	<i>sailOMDe</i>	'echo'
cv-cvc-cvv	<i>bukOrai</i>	'mother's sister's daughter'
cvc-cvc-cvc	<i>kuM'JimDag</i>	'star'
cv-cvc-cvc	<i>leraMtOD</i>	'moonlight'
cvc-cv-cvc	<i>kOntOIOb</i>	'a kind of plant'

Tetra syllabic words

cv-cv-cv-cvc	<i>baDigulOg</i>	'battle'
vc-cv-cv-cvc	<i>endarOkOD</i>	'darkness'
cv-cv-cv-v	<i>dukania</i>	'shopkeeper'
cv-cv-cv-cv	<i>keLOneLO</i>	'copulation'
cvc-cv-cvc-cvv	<i>kOM'celaNDai</i>	'daughter'

Pentasyllabic

cv-cv-cv-cv-cvc	<i>kijirimamaD</i>	'centipede'
cv-cv-cv-cv-cvv	<i>kalarapagia</i>	'a kind of plant'

Morphophonemics

The following are the rules which account for the changes in the phonemic shape of the morphemes.

- (1) $-e -e - \rightarrow -\phi e -$

Example

$jOLe - e \rightarrow jOLe$	'it will fall'
$sOre - e \rightarrow sOre$	'it will graze'

- (2) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -O \\ -a \end{array} \right\} - O - \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -OiO- \\ -aiO- \end{array} \right\}$

Example

$tamo - \dot{O} \rightarrow tamOiO$	'he sneezed'
$la - O \rightarrow laiO$	'he dug up'

- (3) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -e \\ -O \end{array} \right\} - -a \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia \\ ua \end{array} \right\}$

Example

Dake - an → *Dakian* 'he called'
dOkO - an → *dOkuan* 'he sat'

- (4) $s-m \rightarrow N^H m$ (s =stop; N^H = Homorganic nasal)

Example

ONOG-mina → *ONOMmina* 'it will be possible to bend'

- (5) $\begin{Bmatrix} b \\ j \\ g \end{Bmatrix} -n \rightarrow N^H$

Example

ONOG-na → *ONOMa* 'he will bow'

- (6) $N-n \rightarrow N\phi$

Example

TuMM'a → *TuMa*
TuM-na →
jiM'jiM-nOman → *jiMjiMOman*

- (7) $D-v \rightarrow rv$

Example

gaD-an → *garan*

- (8) $D-n \rightarrow \phi n$

Example

gagaD-nOman → *gaganOman*

- (9) $v-D \rightarrow vr$

Example

i-De → *ire*

- (10) $\begin{Bmatrix} b \\ d \\ j \\ g \end{Bmatrix} - \text{voiceless c} \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ t \\ c \\ k \end{Bmatrix}$

Example

lOTOb-ta → *lOTOpTa* 'from clay'
tubDid-kia → *tubDit-kia* 'white ants'
OLeJ-kia → *OLeckia* 'cows'
Dag-ta → *Dakba* 'from water'

Morphology

Two major classes of words are nouns and verbs. The other classes are numerals, adjectives, adverbs and particles. Prefixation, infixation, suffixation, reduplication, internal change and juxtaposition are the morphological processes used for word formation.

Nouns

Noun class of Juang are sub-grouped as substantives, personal and demonstrative pronouns and infinitive-verbal nouns.

Semantically, substantives are divided into two classes of nouns-animate nouns (comprising of animals, spirits and human beings including kinship terms) and inanimate nouns (comprising of body parts and all the rest).

Articles

The suffix *-De* is added to the noun stems for 'speciality' or 'definiteness' that is *uaLi* 'a child' *uaLiDe* 'the child'.

There is concord between the article present in the 'possessor' and 'possessed' object. If the possessor noun is a non-third person the possessed can optionally receive the suffix *-De* with the condition that if the possessor has been suffixed with *-De*. Third person does not contain *-De*.

Example

<i>aM'a</i>	<i>Oba</i>	'my father'
<i>aM'a</i>	<i>Oba-M'-De</i>	'my father'
<i>apara</i>	<i>ijiMpa-re</i>	'your (pl.) foot'
<i>ara</i>	<i>ObarO</i>	'his father'

Gender

Gender is not grammatical. Gender distinction of nouns are evident because of morphological processes involved - suffixation, replacement and compounding.

Suffixation of feminine suffix - *ai*

<i>nagOm</i>	'chief'	<i>nagOm-Dai</i>	'chief's wife'
<i>juang</i>	'Juang'	<i>juainDai</i>	'Juang-woman'
<i>atiD</i>	'father's elder brother'	<i>atir-ai</i>	'mother's elder brother'
<i>bOkO</i>	'brother'	<i>bOkOr-ai</i>	'sister'

Feminine form having no masculine counterpart without *-ai*.

Example

<i>kimiND-ai</i>	'younger brother's wife'
<i>buir-ai</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>kaNDai</i>	'old woman'
<i>saLiral</i>	'wife's younger brother'

Replacement of *-a / -u* by *-i*.

Example

<i>mamu</i>	'brother's brother'	<i>mami</i>	'mother's brother's wife'
<i>bONoja</i>	'sister's son'	<i>baNiji</i>	'sister's daughter'
<i>buDa</i>	'old man'	<i>buDi</i>	'old woman'

Compounding with *ONDira* 'male' *mai* 'female'

<i>ONDira kiLOg</i>	'tiger'	<i>mai kiLOg</i>	'tigress'
<i>ONDira selOg</i>	'male dog'	<i>mai selOg</i>	'bitch'

Number

Numbers are three- singular, dual and plural. Of these, while singular unmarked dual is marked by *-ba* or *-kia* (*-ba* occurring with *niM'* 'we' that is *niM'-ba* 'we -two' and *-kia* elsewhere) and plural is marked by *-ki*. The stems of animate nouns and third person show number differences by inflection and the inanimate nouns showing number differences optionally by inflection which can be known from the number concord shown in verbs.

Example

<i>kamulOg</i>	'man'	<i>kamulOg-kia</i>	'two men'	<i>kamulOg-ki</i>	'men'
<i>baLOe</i>	'pumpkin'	<i>baLOe-kia</i>	'two pumpkins'	<i>baLOe-ki</i>	'pumpkins'

Possessor

The possessor suffixes are added to the possessed noun to concord with the possessor. The following are the suffixes.

	I Person	II Person	I Person
Singular	-niM' ~ -M'	-nOm ~ -Om	-Do
Dual	-niM'ba ~ -M'ba	-pa	-
Plural	-neniM' ~ -eniM'	-pe	-

I Person singular

{ -M' } / -niM' ~ -M' /

/ -niM' / occurs before a consonant.

Example

(aM'a) bokomiM' 'my head' (aM'a) OleM'iM' 'my cows'

/ -M' / occurs elsewhere. Example

(aM'a) iM'aM' 'my house' (aM'a) bOkOM' 'my brother'

I Person dual

{ -M'ba } / -niM'ba ~ -M'ba /

/ -niM'ba / occurs before a consonant

(niM'ba) selO niM'ba 'our (dual) dog'

/ -M'ba / occurs elsewhere

(niM'ba) tM'aM'ba 'our (dual) house'

I Person plural

{ -eniM' } / -neniM' ~ -eniM' /

/ -neniM' / occurs before a consonant

(niM') OleM'eniM' 'our (plural) cow'

/ -eniM' / occurs elsewhere

iM'ae niM' 'our (plural) house'

II Person singular

{ -Om } / -nOm ~ -Om /

/ -nOm / occurs before a consonant

(ama) lutuDnOm 'your (sg.) ear'

/ -Om / occurs elsewhere

(ama) iM'aiOm 'your (sg.) house'

(ama) ijiMOM 'your (sg.) foot'

II Person dual

{ -pa } / -pa /

(apa) selOkpa 'your (dual) dog'

(apa) OLecpa 'your (dual) cow'

II Person plural

{ -pe } / -pe /

(apa) selOkpe 'your (pl.) dog'

(apa) OLecpe 'your (pl.) dog'

III Person singular

{ -DO } / -DO /

(ara) bOkOb -DO 'his head'

(ara) iM'a -rO 'his house'

III Person dual

{-DOkia} / -DOkia /	
(arOkia) selOg -DOkia	'their (dual) dog'
(arOkia) iM'a - rOkia	'their (dual) house'

III Person plural

{-DOKi} / -DOKi /	
(arOkia) selOg -DOKi	'their (plural) dog'
(arOkia) iM'a - rOkia	'their (plural) house'

The following are the rules of possessor concord.

- (i) If the non-third personal pronouns possess the animate noun then the possessed noun will obligatorily inflect for the possessor accordingly.

Example

aM'-a Oba -M'	'my father'
niM'b -a Oba -M'ba	'our (dual) father'
niM'-a Oba -neniM'	'our (pl.) father'
am -a Oba -m	'your father'
ap-a Oba -pe	'your (plural) father'

- (ii) If the possessor noun is a third person possessing animate nouns, the possessed noun will inflect for the third person

suffix -DO

Example

ar -a Oba -rO	'his father'
OLeja bOkOb -DO	'a cow's head'

- (iii) If a noun possesses inanimate noun, the possessed object optionally inflect to concord with the possessor noun.

Example

aM'-a iM'a (-M')	'my house'
DOg-a raMgO (-rO)	'colour of water'

Personal pronoun

The following table presents the personal pronouns used in Juang .

	I Person	II Person	III Person
Singular	aM'	am	arO
Dual	niM'ba	apa	arOkia
Plural	niM	ape	arOkia

Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are distinguished into three groups (i) ordinary, (ii) interrogative (iii) extra-ordinary.

- (i) Ordinary ni 'this' ini, ene 'this one' ere 'that'
- (ii) Interrogative aDi 'who' maNDi 'what/which/who'
- biri 'what'
- (iv) Extraordinary auri 'that low or distant one or person'
- airi 'that high person or object'.

Case

The oblique noun stems are marked and the rest are unmarked. Oblique case stems without post positions can function as genitive case stems.

Oblique case { -a } / - φ -- a /

- φ occurs before a noun stem which ends in / -a /

Example

uaLikia - φ bOkObDOKia 'children's heads'

- a occurs elsewhere.

kOMger -a bOkObDO 'a young man's head'

Postpositions

Postpositions are added either to the oblique case stem or to the rest case stems. They show a number of semantic case relations.

I Case It denotes nominative - subject. It is unmarked.

aM' mro 'I ate'

II Case It denotes accusative, dative and locative case relations.

{ -te } / -te /

Example

arO aM'-te Te leOM' 'he pushed me'

aM' am -te TaMka diM'Om 'I gave you money'

Daga -te asike 'it is in water'

III Case It denotes instrumental, ablative and locative case relations.

{ -bO } / -bO /

Example

aM' kOlombO leekeke 'I am writing with pen'

aM' iM'abO OONDe 'I am going home'

arO jOlObO ONDe 'he is walking in a forest'

IV Case It denotes ablative case relation.

{ -ta } / -ata- -ta /

/ -ata / occurs after palatal consonant and / -ta / occurs elsewhere.

Example

am aM' -ata TOMka mOOrenkè 'you have brought money from me'

/ -ta / occurs elsewhere

kuOta Dag Onene 'get water from the well'

V Case It gives comitative meaning.

{ saMe } / saMe /

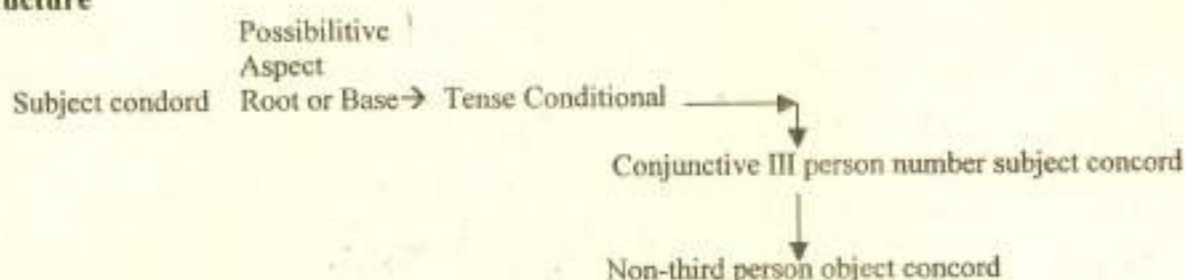
Example

arO aM'a saMe deNDe 'he came with me'

Verb

Verbs are a form class that carry tense markers and are also inflected for aspect, person, number and mood. The structure of the verb can be shown, leaving the imperative forms, diagrammatically as follows :

Structure



Subject concord

The verb stem will be affixed for the person concord with the subject. The affixes have the general structure CV or V. The vowel present in the affix assumes different shapes. There are four kinds of realization of the V which accordingly requires the position of four morphophonemes – V^{ϕ} , V^e , V^h , and V^n . V^{ϕ} will be realized as zero; ϕ ; V^e undergoes full regressive assimilation complying with the vowel present in the stem syllable; V^h undergoes partial assimilation into high or low vowel harmonizing with the stem vowel; V^n will be realized neutrally as /a/. The realization of morphemes can be shown as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 V^{\phi} &\rightarrow \phi / -V \\
 V^e &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ e \\ a \\ O \\ u \end{array} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ e \\ a \\ O \\ u \end{array} \right\} \\
 V^h &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ e \end{array} \right\} / -i/u \\
 &\quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} e \\ a \end{array} \right\} / -e/O/a \\
 V^n &\rightarrow a
 \end{aligned}$$

The following table gives the pronominal markers of subject concord.

	I person	II Person	III person
Sg	$V^e \sim V^{\phi}$	$mV^e \sim mV^h$	$mV^e \sim \sim mV^e \sim mV^e \sim$
DI	$nV^e \sim nV^n$	V^h	
Pl	bV^n	V^n	

I Person singular

$$\{v-\} / V^{\phi} \sim V^e /$$

/V^φ/ occurs before stems beginning with two vowel phonemes.

Example ϕ - *iigoman*
 ϕ - *uumOman*

/V^e/ occurs elsewhere

<i>g-i-itO-ke</i>	'I sing'
<i>D-e-eNDe</i>	'I am coming'
<i>g-a-arām</i>	'I begged'
<i>s-O-OMan</i>	'I bought'

I Person dual

$$\begin{aligned}
 \{bv-\} / bv^n / \\
 /bv^n/ = /ba/ \\
 ba - gitO - ke
 \end{aligned}$$

'we (two) sing'

I Person plural

{ nV^c } / $nV^c \sim nV^h$ /

/ nV^c / occurs before vowel initial stems

Example

nOONDe

'we (pl) go'

nuurO

'we (pl) eat'

/ nV^h / occurs elsewhere

Example

ni- gitO - ke

'we (pl) sing'

ne- M'Oke

'we (pl) see'

ne - peTeke

'we beat'

II Person singular

{ mV } / $mV^c \sim mV^h$ /

/ mV^c / occurs before vowel initial stems.

Example

mOONDe

'you (sg) go'

muurO

'you (sg.) ate'

/ mV^h / occurs elsewhere

Example

mi - gitOke

'you (sg.) sing'

me - sOM - an

'you (sg.) bought'

II Person dual

{ V } / V^n /

Example

a - gitO - ke

'you (dl) sing'

II Person plural

{ V } / V^h /

i- gitOke

'you (pl) sing'

i- buLuna

'you (pl) will'

e- lebere

'you (pl) will sleep'

e- ONDe

'you (pl) are going'

III Person

{ m^v } / $V^h \sim mV^c \sim - \sim - mV^c \sim - mV^c -$ /

$V\phi$ occurs before all other tense except future.

arO ϕ - ONDe

'he goes'

arO ϕ - urO

'he ate'

/ $mV^c -$ / occurs before vowel initial stems

mO - Ona

'he will go'

/ $-mV^c$ / occurs after non-reduplicated CV stems

arO jOmOe

'he will see'

/ $-mv^c$ / occurs elsewhere

arO gi - mi - tOe

'he will sing'

arO ga - ma - tae

'he will say'

Negative

{ *ama-* } / *a-∞ama-* /
 /*a-* / occurs only before third person morphemes

Example

arO a-uD-ke jena 'he does not drink'

/*ama-* / occurs elsewhere

am ma-ama-gitOke jena 'you don't sing'

Aspect

Aspect marker is suffixed to the verb stem before tense marker.

There are two aspects namely continuous and perfect.

Continuous

{ *-nOm* } / *-nOm* /
gaata - nOm - an 'I was saying'

Perfect

{ *-se* } / *-cer--ce--ser--se* /
 /*-cer* / occurs in the environment *j/n/M'-V*

Example

/*-ce*/ occurs in the environment *j/n/M'-c*

arO Dencere 'he has come'

/*-ser* / occurs after a vowel or consonant except *j/n/M'*

arO kemeDab-ser-e 'he will bite'

arO git-se-e 'he will sing'

/*-se*/ occurs elsewhere

aM' gaata-se-ke 'I have said'

Possibility

{ *-mi* } / *-i--mi* /

/*-mi* / occurs before future tense markers { *-na* }

urun-mi-na 'it will be possible to drink'

/*-i*/ occurs elsewhere

Teke-i-an 'it was possible to left'

gOgO-i-re 'it is possible to take'

Tense

There are two sets of tense markers thus dividing the verb stems into two groups. A group of verb stem accept both the sets of markers form a third group.

	I Set of tense markers	II Set of tense markers
Past	<i>-O</i>	<i>-an</i>
Present	<i>-ke</i>	<i>-De</i>
Future	<i>-e</i>	<i>-na</i>

I set of tense markers

Past

{ *-O* } / *-O* /

Example

gaa tai - O 'I said'

Present

{ -ke } / -ke /

Example

gaata - ke

'I say'

Future

{ -e } / e /

Example

gaata - e

'I will say'

II set of tense markers

Past

{ -an } -an /

Example

pagae

'it broke'

Present

{ -De } / De /

Example

OON - De

'I go'

Future

{ -na } / na /

Example

ibuLu - na

'you (pl) will'

Conditional concord

{ -tan } / tan /

Example

am mijimse -tan

'you (sg) would have eaten'

arOki kip - tan - ki

'they (pl) would do'

Non-third person object concord

Certain verbs show object concord with non-third person when not preceded by continuous aspect { -nOm }. The following is the list of non-third object concord markers.

	I Person	II Person
Singular	{ -M' }	{ -Om }
Dual	{ -M'ba }	{ -pa }
Plural	{ -neniM' }	{ -pe }

I person singular

{ -M' } / -niM' ~ - M' /

/ -niM' / occurs only after the future tense morpheme

Example

mejOna - niM'

'you will see me'

meTe le - niM'

'you will push me'

I Person dual

{ -M'ba } / -M'ba ? /

Example

mejO - M'ba

'you saw us (dl)'

meTele - M'ba

'you will push us (dl)'

I Person plural

{ -neniM' } / -neniM' /
meTe leneniM' 'you will push us (pl.)

II Person singular

{ -Om } / -nOm ~ -m ~ -Om /
-nOm occurs only before the future tense morpheme /e/

Example

TeelenOm 'I will push you (sg)

/-m-/ occurs only after the past tense morpheme /O/

Example

TeeleOm 'I pushed you (sg)

/-Om/ occurs elsewhere

Example

TeelekeOm 'I push you (sg.)'

jOOkeOm 'I see you (sg)'

II Person Dual

{ -pa } / -pa /

Example

Teelepa 'I will push you (dl)'

jOOkepa 'I see you (dl)'

II Person plural

{ -pe } / -pe /

Example

Teelepe 'I will push you (pl.)'

jOOkepe 'I see you (pl)'

Third person number-subject concord

The third person consists of three numbers singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked.

Third person singular

It is unmarked

Example

arO gitO - ke - ϕ 'he sings'

Third person Dual

{ -kia } / -kia /

Example

gitO ki - kia 'they (dl) sing'

Third person plural

-ki / -ki /

Example

gitOki - ki 'they (pl) sing'

Imperative

All the three persons have their own imperative verb forms. The imperative verb forms carry future tense marker.

I person imperative

The particle / kuu / is added to the verb carrying future tense marker to express imperation.

Example

(aM') kuu - gitO-e	'let me sing'
(niM'ba) ba - kuu - gitOe	'let us (dl) sing'
(niM') ni - kuu - gitOe	'let us (pl) sing'

II Person imperative

The unique person affixes given below added after future tense marker denote imperation. The imperative particles / kuu / preceding the verb stem and / de /, following second person number marker, are used optionally.

II Person singular	{ - φ } / - φ /
II Person dual	{ - pa } / - pa /
II Person plural	{ - pe } / - pe /

Example

(am) (kuu) jime - φ 'you eat'	aluMbO Dena-φ (you(sg))	'come in'
uaM - pa (De) 'you(dl) take bath'	aluMbO Dena - pa	'(you(dl)) come in'
kuu sOb-e-pe (de) 'you (pl) hold'	aluMbO Dena-pe	(you(pl) come in'

Third person imperative

In juncture { Deme } added to the verbal stem stands for imperation. The imperative particle { De } is used optionally.

(arO) uag - Deme (De) 'let him take bath'
(arO) kub - Deme 'let him eat'
(arOkI) gitO - reme - ki (De) 'let them sing'

Causative

The causative verb markers are { ab- } / -b- ∞ u - ∞ O - ~ - ap - ~ ab /. Below are exemplified the use of markers.

/b-/ is infixed in the verb stem after the first vowel.

Example

ari-	'get out (of a house)'	-abri	'cause to get out'
lage-	'burn'	-la-b-ge	'cause to burn'

/u-/ occurs before the verb stems.

Example

Duir-	'go in, enter'	-u-Duir-	'cause to go in'
tij-	'carry on head'	-u-tij-	'cause to carry on head'

/O-/ occurs before the verb stems.

Example

bOi-	'blow(as wind)'	-O-bOi	'cause to blow'
tej-	'break'	-O-tej	'cause to break'

The rest of the causative markers are phonemically conditioned.

/a-/ occurs before /b/.

Example

bug-	'play'	a-bug-	'cause to play'
------	--------	--------	-----------------

/ap-/ occurs before voiceless consonants.

Example

peTeO 'strike'	-appeTeO	'cause to strike'
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/ab-/ occurs elsewhere.

Example

<i>DOkO</i>	'sit'	<i>-ab-DOkO</i>	'cause to sit'
<i>DuM</i>	'go'	<i>-ab-DuM</i>	'cause to go'

Conjunctive

{ -jO } added after the verb stem bearing past tense morpheme denotes past participle.

<i>jimOjO</i>	'having eaten'	<i>DenOjO</i>	'having gone'
<i>DuMOjO</i>	'having done'		

Infinitive

The infinitive suffix / -te / occurs with the simple or reduplicated verb stems.

<i>gata - te</i>	'to speak/speaking'
<i>jimjim - te</i>	'to eat/eating'

Defective verbs

asi- ; *rim-*, *On -* , etc. are the defective verb roots showing irregular paradigms.

Numerals

Numerals are of four types – cardinal, fractional, ordinal and proportional of which the first three are sub-class of adjectives and the last one is a sub-class of adverb.

Cardinals

Juang numeral words are used upto four. Beyond four Oriya numerals are used.

Example

<i>mOiNTO / muinTO</i>	'one'	<i>OmbatO</i>	'two'
<i>egOta</i>	'three'	<i>gaNDami</i>	'four'
<i>paM'cOgOta</i>	'five'	<i>cOgOta</i>	'six'
<i>satagOta</i>	'seven'	<i>atOgOta</i>	'eight'
<i>nOugOta</i>	'nine'	<i>dOsOgOta</i>	'ten'
<i>pOndrOgOta</i>	'fifteen'	<i>kuDie gOta/kuLimiM</i>	'twenty'
<i>pacasgOta</i>	'fifty'	<i>sOegOta/ paM'cOkuli</i>	'hundred'
<i>pOcaskuli</i>	'thousand'		

Fractional

<i>paLimiM'</i>	'quarter/half'
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Ordinal

Oriya loans are used.

Example

<i>prOtOmO</i>	'first' ;	<i>dutiO</i>	'second' ;	<i>trOtiO</i>	'third'
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Proportional

Only first two numerals are indigenous ones and the rest are Oriya loans. Example

<i>mekOD</i>	'once'	<i>bakOD</i>	'twice'
<i>tini - tOrO</i>	'thrice'	<i>caritOrO</i>	'four times'

Two numeral classifiers *gOta* (used for non-humans) and *gONO* (used for humans) are found in Juang.

Adjectives

Words attributive to noun heads are adjectives. Adjectives can be sub-grouped into demonstrative, numeral and ordinary. Examples of ordinary adjectives are :

<i>diO</i>	'good'	<i>sOad</i>	'sweet'
<i>kiti</i>	'how much'	<i>kuba</i>	'big'
<i>pOrca</i>	'broad'	<i>Oda</i>	'wet'
<i>mOlDa</i>	'dirty'	<i>kOsOD</i>	'dry'
<i>paMka</i>	'empty'	<i>sugei</i>	'enough'
<i>jute</i>	'few'	<i>sOjO</i>	'fresh'
<i>lutud</i>	'heavy'	<i>jaliM</i>	'high'
<i>pulura</i>	'hollow'	<i>lOlOp</i>	'hot'
<i>Dibiri</i>	'left'	<i>sagi</i>	'right'
<i>entej</i>	'little'	<i>jilOD</i>	'long'
<i>kubLij</i>	'low'	<i>kitikO</i>	'some'
<i>sugei</i>	'many'	<i>sugua</i>	'green'
<i>andarO</i>	'dark'	<i>sOMkOLOj</i>	'narrow'
<i>DOlej</i>	'short'	<i>muTa</i>	'stout'
<i>buLua</i>	'strong'	<i>luti</i>	'thick'
<i>patOLO</i>	'thin'	<i>nibuLia</i>	'weak'
<i>seTOg</i>	'rotten'	<i>gulej</i>	'round'
<i>kOkeD</i>	'young'	<i>sanO</i>	'small'
<i>bagi</i>	'bad/wrong'	<i>bilim</i>	'ripe'
<i>aNDera</i>	'white'	<i>gOndOLO</i>	'dirty'
<i>uNDira</i>	'male'	<i>mai</i>	'female'
<i>kuTig</i>	'some'		

Adverbs

Words attributive to verbs are adverbs which are of three types – simple (monomorphemic) complex (root + postposition) and compound (more than one root + postposition). Examples

Simple adverbs

Spatial	<i>diO</i>	'well'	<i>aliMa</i>	'above'
	<i>tuliMa</i>	'down'	<i>ekeca</i>	'near'
	<i>arian</i>	'across'	<i>bala</i>	'outside'
	<i>aluMa</i>	'inside'		
Temporal	<i>dipOrO</i>	'afternoon'	<i>OcO</i>	'afterwards'
	<i>mekOia</i>	'again'	<i>ekura</i>	'always'
	<i>agila</i>	'before/first'	<i>aciMka</i>	'day before yesterday'
	<i>mOian</i>	'day after tomorrow'		
	<i>mOrean</i>	'two days after tomorrow'		
	<i>buLu</i>	'evening'	<i>mOTO</i>	'late'
	<i>masO</i>	'month'	<i>misim</i>	'today'
	<i>tera</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>aNDeka</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>ekOLOM</i>	'now'	<i>aguru</i>	'before'

Manner

cOM'cOLO 'quickly'

Others

bite 'why' *tOtapi* 'still'

Complex adverbs

<i>ena - te</i>	'here'	<i>ian - te</i>	'here'
<i>era - te</i>	'there'	<i>ene - bO</i>	'(to) here'
<i>ere- bO</i>	'(to) there'	<i>laMka - bO</i>	'far away'
<i>aliM - bO</i>	'(to) up'	<i>bai - bO</i>	'(to) outside'
<i>aluM - bO</i>	'(to) inside'	<i>aliM - ta</i>	'(from) top'
<i>aluM - ta</i>	'from inside'	<i>tuLiM - ta</i>	'under'
<i>agilaM - ta</i>	'in front'	<i>maNDi - ta</i>	'where from'
<i>ai - ta</i>	'that side'	<i>ene - ta</i>	'this side'
<i>aLi - ta</i>	'below'	<i>meser - te</i>	'in the day'
<i>andara - te</i>	'at night'		

Compound adverbs

<i>Dibirita</i>	'left side'	<i>diOta</i>	'right side'
<i>sObuante</i>	'already'	<i>sObudinO</i>	'daily'
<i>sObubeLe</i>	'always'	<i>tiritiri</i>	'slowly'
<i>ekura ekura</i>	'often'	<i>kitikiti bOLOte</i>	'some times'
<i>caripOTO / caripaTO</i>	'around'		
<i>kiti bOLOte</i>	'when'	<i>cariaDe</i>	'everywhere'
<i>erebeLa</i>	'at that time'	<i>ekOLOM jakOI</i>	'till now'

Particles

Particles are those which do not take case or tense -markers. They are functional rather than contentive.

Negative particle	<i>/ jena /</i> used for negation
Interrogative particle	<i>/ bite /</i> 'why'
Co-ordinative particle	<i>/ kintu /</i> 'but' <i>/ to tapi /</i> 'yet' <i>/ au /</i> 'and'
Imperative particle	<i>kuu, DemDe, de</i>

Syntax

Sentences

Juang is an SOV language where subject(s), object (o) and verb (v) come one by one in that order. Juang sentences can be seen as simple, compound and complex.

Simple sentence

A Juang sentence can be divided into noun phrase (NP) and predicative phrase (Pre P), the Pre P governing NP. The Pre P contains a verb phrase (VP) as its head, preceded by postpositional phrase (PP) and/or adverbial phrase (Adv. P), which are optional; or it may contain an NP or adjectival phrase (Adj. P) or possessive phrase (Pos. P).

S = NP + Pre P

Example	<i>ape</i>	<i>eONDe</i>	
	NP	Pre P	'you are going'

$$\text{Pre P} = \begin{cases} (\text{pp}) (\text{Adv.P}) + \text{vp} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj.P} \\ \text{Pos.P} \end{cases}$$

Example uNDiare sOreke 'the bull is grazing'
 NP VP

arO aM'ke M'Oke 'he/she sees me'
 NP PP VP

arO aM'a kOnOniM' 'he is my son'
 NP NP

ini iM'a kuba 'this is a big house'
 NP Adj P

ene aM'a 'it is mine'
 NP Pos P

Noun phrase

Noun phrases contain a head noun which governs their dependents namely, adjectival phrase (Adj P) and possessive phrase (Pos P).

$$\text{NP} = \begin{cases} (\text{Adj P}) (\text{Pos P}) + \text{N} \\ (\text{Pos P}) (\text{Adj P}) + \text{N} \end{cases}$$

Example OmbaTO selOg 'two dogs'
 Adj p N

enTei segODO 'small cart'
 Adj P N

kOMgera im'a 'a young man's house'
 Pos P N

ama Obam 'your father'
 PosP N

aM'a egOTa vaLi 'my three sons'
 pos p Adj p N

Adjective phrase

A phrase which has adjective as head is adjectival phrase.

$$\text{Adj p} = \text{Adj}$$

$$\text{Adj p} + \text{Adj p}$$

aNDara gOLa 'the white house'
 Adj p N

sugei DiO uaLi 'very good boy'
 Adj p Adj p N

Possessive phrase

It consists of a noun inflected for oblique case which can be recursive.

$$\text{Pos p} = \begin{cases} \text{N} + \text{obl} \\ \text{Pos p} + \text{Pos p} \end{cases}$$

ara kOnOnDO ki 'his son'
Pos p N

Postpositional phrase

Post positional phrase consists of a postposition as its head which governs a noun phrase.

$$\text{PP} = \begin{cases} \text{PP} + \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} + \text{P} \\ \text{Pos p} + \text{P} \\ \text{PP} + \text{P} \end{cases}$$

PP = NP + *te*

Example

<u>arO</u>	<u>aM'-te</u>	<u>TeleOM'</u>	
NP	NP-P	VP	'he pushed me'
<u>aM'</u>	<u>am-te</u>	<u>TaMka</u>	<u>diM'am</u>
NP	NP-P	PP	VP
<u>aM'</u>	<u>kuTOMOM'te</u>	<u>ma sajaNO</u>	<u>sOOMseke</u>
NP	NP-P	PP	VP

'I gave you money'

'I have bought new ornament for my wife.'

PP = NP + *ta*

Example

<u>am</u>	<u>aM'-ata</u>	<u>Tanka</u>	<u>mOOreMke</u>
NP	NP-P	NP	VP

'you have bought money from me'

PP = NP + *bo*

Example

<u>aM' kOlOm-bo</u>	<u>leeke ke</u>	
NP NP-P	VP	'I am writing with a pen'
<u>aM' iM' a-bo</u>	<u>OONDe</u>	
NP NP-P		'I am going home'

PP = NP + *saMke*

Example

<u>arO</u>	<u>aM'a saMke</u>	<u>DeNDe</u>
NP	NP-P	VP

'he came with me'

PP = NP + *aliMka*

<u>kONdeDde</u>	<u>bOkOb</u>	<u>aliMta</u>	<u>purO</u>
NP	NP	P	VP

'the bird flew over the head'

PP = NP + *aLita*

Example

<u>bOire</u>	<u>TebuLu</u>	<u>aLita</u>	<u>asike</u>
NP	NP	P	VP

'the book is below the table'

PP = NP + *aliMbO*

Example

arO uLi aliMbO OnO
NP NP P VP

'he/she went up the hill'

PP = NP + *aluMta*

Example

arO iM'a aluMta DenO
NP NP P VP

'he/she came out of the house'

PP = NP + *agilata*

arO ama agilamta DenO

'he/she came in front of you'

PP = NP + *OcOta*

seOgDe aM'a OcOM'ta DenO

'the dog came behind me'

PP = NP + *bitire*

vaLiKa bitire ape jaga gONape
NP P NP PP VP

'take your seat amidst the boys'

PP = NP + *tuLita*

arO aM'a tuLiM'ta kOmOre
NP NP P VP

'he works under me'

PP = NP + *jakOy*

ane kamOre miSiM' jakOi aJaLaiserO
NP NP P VP

'the work was not done till to-day'

PP = NP + *aluMta*

iM'a aluMta aM' DenO

'he came out of the house'

Adverbial phrase

It modifies the verb as well as the whole sentence.

Adv P = {
Adv
Adv P + Adv P
te - clause
jO - clause
jakOi - clause
jOdi - clause

arO ki erebO ONDeKi
NP Adv P VP

'they go there'

te - clause contains a non-finite verb in infinitive form

arO pOLOjiM'jimte DiO kuike
NP Adv. P Adv.P VP

'he likes to eat fruit'

jo- clause contains a non-finite verb stem in past participle form.

banae arOkite iM'OejO cOM'cOLO DenO 'having seen them, the bear ran quickly'
NP Adv P Adv P VP

jakOi clause contains a nonfinite verb stem.

am Denka jakOi aM' enate asiana 'I will stay here until you come.'
Adv P NP Adv P VP

jOdi - clause contains sentence with finite verb.

JOdi aM' DiOrO asike tera Dena 'if I am well, I will come.'
Adv P Adv P VP

Verb phrase

A phrase which has a verb as its head is a verb phrase.

Sentence types

Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences are formed from declarative sentence by use of interrogative words. The word order is maintained same as the respective declarative sentences and the preference could be the use of interrogative word in the sentence initial position.

Interrogative pronouns

<i>aDi</i>	'who'	
<i>aDa</i>	'whose'	
<i>aDite</i>	'whom'	
<i>aDita</i>	'from whom'	
<i>aDibo</i>	'to whom'	
<i>maNDi</i>	'which one'	<i>biri</i> 'what'

Interrogative adjectives

<i>maNDi</i>	'which'
<i>kiti</i>	'what/how many/how much'

Interrogative adverbs

<i>maNDia</i>	'where'
<i>maNDita</i>	'where from'
<i>maNDibo</i>	'to where'
<i>bite</i>	'why'

Example

<u>am</u>	<u>aDi</u>		'who are you?'	
NP	NP			
<u>niM'ba</u>	<u>bOkOM'ba</u>	<u>adi?</u>	'who is our (dl) brother?'	
	NP	NP		
<u>amte</u>	<u>aDi</u>	<u>gataO</u>	'who told you?'	
PP	NP	VP		
<u>aDa</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>bOi?</u>	'whose book is this?'	
Pos P	NP			
<u>arOki</u>	<u>aDite</u>	<u>DiM'Oki?</u>	'whom did they give?'	
NP	PP	VP		
<u>aDita</u>	<u>arO</u>	<u>TaMka</u>	<u>OrenO?</u>	'from whom did he get money?'
PP	NP	PP	VP	
<u>aDibO</u>	<u>arO</u>	<u>OnO</u>		'whom did he go to'
PP	NP	VP		
<u>ape</u>	<u>OLeipe</u>	<u>maNDi</u>		'which is your cow'
	NP	NP		
<u>maNDi</u>	<u>gaia</u>	<u>kamulOg?</u>		'people of which village'
Adj P	Pos P	N		
<u>maNDita</u>	<u>ape</u>	<u>iDenO?</u>		'where did you(pl) come from?'
Adv P	NP	VP		
<u>arO</u>	<u>maNDibO</u>	<u>mOOna</u>		'where would he go?'
NP	Adv P	VP		

<u>aM'</u>	<u>dOsta</u>	<u>tirisire</u>	<u>reLO</u>	<u>sObO</u>	<u>au</u>	} 'we came by rail at 10.30 am and joined office at 11.30 am.		
NP	Adv	P	PP	VP	Co			
<u>egarOTa</u>	<u>tirisiate</u>	<u>Opisiate</u>	<u>auciana</u>					
Adv	P	PP	VP					
<u>poisa</u>	<u>abliDpe</u>	<u>noile</u>	<u>maDo</u>	<u>ijimkete</u>				
PP	VP	Co	VP					
'return the money, otherwise you will get a beating'								

Subordination

Complex sentence contains one or more subordinate clauses. *te* - clause, *jO*- clause, *jakOi* - clause are examples of subordination.

Complementation

The verbs like *gataO* 'said' will receive a sentence as its complement.

Example

<u>aM'</u>	<u>gaaraO</u>	<u>arO</u>	<u>ONDe</u>	'I said, he is going'
NP	VP	NP	VP	

Brief sociolinguistic information

The name Juang refers to the name of the tribe as well as the language used by them. Juangs are primarily occupied in agriculture. The type of cultivation practised by these people in Keonjhar district is mainly shifting cultivation.

Juang, from the geneological point of view belongs to the Munda branch of languages of the Austric family. Grierson classified Munda languages into two groups, namely, Kherwari and non-Kherwari. This language belongs to non-Kherwari group. Recent researches in the field of Munda languages have modified Grierson's classification to some extent. Scholars like Pinnow (1963) and Norman Zide (1969) have preferred to place Juang in the southern or central group of Munda languages.

Juang is an unwritten language having no script of its own. However, a few attempts have been made to prepare teaching materials through Oriya script for the purpose of training the government officials posted in that area. This language is essentially used in household interactions only and not in any other domains of use. No where Juang is taught as a language. The children of this speech group are getting primary education in the Ashram and Sevashram schools where the medium of instruction is Oriya.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English words	Juang words	Sl. No	English words	Juang words
1	air	<i>ko'O</i>	44	widow	<i>alObOk</i>
2	ashes	<i>akOb</i>	45	wife	<i>kuTumO</i>
3	cloud	<i>gima</i>	46	woman	<i>JuaMDai</i>
4	cold	<i>raMga</i>	47	ant	<i>kamOj</i>
5	darkness	<i>andar</i>	48	bird	<i>kOnteD</i>
6	earth	<i>laTOp</i>	49	cat	<i>danu</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grahOnO</i>	50	claw	<i>kalapaTTi</i>
8	fire	<i>lalaj</i>	51	cock	<i>senkO:ye</i>
9	fog	<i>kua, kuOLO</i>	52	cow	<i>OLej</i>
10	forest	<i>boNO</i>	53	dog	<i>selOg</i>
11	hill	<i>enTeikDO</i>	54	egg	<i>susuteD</i>
12	ice	<i>OleM</i>	55	feather	<i>beleD</i>
13	moon	<i>leraM</i>	56	fish	<i>karOM</i>
14	mountain	<i>huLi</i>	57	fly	<i>guniD</i>
15	rain	<i>gima</i>	58	fox	<i>kOMki/siaLO</i>
16	river	<i>nOddi</i>	59	goat	<i>merOm</i>
17	road	<i>gOTOM</i>	60	grease	<i>bOssO</i>
18	sand	<i>baLi</i>	61	guts	<i>itip</i>
19	wing	<i>ko'O</i>	62	horn	<i>singO</i>
20	wood	<i>seMgOn</i>	63	back	<i>kinOb</i>
21	baby	<i>uaLi</i>	64	belly	<i>itib</i>
22	boy	<i>kOMgeD</i>	65	blood	<i>iM'am</i>
23	bride	<i>kaniare</i>	66	body	<i>iNi</i>
24	bride groom	<i>kanyarai</i>	67	bone	<i>aDO</i>
25	brother	<i>kanya(e)bOkO(y)</i>	68	breast	<i>dudOrO</i>
26	child	<i>uaLi</i>	69	chest	<i>buku</i>
27	daughter	<i>kOM'celan</i>	70	ear	<i>lutuD</i>
28	father	<i>ba</i>	71	eye	<i>OmOD</i>
29	friend	<i>jOLa</i>	72	face	<i>OmOt</i>
30	girl	<i>selan</i>	73	fever	<i>jOrO</i>
31	husband	<i>sau</i>	74	finger	<i>aMguTi</i>
32	male	<i>kambulOg/kamulOg</i>	75	flesh	<i>aeLa</i>
33	man	<i>kambulOg/kamulOg</i>	76	foot	<i>paddO</i>
34	marriage	<i>kanya</i>	77	hair	<i>juNTa</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>ma:mu</i>	78	hand	<i>iti</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>aji(e)bOkOral(y)</i>	79	head	<i>bOkOb</i>
37	mother	<i>bOM'/bui</i>	80	heart	<i>hrideyO</i>
38	nephew	<i>uturai</i>	81	leg	<i>ijiM</i>
39	niece	<i>kOM'celanDai</i>	82	lip	<i>silitOm</i>
40	old man	<i>buDa</i>	83	liver	<i>piRei</i>
41	sister	<i>aji(e), bOkOral(y)</i>	84	lung	<i>puspus</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>aram</i>	85	mouth	<i>OmOD</i>
43	son	<i>kOnOn</i>	86	neck	<i>kOMkO</i>
			87	nose	<i>mOtej</i>

88	spine	paM'jara	136	white	andera
89	tongue	OilaM	137	yellow	saraMsaM
90	tooth	dantO	138	hungry	tilaic
91	waist	kinOp	139	love	diyO
92	fruit	laku	140	pain	chukkO
93	liquor	mOdO	141	true	sOttukurin
94	milk	dudO	142	wish	mOnO
95	salt	bituM	143	ink	kaLi
96	smoke	kuaLOsOM	144	school	tskul
97	uncooked rice	runkup	145	student	chatua piLa
98	bed	bemben	146	teacher	masTerO
99	door	duara	147	bullet	guLi
100	house	iM'a	148	first	agila
101	roof	catO	149	second	muji
102	rope	dauLa	150	third	OcO
103	wall	baLisIM	151	one	mOiNTO
104	well	kua, kuO	152	two	OmbaTO
105	window	jOrka	153	three	egOTO
106	flower	rasiM	154	four	gaNDami
107	fruit	laku	155	five	paM'cOgOTO
108	garden	buguca	156	ten	dOsOgOTa
109	grass	gasO	157	sixteen	suLO
110	guava	gOdamaO	158	twenty	kaLimin
111	jack fruit	anOsOm	159	forty	duiku:Li
112	leaf	Olag	160	do	tOr
113	lily	OlrasiM	161	pull	Digan
114	mango	Ole	162	push	Tele
115	paddy	bua	163	put	un
116	plough	sini	164	rub	gOse
117	potato	OjaM	165	sell	apsOM
118	root	cerOrO	166	wash	guiti/gujguf
119	sweet	madurO	167	work	ka:mi
120	tree	sOmbOg	168	sing	gitOi
121	vegetable	juNi	169	bring	Oren
122	wheel	cakO	170	climb	Tele
123	bitter	asOM	171	come	an
124	black	kaLiya raMgO	172	give	DiM'
125	blind	andhO	173	go	On
126	blue	niLiya	174	jump	tir
127	bright	andera	175	vomit	ukaLe
128	brown	maTiya	176	say	gatal
129	coldness	jaRO	177	write	leke
130	green	bOrOnaLLOk	178	touch	jib
131	hot	TupurO	179	bathe	uag
132	light	mesar	180	all	sabOreM
133	red	sunduru	181	bad	bagij
134	sour	ajOr	182	big	kuba
135	sweet	madurO	183	dirty	mOla

184	dry	<i>kOsOD</i>	223	here	<i>enan</i>
185	few	<i>birikO</i>	224	his/her	<i>ara</i>
186	full	<i>Oresere</i>	225	how	<i>suNinDO</i>
187	good	<i>diO</i>	226	I	<i>aM'</i>
188	hand	<i>iti</i>	227	it/this	<i>ene</i>
189	honest	<i>sOtto lukko</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>enete</i>
190	long	<i>jilOD</i>	229	its/of this	<i>ara</i>
191	many	<i>sugei</i>	230	like	<i>ereuniMdO</i>
192	narrow	<i>sOMkOLOj</i>	231	to me	<i>aM'te</i>
193	new	<i>nua/nūa</i>	232	my	<i>aM'a</i>
194	old	<i>uraNa</i>	233	our	<i>niM'bara</i>
195	raw	<i>bOrOn</i>	234	not	<i>jena</i>
196	rotten	<i>seTOg</i>	235	so/thus	<i>initasun</i>
197	east	<i>agila</i>	236	that	<i>ere, auri</i>
198	end	<i>jeLaO</i>	237	to them	<i>arOkiate</i>
199	far	<i>lanka</i>	238	then	<i>etasun</i>
200	left	<i>dibirita</i>	239	those	<i>auri</i>
201	middle	<i>mOji</i>	240	there	<i>era</i>
202	near	<i>ekeca</i>	241	they	<i>arOki(pl)arOkia(dual)</i>
203	north	<i>utOrO</i>	242	their	<i>araka</i>
204	out	<i>baia</i>	243	these	<i>iNNi</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>diOiti</i>	244	to us	<i>niM'te</i>
206	south	<i>dOkINO</i>	245	we	<i>niM'(plural), niM'ba(dual)</i>
207	again	<i>mekOta</i>	246	what	<i>biri</i>
208	always	<i>ekura</i>	247	when	<i>kitibOIote</i>
209	before	<i>agila</i>	248	where	<i>maNDi</i>
210	daily	<i>subudina</i>	249	who	<i>aDi</i>
211	day	<i>misaD, dinO</i>	250	why	<i>birite</i>
212	evening	<i>endarO, buLu, ekOnta</i>			
213	fast/quick	<i>bigO</i>			
214	afterwards	<i>OcO</i>			
215	behind	<i>OcOta</i>			
216	between	<i>Mujiya</i>			
217	by	<i>lagi</i>			
218	down	<i>tuLita</i>			
219	for	<i>lagi</i>			
220	from	<i>ta</i>			
221	he, she	<i>arO</i>			
222	to her, to him	<i>arOte</i>			

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KHARIA

S. Rajendran

Introduction

Family affiliation

The language 'Kharia' belongs to Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family.

Location

The people belonging to the scheduled tribe Kharia, speaking Kharia language as their mother tongue, are found in the hilly districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur of Orissa. They are found in Madhya Pradesh as well.

Earlier works on Kharia

Taking the LSI of Grierson as the focal point and stretching it to both ends of the time scale we come across a number of works on Kharia.

- (1) Dalton's article on Kharia (Journal of Asiatic-Society of Bengal 1866 Vo.-XXV part-2: supplementary No. pp.153-198).
- (2) G.C. Banerjee *Introduction to Kharia language*.
- (3) H.Floor and V.Gheyseun; *English-Kharia Dictionary*.
- (4) G. Druott (1934) *Kharia-English dictionary*.
- (5) Saw Pinnow "Versuch einen Historischen Lauble here der Kharia-Sprache (1959). Pinnow has traced the history of Phonology of Kharia giving an outline on its phonetic system. Pinnow also edited a volume of Kharia text.
- (6) H.S.Biligiri (1965) *Kharia Phonology, grammar and vocabulary*.

The present work on Kharia is based on the data collected in Orissa during 1983 and 1985. The present study shows that Dudhkharia spoken in Orissa is not much different from the DudhKharia spoken in Bihar described by H.S. Biligiri, except that the one spoken in Orissa has borrowed a number of Oriya lexical items replacing Kharia items. DudhKharia is known as the representative dialect in comparison to the Dhelki Kharia.

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

KHARIA (LANGUAGE)					KHARIA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	225,556	111,542	114,014		T	224,786	111,168	113,618
	R	212,035	104,802	107,233		R	211,359	104,477	106,882
	U	13,521	6,740	6,781		U	13,427	6,691	6,736
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	89,336	44,147	45,189		T	88,905	43,933	44,972
	R	82,229	40,580	41,649		R	81,803	40,370	41,433
	U	7,107	3,567	3,540		U	7,102	3,563	3,539

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	225,556	128,054	65,730	62,324	Hindi	80,153	41,334	38,819	22,287	14,009	8,278
					Oriya	39,763	20,519	19,244			
					Assamese	1,958	1,157	801			
					Marathi	1,710	563	1,147			
					English	1,589	1,004	585			
					Bengali	1,557	499	1,058			
Orissa	89,336	46,875	24,281	22,594	Oriya	39,287	20,308	18,979	14,240	9,269	4,971
					Hindi	6,253	3,090	3,163			
					English	1,335	883	452			

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p ph</i> <i>b bh</i>	<i>t th</i> <i>d dh</i>		<i>T Th</i> <i>D Dh</i>		<i>k kh</i> <i>g gh</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Affricate					<i>c ch</i> <i>j jh</i>		
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
Liquid			<i>l</i>				
Flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R Rh</i>			
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Frictionless continuant	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Supra-segmentals

Nasalization : Nasalization is a supra-segmental phoneme. It occurs with all vowels.

Example, / ~ /

/ghāRi/ 'scent' /ghōRi/ 'mare'

Juncture: Juncture is a supra-segmental phoneme to make utterance differ and to predict stress and certain allophonic variations. Example

/# ho # kaʔ/ 'that bow' /hokaR/ 'he'

Phonemic contrast

Vowel contrast

<i>i, e, A, o, u</i>	/tij?na/	'to cut a rope'	/tej?na/	'to carry'
	/tAj?na/	'to serve food'	/Toj?na/	'to pull out'
	/tolna/	'to find'	/tulna/	'to compare'
<i>i, A, a, o</i>	/jhoRi /	'storm'	/jhARa/	'cholera'
	/jhaRi/	'all'		
<i>i, a</i>	/baru/	'good'	/biru/	'mountain'
<i>i, A</i>	/chA ni/	'strainer'	/cini/	'sugar'
<i>e, o</i>	/somoM/	'skull'	/soreM/	'stone'
<i>a, o</i>	/karom/	'bracelet'	/koRom/	'fish'
<i>a, u</i>	/dhuRi/	'dust'	/daRhi/	'beard'

Consonant contrast

/ p ~ ph /	/pata/	'tail'	/pheRa na/	'to split'
/ b ~ bh /	/buRha/	'old'	/bheRa/	'ram'
/ t ~ th /	/teloM/	'roof'	/tholna/	'to foster'
/ d ~ dh /	/daRhi/	'bread'	/dhuRi/	'dust'
/ T ~ Th /	/Topi/	'cap'	/Tholi/	'chain'

/D ~ Dh/	/Doli/	'palanquin'	/Dholki/	'drum'
/k ~ kh/	/karoM/	'fish'	/kharom/	'ash'
/g ~ gh/	/gore/	'liver'	/ghoRa/	'horse'
/c ~ j ~ jh/	/caRi/	'chest'	/jARa?/	'banyan tree'
	/jhARa/	'diarrhoea'		
/m ~ n/	/mama/	'uncle'	/nana/	'grandfather'
/l ~ r/	/lutur/	'ear'	/rumAM/	'face'
/w ~ y/	/kAwa/	'crow'	/yaya/	'grandmother'

Major allophonic variations

Allophonic distribution of vowels

- (i) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ become long in monosyllabic words in the environment / (c₁) - (c₂) / where c₂ is not / ? /.
- (ii) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ become half-long word finally (except the environment # c - # and after a vowel) and in tri-syllabic words in the environment # (c₁) vc₂ - c₃ v (c₄) # (where (c₃) is not / y / or / w / in the case of / i / and / u / respectively) and in disyllabic words in the environment / / (c₁) - c₂ v / /.
- (iii) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ are extra-short before /b/, /d/, /j/ followed by / ? / or simply before / ? /.
- (iv) All the vowels except / i / and / a / have a palatal off-glide before / j / followed by / ? /.

/ i / high front unrounded vowel, has four allophones

[iː], [iː] and [iː].

/ iː / [iː] # (c₁) - (c₂) # where c₂ is not / ? /. Example

/ i / [iː] 'what' / jil / [jhi:l] 'lake'

/ i / [iː] - //, except the environments: (c) - // and v - # (c₁) - c₂ v #
(c₁) vc₂ - c₃ v (c₄) # where c₂ is not / y /. Example

/ dhuRi / [dhuRi] 'dust' / iTa / [ita] 'break'
/ biru / [biːru] 'mountain' / bijili / [bijiːli] 'lightning'

/ i / [i] $\left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ d \\ j \end{matrix} \right\} ?$

Example

/ tib²ru / [tɪb² ru] 'six' / ti² / [tɪ²] 'hand'

/ i / [i] elsewhere

Example

/ sinkom / [sinkom] 'star' / kimin / [kimin] 'daughter-in-law'

/ e / mid front unrounded vowel, has five allophones [eː],

[eː], [E], [Ey] and [e]

/ e / [eː] # (c₁) - (c₂) # where (c₂) is not / ? /.

Example

/ pheN / [phe:N] 'cobra-hood' / her / [be:r] 'who'

/e/ → [e'] - # except the environment c- # and v-

(c₁) - (c₂)

(c₁) v c₂ - c₃ v (c₄)

Example

/be/ [be're']

'feather' /eri/ [e RI] 'calf of leg'

/lARe/ [lARe.na]

'fight'

/e/ → [E] { b } ?
[D]

/Deb'na/

[D E b' na]

'climb'

/be'tona/

[bE'tona]

'meet'

/kole'/

[kolE']

'parrot'

/e/ → [E'] - j'

/orej' / [orE' j']

'cow'

/kej'na/

[kE' j' na]

'pluck'

/e/ → [e] occurs elsewhere.

/ler A/ [ler A]

'moon' /teteMga/

[teteMga]

'chameleon'

/A/ a slightly backed lower- mid central unrounded short vowel, has two allophones [y] and [A]

/A/ → [A'] / -j'

Example

/lAj'/

[lA' j']

'stomach'

/tAj'na/

[tA' j' na]

'serve food'

/A/ → [A] elsewhere. Example

/A'pa/

[A'pa]

'father'

/bA'da/

[bA'da]

'father's elder brother'

/a/, a fairly back low unrounded long vowel, occurs everywhere as [a] only. Example

/da'/

[da']

'water'

/āc/

[āc]

'flame'

/o/, mid back unrounded vowel, has five allophones [o:], [o], [o], [o'] and [o].

/o/ [o:] # (c₁) - (c₂) #, where c₂ is not / ? /.

Example

/kom/

[ko:m]

'arrow'

/jo/

[jo:]

'also' (emphatic particle)

/oh/

[o:h]

'also'

/o/ → [o] - #, except the environment (c) -# and v-

(c₁) - (c₂ v)

(c₁) - v c₂ - c₃ v (c₄)

Example

/koyo/

[ko'yo]

'air'

/kokoro/

[kokoro']

'rooster'

/o/ → [o] - {b}?

Example

/tob²/ uM/ [tob²/ uM] 'top' /go² juM/ [go² juM] 'road'
 /todo²/ [tolo²] 'threshing floor'
 /o/ → /o²/ - j²
 /gojlo²/ [go² jlo²] 'paddy field' /gonoj/ [gono² j] 'death'
 /o/ → [o], elsewhere

/heloM/ [heloM] 'darkness' /soreM/ [soreM] 'stone'

/u/, high back rounded vowel, has five allophones

[u:], [u'], [U], [U²] and [u]

/u/ → [u:] (c₁) - (c₂), where c₂ is not /?/. Example

/ud/ [u:d] 'other' /buT/ [bu:T] 'gram'

/u/ → [u:] - # except the environment (c) - # and v -

(c₁) - c₂ v

(c₁) v c₂ - c₃ v (c₄), where c₃ is not /w/.

Example

/biru/ [bi'ru:] 'mountain' /dhuRi/ [dhu:ri] 'dust'
 /kuhuRi/ [kuhu:Ri] 'frog' /sAmudAr/ [sAmu'dAr] 'ocean'

/u/ → [U] /-? {b}?

Example

/surub² na/ [suru b² na] 'sucking' /suD² po/ [sUD² po:] 'mushroom'
 /cu² ci/ [cU² ci] 'needle'

/u/ → [U²] - j²

/guj² na/ [gU² j² na] 'wash' /kuj² na/ [kU² j² na] 'dance'

/u/ → [u] elsewhere.

Example

/DuMDuM/ [DuMDuM] 'a kind of fish' /kAbur/ [kAbur] 'grave'
 /ula²/ [ula²] 'leaf'

Allophonic distribution of consonants

- (i) /b/, /D/, /j/, are checked and weak before /?/
- (ii) /j/ is a stop before /?/, elsewhere it is an affricate.
- (iii) /?/ is nasalized at the word final position.
- (iv) /Rh/ is a stop initially and after a consonant, elsewhere it is a flap and before a consonant it freely varies.
- (v) /n/ is a dental before dental stops, elsewhere it is alveolar.
 /b/ has two allophones [b'], a checked and weak voiced bilabial stop and [b], a voiced bilabial stop.
 /b/ → [b'] - ?

Example

/bokob²/ [bokob²?] 'head' /dob²dir/ [dob²dir] 'white ant'

/b/ → [b] elsewhere.

Example

/beTa/ [be:Ta] 'boy' /le'bu/ [lebu] 'man'

/ʔ/ has two allophones [ʔⁿ], nasalized glottal stop and [ʔ], glottal stop.

/ʔ/ → [ʔⁿ] - #

Example

/Den²j²/ [DenE²j²?ⁿ] 'axe(big)' /uD²/ [uD²?ⁿ] 'mushroom'

/j/ has two allophones, [j²], a checked and weak voiced palatal stop and [j], voiced palatal affricate.

/j/ → [j²] / - ?

Example

/dAbA²j²/ [dAbA²j²] 'eighteen' /pij²na/ [pij²na] 'to break'

/j/ → [j] elsewhere.

Example

/jono²/ [jono²] 'broom' /khajar/ [khajar] 'deer'
/kuñji/ [kuñji] 'key'

/n/ has two allophones, [n̥], dental nasal and [n], alveolar nasal.

/n/ → [n̥] - Dental stops.

Example

/konteD²/ [konteD²?] 'bird' /bandra/ [bandra] 'baboon'

/n/ → [n] elsewhere.

Example

/kinir/ [kinir] 'forest' /kimin/ [kimin] 'bride'
/konsel/ [konsel] 'girl'

/Rh/ has two allophones, [Dh], voiced aspirated retroflex post alveolar stop, and [Rh], voiced alveolar fricative.

/hARha²/ [hARha] 'wolf' /cumRha²/ [cumRha²] 'well'
/oRhni/ [oRhni] 'bell'

/y/ has two allophones, [iy] palatal frictionless continuant with an on set /i/ and [y] frictionless continuant.

Example

/ayo/ [ayo] 'mother' /uluy/ [uluy] 'hair'

Phonemic distribution

Distribution of vowels

- (i) All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.
- (ii) Clusters of vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

Distribution of consonants

- (i) All the consonants occur, with a few exception, initially, medially and finally.
- (ii) /ʔ/, /M/, /R/ and /w/ do not occur initially.
- (iii) /th/, /d/ and /D/ do not occur finally.
- (iv) All the consonants form consonant clusters at least with any one of the others.

Diphthongs

Diphthongs found in the data are /eu/, /Au/, /oi/, /ua/ and /ui/. Example

/eu/	/neura/	'mongoose'
/Au/	/bhAuri/	'whirlpool'
/oi/	/bois/	'she-buffalo'
/ua/	/ua ² na/	'to bathe'
/ui/	/bunui /	'hog'

Triphthongs

In Kharia, there is only one instance of triphthongs.

Example

/cheua/	'jaw'
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Consonant clusters

Two consonant clusters

The two consonant clusters attested are the following

/pt/	/hApta/	'week'
/pk/	/dapkAy/	'to boil'
/pl/	/papla /	'butterfly'
/pR/	/kopRu? /	'male'
/ps/	/kopsor/	'to dry'
/phn/	/duphni/	'bowl'
/bD/	/kubDa/	'hunch back'
/b ² /	/tirib ² /	'cloud'
/br/	/Abra/	'stripe'
/tk/	/bhAtkAyati/	'right arm'
/tn/	/pattun/	'short'
/tr/	/sutrAm/	'thread'
/dm/	/lodma/	'a kind of muscle of the leg'
/dR/	/badRi/	'bat'
/dhR/	/bodhRe/	'blunt'
/Tk/	/kuTkuTi/	'mosquito (small)'
/tn/	/keTna/	'sting'
/Tl/	/cheTla/	'bald'
/Tr/	/ciTra /	'squirrel'
/Thk/	/lATHkAna/	'cling to'
/D ² /	/De ² DoM/	'stalk'
/Dr/	/geDra/	'dwarf'
/kth/	/sAkthAyna/	'to tighten'

/kTh/	/jokThi/	'earthworm'
/kn/	/tokna /	'earthen bowl'
/kN/	/hokNoga/	'suddenly'
/kl/	/poklo /	'frog'
/kr/	/kokro /	'cock'
/kR/	/ukRa /	'parched rice'
/ks/	/boksel/	'sister-in-law'
/khn/	/cAkhna/	'curry'
/khr/	/pokhra/	'pond'
/khR/	/ukhRi/	'mortar'
/gd/	/rAgdAyna/	'to rub'
/gj/	/bagjogni/	'firefly'
/gR/	/jAgRi /	'jar'
/ghw/	/baghwa/	'loin cloth'
/ʔp/	/ʔoʔPo /	'a kind of bird'
/ʔph/	/uʔphe/	'three'
/ʔb/	/baʔbuna/	'cook'
/ʔt/	/tArʔāʔti/	'palm'
/ʔth/	/biʔthuM/	'spit'
/ʔd/	/daʔdu/	'itch'
/ʔdh/	/laʔdhena/	'to load'
/ʔTh/	/muʔThi/	'fist'
/ʔD/	/DeʔDoM/	'stalk'
/ʔk/	/dhuʔko/	'sorrow'
/ʔkh/	/loʔkha/	'earth'
/ʔch/	/haʔchun/	'to sneeze'
/ʔj/	/goʔjuM/	'road'
/ʔjh/	/buʔjhina/	'to understand'
/ʔn/	/paʔna/	'to cut (rope)'
/ʔV/	/keʔluM/	'elephant'
/ʔr/	/raʔraʔ /	'flower'
/ʔRh/	/loʔRho/	'after wards'
/ʔs/	/paʔsor/	'mortar'
/ck/	/cicki/	'toy'
/cn/	/kucni/	'hawker'
/d/	/dhulda/	'name'
/chr/	/boChru/	'calf'
/jʔ/	/orejʔ /	'cow'
/mb/	/lembu/	'lemon'
/mbh/	/Dembha/	'pomplemoose'
/mth/	/sAmthArna/	'to flatten'
/mdh/	/sAmdhi/	'daughter-in-law's father'
/mT/	/cimTi /	'ant'
/mD/	/gunumDo/	'mosquito'
/mk/	/baromkoy/	'pumpkin gourd'
/mn/	/gimna/	'to rain'
/mr/	/kumryna/	'turn around'
/mR/	/kAmRa/	'blanket'

Three consonant clusters

- (i) A number of three consonant clusters are found as /b/ or /D/ as first member and /ʔ/ as the second member.
- (ii) There are clusters when the first two of the members are homorganic nasal plus stop and the third member is /r/. Example

/bʔp/	/hobʔpaDʔ/	'to put near'
/bʔb/	/sobʔbere/	'always'
/bʔt/	/debʔtan/	'I ride'
/bʔT/	/obʔTeRhana/	'to cause to cook'
/bʔtj/	/obʔThankolna/	'to cause to knock'
/bʔD/	/dobʔDir/	'white ant'
/bʔk/	/robʔkon/	'yoke'
/bʔg/	/obʔgena/	'to cause to burn'
/bʔm/	/obʔmuʔna/	'to come out'
/bʔn/	/oRebʔna/	'to pull up'
/bʔñ/	/obʔñoʔna/	'to feed'
/bʔM/	/rebʔMAyna/	'to creep'
/bʔl/	/mobʔlibʔna/	'to extinguish'
/bʔy/	/obʔyarna/	'to remove'
/Dʔp/	/suDʔpo/	'a kind of plant'
/Dʔt/	/konteDʔte/	'bird (accusative)'
/DʔD/	/betoDʔDaʔ/	'thirst'
/Dʔn/	/kheDʔna/	'to bite'
/ʔTn/	/caʔTni/	'rock'
/ʔtr/	/suʔtrom/	'fibre'
/ʔp/	/ʔpe/	'you are'
/ʔD/	/orejʔDa/	'leaf'

Four consonant clusters

Four consonant clusters are very rare.

Example

/bʔMh/	/kebʔMhelne/	'to load'
/bʔMgh/	/sebʔMghorna/	'to strengthen'

Morphophonemics

An overall picture of the morphophonemic rules in morphemic alternation is given in the following. The rules can be posited to account for the changes in the phonemic shapes of morphemes due to internal sandhi rule:

1. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ d \\ j \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ d \\ j \end{matrix} \right\} \phi / -V$

Example

/uDʔ - e - pe	→ uDepe/	'you (plural) will drink'
/Dejʔ - e - pe	→ Dejepe/	'you (plural) will cut'

2. ? → g / - V

Example

/M'o? - e - pe → M'ogepe/ 'you(plural) will eat'

3. e → i / - M'

Example

/uD² - te - M' → uD²tiM'/ 'I drunk'
/M'o - e - M' → M'ogiM'/ 'I will eat'

4. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ o \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ o \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} y / - \left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ e \end{matrix} \right\}$

Example

/si - o - pe → siyo²pe/ 'you (plural) cultivated'
/maRe + o² - pe → maReyo²pe/ 'you (plural) commenced'
/joha - o² - pe → johayo²pe/ 'you(plural) watched'
/yo - o² - pe → yoyo²pe/ 'you(plural) saw'
/su - o² - pe → suyo²pe/ 'you(plural) wore'
/si - e - pe → siyepe/ 'you(plural) will cultivate'

5. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ D \\ j \\ ? \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} ph \\ Th \\ ch \\ kh \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow o?$

Example

/jab - o? → japho?/ 'joined'
/eD - o? → eTho?/ 'measured'
/Dej - o? → Decho?/ 'ant'
/M'og - o? → M'okho?/ 'ate'

6. D → R / -e

Example

/melaygoD - e melaygoRe/ 'will give up'
/obgoj?goD - e obgoy?goRa/ 'will kill away'

7. s → ch / j? -

Example

/goj? - si? Goj?chi?/ 'has died'
/kaj - si? Kaj? Ch??/ 'has put off'

8. ui → uy / -v

Example

/jūi - o? jū yo?/ 'swelled'
/kui - o? kuyō/ 'found'

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are distinguished by number, gender and cases.

Numbers

Numbers are three-tier - singular, dual and plural. Singular is unmarked, dual is marked by *kiyar* and plural by *-ki*. Example

/moD? - kiyar/	'two eyes'	/moD? -ki/	'eyes'
/kuRu - kiyar/	'two children'	/kuRu - ki/	'children'

Gender

Gender is not grammatical. But the following types of changes are attested in the nominal stems.
Change of final vowel $\begin{Bmatrix} u \\ a \end{Bmatrix} \# \rightarrow i \#$

Example

/mamw/	'mother's brother'	/ma-mi/	'mother's brother's wife'
/dada/	'elder brother'	/didi/	'elder sister'
/beTa/	'son'	/beTi/	'daughter'
/kaka/	'father's brother'	/kaki/	'father's brother's wife'
/buRha/	'old man'	/buRhi/	'old lady'
/bheRa/	'male-ram'	/bheRi/	'female-ram'

Adding *-in / -n* to the male form to get female form

/batij? /	'nephew'	/batijin/	'niece'
/sAmdhi/	'daughter-in-law's father'		
/sAmdhin/	'daughter-in-law's mother'		

Adding *-Ray* to the male form to get female form

/kulAm/	'uncle's son'	/kulAmRay/	'uncle's daughter'
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Use of different suffixes

-gher - -er is suffixed to the base to form male form and *-sel* is used to create female forms.

Example

/kon - gher/	'young man'	/kon sel/	'young woman'
/bok - er/	'brother-in-law'	/bok-sel/	'sister-in-law'

Possessor

Personal possessor suffixes are added to the possessed noun to concord with the possessor. The following are the suffixes.

I person	II person	III person
-M' ~ -naM'	-nom	-Dom -Ram
(<i>nam</i> occurs after consonants and -m elsewhere)		(<i>Ram</i> occurs after <i>apa-</i> father and <i>-Dom</i> elsewhere)

Example

/ (ina) sAwRA ynaM' /	'my wife'
/ (ina) beTaM' /	'my son'
/ (hokar) beD-Dom /	'his son'
/ (jma) beT-nom /	'your son'
/ (hokra) ap-Rom /	'his father'

Cases and postpositions

Oblique case

Noun stems are either oblique or non-oblique. Oblique stems are marked whereas non-oblique stems are unmarked. Oblique case stem without postpositions can function as genitive case stem.

-a? is the oblique case marker.

Example

/orej-ab abarThAM DeRen Aj?/ 'the bull has two horns'
 bull -obl. two horn has.

-a? has four allomorphs /-wa/, /-ya?/, /-?/, /-a?/, {-a?} /-wa? -ya? -?-a?/

-wa occurs after /u/ and /o/.

Example

/kūRu-wa?/ 'childs' /ayo-wa?/ 'mothers'

-ya? occurs after /i/ and /e/.

Example

/nani -ya?/ 'grand mothers' /geRe-ya?/ 'ducks'

-pocans occur after /a/.

Example

/gAdha -?/ 'donkeys' /dada-?/ 'elder brothers'

-a? occurs elsewhere.

Example

/buMam -a?/ 'snakes' /kon-sel -a?/ 'girls'

Postpositions

The following postpositions denote different case relations between noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP). Postpositions are added either to the oblique stem or directly to the non-oblique stems.

te: It is added to the non-oblique stem. It denotes accusative, dative and locative case relations.

Example

/hokaR kontheD? -te taro?/ 'he killed the bird'

he bird-acc. killed

/iM' hokaR -te gamo?M' / 'I told him'

I he -dat. told.

/uslo-te Dokona/ 'sit on the floor'

ground -loc. sit

boM It is added to the oblique as well as non-oblique stems. It denotes causal and instrumental case relations.

Example

/daRa? boM/ 'with stick' /churiboM/ 'with knife'

/dayaboM/ 'with mercy'

tAy: It is added to the oblique as well as non-oblique stems. It denotes ablative case-relations. Example

/iskul -tAyDenAm/ 'come from the school'

school -abl. come.

/hokaR kiRki -tAy gurki/ 'he fell down from the window'

he window-abl. fell-down

- sori*: It is added to the oblique stem. It denotes connotative case relation. Example
/gAdha?sori:/ 'with donkey' */Ama?sori:/* 'with you'
/iM'asori/ 'with me'
/hokaR iM'a sori delki/ 'he came along with me'
 he I-obl. con. come
- thoM*: It is added to the oblique stem. It gives the meaning for the sake of. Example
/sadhiya? thoM/ 'for the sake of marriage'
/sAwRAynaM'a?thoM/ 'for my wife'

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

The following is the list of personal pronouns used in this speech.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
I person	<i>iM'</i>	<i>iM'jar</i> (exclusive) <i>AnAM</i> (inclusive)	<i>ele</i> (exclusive) <i>Ani</i> (inclusive)
II person	<i>Am</i>	<i>Ambar</i>	<i>A mpe</i>
III person	<i>hokaR</i> <i>ukaR</i> <i>hAnkaR</i> <i>ADi</i>	<i>hokiyar</i> <i>ukiyar</i> <i>hAnkiyar</i> <i>AD?kiyar</i>	<i>hoki</i> <i>uki</i> <i>hAnki</i> <i>AD?ki</i>

The personal pronouns can be analysed as given below.

- It is better to take the five words for denoting first person as unsegmentable as the segmentation. Example *injar* into *in* + *jar* and *nAM* as *n* + *M* and *niM* as *n* + *in*.
- Words denoting second person can be analysed as follows -*m* second person; -*bar* dual (Cf *ubar* 'two'); -*pe* plural Cf *u? phe* 'three').
- Words denoting third person can be analysed as follows. -*kar* 'singular person'; -*kiyar* 'dual person'; -*ki* 'plural person' *u-* this; *ho-* that'; *han-* 'that (remote).

Interrogative pronouns

/a -kaR/ 'which person' */a -kiyar/* 'which two person'

Infinitive verbal nouns

These are formed from verbal bases. They are different from other nouns in the sense that they only take oblique case suffix with or without post position. Example

/goj?na/ 'dying' */cona/* 'going' */no?na/* 'eating'

Derivation of nouns

Nouns can be derived from different classes of words. The following are the possibilities.

- verb root + *na*; (ii) demonstrative + *ti/* (iii) demonstrative + *je?* and (iv) demonstrative + number particles.

Adjectives

There is no separate class of words called adjectives. Certain verb root and a few attributes other than nouns demonstratives, numerals and adverbs can be grouped as adjectives.

Numerals

A class of words functioning as attribute to nouns, adverbs and particles come under this class. Numerals fall into three groups which are cardinals, ordinals and fractionals.

Cardinals

/mon/	'one'	/ubar/	'two'	/u?phe/	'three'
/i?phon/	'four'	/molo/	'five'	/tib?ru/	'six'
/thAM /	'seven'	/thom/	'eight'	/thomsin/	'nine'
/ghal/	'ten'	/gol/	'eleven'	/gholsiM/	'twelve'
/Tāk/	'thirteen'	/Toya/	'fourteen'	/rAba/	'fifteen'
/rAbe/	'sixteen'	/tarsiM/	'seventeen'	/dAbA?/	'eighteen'
/Dubuj?M/	'nineteen'	/ekRi/	'twenty'		
/ekRi ghAl/	'thirty'	/ubar ekRi/	'forty'		
/ubarcekRi ghAl/	'fifty'	/uphe ekRi/	'sixty'		
/uphe ekRighAl/	'seventy'	/e?phon ekRighAl/	'ninety'		
/molo/ ekRi/	'hundred'				

Ordinals

/meson/	'first'	/bersom/	'second'
/u?phe?thAr/	'third'		

Fractions

/adha/	'half'
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Adverbs

A class of words which are attributive to verbs are adverbs.

Adverbs are either inherent or functional. The following are the examples of inherent adverbs.

Example

/acako/	'suddenly'	/aleM /	'until'
/asintay/	'next year'	/hē?/	'now'
/joldi/	'soon'		

The following are the examples of adverbs by functions.

/iDa/	'yesterday' (noun and adverb);	/meya/	'morning' (noun and adverb)
/mō?jhi/	'middle' (noun and adverb)	/bahir/	'outside' (noun and adverb)

Particles

Those words which cannot be inflected for tense and case and those which do not belong to other classes of words are dealt under this head.

Classifiers

jhan, *Tho*, *ThAM* and *baria* are classifiers used under numerals and are followed by nouns.

Co-ordinate suffixes

The co-ordinate suffixes */ro* and *oDo?* 'and/again' */ho/* 'that' */muda, titin/* 'but' */hina?ttoM/* 'therefore' */inano/* 'why became' */ighAyno /* 'how' */ina?toM /* 'therefore' */kahaki/* 'because' and */je /* 'if' used in co-ordinate constructions are particles.

Sub-ordinate suffixes

The sub-ordinate suffixes /jab/ 'when' /je/ 'what' /jetna/ 'how much' /la?, la?kon, agar La?/ and /agarla?kon/ used in sub-ordinate constructions are particles.

Imperative particles

The imperative particle *day* is used in imperative constructions with the meaning 'let'.

Negative particles

The negative particles used along with the verb are *um*, *abu* and *a'*.

Emphasizers

The particles *ga*, *jo* and *ko* are emphatic particles. *ga* has wide range of meaning, *jo* gives the meaning 'also', *ko* gives emphasis to the action denoted by the verb.

Interjections

There are two types of interjections one is sentential and another is phrasal.

Sentential interjections

They are equivalent to a full sentence. Example

/hā/	'yes'	/barubo? /	'alright'
/ale/	'wait'	/bo? sure/	'wait'
/oho/	'is it so'		

Phrasal interjections

They occur before noun phrases. *re* and *he* used in the following examples are interjections.

/re abhaga beTa/ 'oh! unlucky boy' /he maharaj/ 'oh! great king'

Verbs

The verbs form a class of words as they carry aspect and/or tense suffix or imperative suffix or gerundive suffix. The verbs ending in personal suffix (either marked or unmarked) are finite verbs and those which do not end in personal suffix and which carry participial suffix or infinitive suffix are non-finite verbs.

Finite verbs

The finite verb contains a minimum of three inflectional element or a maximum of four inflectional element. The inflectional elements are tense markers, aspect markers, imperative marker and personal markers.

Tense

There are two sets of tense suffixes each having three suffixes - present tense suffix, past tense suffix and future tense suffix. The first set occurs with first group of verbs and the second one with second group of verbs.

Present	-te ~ -ti	-ta
Past	-o? ~ -yo?	-ki
Future	e ~	-na

Tense is suffixed to the base with or without aspect marker.

verb root + (aspect) + tense

First set of markers

Present tense

The present tense marker is -te which has two allomorphs.

{-te} /ti ~ te/; -ti occurs before the first person singular suffix, and -te elsewhere. Example

/uD? - te + M' → uD?ti M'/	'I drink'
/Dej? - te + M' → Dej?ti M'/	'I cut'
/lAn - te + M' → lAmti M'/	'I like'

Past tense

The past tense marker is *-o?*, which has two allomorphs; /-yō - o?/: -yō occurs after vowels and -o? elsewhere. Example

/si - o? - pe/ → siyo?pe/	'you cultivated'
/su - o? - pe/ → suyo?pe/	'you wore'
/maRe - o? - pe/ → maReyo?pe/	'you commenced'
/joha - o? - pe/ → johayo?pe/	'you watched'
/dhāy - o?/	'ran'
/kArAy - o?/	'did'

Future tense

The future tense marker is *-e*, which has four allomorphs /yi ~ ye ~ i ~ e ~ l/. -yi occurs after a vowel and before first person singular suffix; -ye occurs after a vowel but not before first person singular suffix; -i occurs before first person singular suffix, but not after a vowel, and -e occurs elsewhere.

/suru - e - M' → suruyi M'/	'I will begin'
/si - e - M' → siyi M'/	'I will cultivate'
/khaRo - e - M' → khaRoyi M'/	'I will cut'
/khaRo - e - pe → khaRoyepe/	'you(pl) will cut'

The future suffix is optionally dropped between /y/ (not preceded by /u/) and a non-final consonant and also between any vowel except /i/ and a final consonant.

/kayepe ~ koype/	'you(plural) will shave'
/sajayepe ~ sajaype/	'you(plural) will put'
/yojiM' ~ joM'/	'I will see'
/suruyiM' ~ suruM'/	'I will begin'

The future suffix optionally becomes /i/ between /u/ and a non-final consonant or pause. It becomes /y/ optionally between the vowel /o/ or /a/ and a non-final consonant or pause.

/suru -ye - pe ~ suruipe/	'you(plural) will begin'
/su -ye ~ sui/	'he will wear'

Second set of markers

Present tense

{ -ta } is the marker for present tense. Example
gi ta? - ta - M' 'I sleep'

Past tense

{ -ki } is the past tense marker. Example
/Del -ki - M'/ 'I went' /gita? -ki - M'/ 'I slept'

Future tense

{ -na } is the future tense marker. Example
/gi - ta? - na - M'/ 'I will sleep' /col - na - M'/ 'I will go'

Aspects

There are two aspects - perfect and continuous which are mutually exclusive. The first one occurs with or without being followed by the suffix and the second one occurs only after present tense suffixes. (exception: with the defective verb *ai* 'be')

verb root + Aspect₁ + (Tense)

verb root + Tense + Aspect₂

Aspect - 1

The perfect aspect marker { -si? } has allomorphs /chi?d ~ -chi?~ -si?D ~ si? / ;

-chi?D occurs after /j? / and before first person singular and second person singular suffixes;

-chi? occurs after /j? / but before pause or suffixes other than first person singular and second person singular suffixes;

-si?D occurs after phonemes other than /j? / and before first and second person singular suffixes;

si? occurs elsewhere. Example

/lej? - si? - i M'	→ lej?chi?DiM'	'I have abused'
/lej? - si? - en	→ lej?chiDem'	'you(singular) have abused'
/kaj? - si? - i M'	→ kaj?ch?DiM'	'I have put off'
/kaj? - si? - eM	→ kajch?DeM'	'you(singular) have put off'

Aspect- 2

The continuous aspect marker *ji* - has two allomorphs /j?D ~ j? /

j?D - occurs before first and second person singular suffixes.

j? - occurs elsewhere. It occurs only after present tense marker denoting that the action is occurring right now.

/lej?te + j? + -iM'	→ lej?tej?DiM'	'I am abusing right now'
/gilTe + j? + em	→ giltej?Dem'	'you(singular) are beating right now'

Imperative mood

The imperative mood has two markers -e and -na occurring after the first and second group of verbs respectively. They occur after the aspect suffix d- -sig also, in which case the base preceding the aspect suffix determines the imperative markers. The imperative suffixes are followed by second personal markers:

verb root + aspect₁ + imperative + second person marker.

Imperative { e } has two allomorphs / -ye ~ -e / ;

-ye occurs after a vowel and -e occurs elsewhere. Example

/suru - e - m	→ suruyem/	'you(singular) begin'
/khāro - e - pe	→ khāRoyepe/	'you (plural) cut'

Imperative { na } occurs with the second group of verbs. Example

/co - na - m/	'go'	/De - na - m/ 'come'
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Personal termination

The personal terminations in three different persons are as follows:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
I person	-m	-naM(inclusive) -jar (exclusive)	-niM (inclusive) -le (exclusive)
II person	-m	-bar	-pe
III person	-φ	-kiyar	-may~ki

First person singular

{ -M' } is the marker and it has four allomorphs / -iM, ~iM', ~M, ~M' /
-iM freely varying with -iM' occurs after the perfect aspect marker and also after the negative particle -um ;

-M freely varying with -M' occurs after / i /; and M' occurs elsewhere. Example

/gils?D -iM ~ gils?D -iM'/	'I have beaten'
/kolsi?D -iM ~ kolsi?D -iM'/	'I have counted'
/umin cona ~ umiM' cona/	'I will not go'
/gili-M ~ gili-M'/	'I will beat'
/colti -M ~ colti -M'/	'I go'
/cona -M'/	'I will go'
/glta?ta -M'/	'I sleep'

First person dual (inclusive)

{ -naM } is the marker. Example

/gilte -naM we (inclusive) beat' /colta -naM we (inclusive) go'

First person dual (exclusive)

{ -jar } is the marker. Example

/gilte -jar/	'we (dual exclusive) will beat'
/colta-jar/	'we (dual exclusive) go'

First person plural (inclusive)

{ -niM } is the marker. Example

/cona -niM/	'we(inclusive) will go'
/gilte -niM/	'we (inclusive) beat'

First person plural(exclusive)

{ -le } is the marker. Example

/cona -le/	'we (exclusive) will go'
/gilte-le/	'we (exclusive) go'

Second person singular

{ -m } is the marker which has two allomorphs / -em ~ m /;

-em occurs after perfect aspect and also after negative marker -um, -m occurs elsewhere.

Example

/gils? D-em/	'you have beaten'
/umen cona/	'you will not go'

Second person singular is optionally dropped after the imperative suffix, when negative particle precedes the non-imperative verb stem. Second person singular is either added to the negative particle or to the non-imperative verb stem. Example

/cona -m ~ cona/	'go'
/pije -m ~ pije/	'break'
/abu conam ~ abu cona/	'don't go'

Second person dual

{ -bar } is the marker. Example

/gile -bar/

'you(dual) will beat'

/cona -bar/

'you (dual) will go'

Second person plural

{ -pe } is the marker. Example

/gile -pe/

'you(plural) will beat'

/cona -pe/

'you (plural) will go'

Third person singular

It is not overtly marked.

/gile - $\emptyset$ / 'he' /she/it will beat/

/cona - $\emptyset$ / 'he/she/it will go'

Third person dual

{ kiyar } is the marker.

/gile-kiyar/

'they (dual) will beat'

/colta -kiyar/

'they (dual) go'

Third person plural

{ moy } freely varies with /-ki/

But /-moy/ is preferable to ki. Example

/gilte -moy ~ gilte -ki/

'they beat'

/colta -moy ~ colta -ki/

'they go'

Negative

The particle *um* used before the non-imperative verb and negativizes the event denoted by the verb. The negative *um* carries the personal suffixes instead of the verb with the exception that second person singular can either occur with *um* or with the verb. Example

/umlM' cona/

'I will not go'

/um conam ~ umen cona/

'you (singular) will go'

The negative particle *a?* -*abu* is used before the imperative verb. *abu* occurs before the verb which carries second person singular suffix which is optional. *a?* occurs before the verbs which does not carry second person singular suffix; however, it only carries personal suffixes (other than second person suffix) instead of the verb. Example

/abu cona ~ abu conam/

'don't go'

/abuM'oge ~ abu nogem/

'don't eat'

/a? -bar M'oge/

'you (dual) don't eat'

/a? -pe cona/

'you (plural) don't go'

Non-finite verbs

Perfect participle

-*kon* is the perfect participle marker which is added to the verbal bases. Example

/M'o? -kon/

'having eaten' /col -kon/

'having gone'

Infinitive

-*na* is the infinitive marker which is added to the verbal bases. Example

/goj? -na/

'to die' /co -na/

'to go'

/M'o? -na/

'to eat'

Verbal noun

Nouns are formed from verbs by infixing the element -*nV*- to the verb roots, where V is the vowel of the verb root. Example

/Dej?/	'cut'	/Denej ² /	'axe'
/goj?/	'die'	/gonoj ² /	'death'
/rab?/	'bury'	/ranab ² /	'burial ground'
/jo?/	'sweep'	/jono ² j/	'broomstick'

Syntax

Sentences

Sentences are built up of one or more clauses. There are two types of sentences: major and minor. A major sentence has a main clause as one of its constituents or as the only constituent. A minor sentence does not contain a main clause. Major sentences are three types – simple, complex and compound.

Simple sentence:

Simple sentences contain a single main clause.

/uje solo?neke/	
'this is a dog'	Dem< + NP + VP.
/iM'a? o?konon Ayj?/	
'my house is small'	Gen#p + N + Adj. + VP.
/hokenteThki leMtaki/	
'the birds fly'	Dem< + N + VP

Complex Sentence :

It is made up of a main clause and one or more sub-ordinate clause. Example

<i>hokaR</i>	<i>lemej? Dnalaki</i>	<i>jebere iM'</i>	<i>hokaRte</i>	<i>yonacolkiM'</i>
'He was sleeping when I went to see him'				

Compound Sentence

It was built up of two or more main clause connected by connectors. The following connectives are used : *ro* 'and' *oDo?* 'and/ 'again' *cafe* 'or' *magar/ mudda /* 'lekin but' *umbo?la* 'otherwise' *kina?thoM* 'therefore' *ho* 'that' *jemon* 'so that' Example

<i>O?dha? ro AmnAm</i>	'Go and come back'
<i>hokaR iDa? Delki ro colKAnKi</i>	'He came yesterday and went away'
<i>Ampa? MojtAy kayjhAn colgarumAy oDo olguRumAy</i>	'Let some of you go and fetch'
<i>iM' conAm' cahe hokaR conA</i>	'I will go or he will go'
<i>iM' te conna Awki mudda iM' umiM' colki</i>	'I had to go but I did not go'
<i>Rupya oneM'e umb?la? Am mAwrkuyem</i>	'Return the money otherwise you will get a beating'
<i>iM' iM'a?jal umi kayna palo?kinathoM iM' umiM'colki</i>	'I could not find my net therefore I did not go today'

Minor Sentence:

Minor sentences do not contain a main clause. A minor sentence could be a subordinate clause, a phrase or a word. Minor sentence occurs in isolation whereas a subordinate clause does not. Example

<i>Re maha buMAM</i>	'Oh! Big snake'
<i>he</i>	'hey!'

Brief sociolinguistic information

Kharia tribe is mainly concentrated in the hilly districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur of Orissa. Three groups of this tribe can be identified that is Pahari Kharia or Erenga Kharia, Dhelki-Kharia and Dudh Kharia. Pahari Kharias are found in Mayurbhanj district ; Dhelki-Kharias are concentrated in Sundargarh district ; Dudh Kharias are seen in Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts and are spread to Ranchi district of Bihar where from they have descended to Orissa. Apart from the three main branches, there are -Munda Kharia, Oraon Kharia, Benga Kharia and Satera Kharia. Pahari Kharias have given up their language and switched over to Oriya. The sects Dhelki Kharias and Dudh Kharias differ from one another by speaking two different dialects of Kharia respectively and also disallowing inter-sect marriage.

Kharia as a mother tongue is used for interaction in the inter-tribal situation, in home domain and in intimate circles. For religious purpose also Kharia is used by the Kharia community. In rest of the domains Oriya is the medium of communication. Kharia has no script or literature of its own.

Word list follows :

Sl. No	English	Kharria	Sl. No	English	Kharria
1	air	<i>koyo</i>	44	widow	<i>rāRikonsel</i>
2	ashes	<i>kharom</i>	45	wife	<i>kāDay</i>
3	cloud	<i>tirib?</i>	46	woman	<i>konselDu</i>
4	cold	<i>ThēNDa ThēRa</i>	47	ant	<i>cimTi</i>
5	darkness	<i>M'eloM</i>	48	bird	<i>konther</i>
6	earth	<i>lo?kha~ dunia</i>	49	cat	<i>biley</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grahon</i>	50	claw	<i>ramAD?</i>
8	fire	<i>timsom</i>	51	cock	<i>kokro</i>
9	fog	<i>pokeD</i>	52	cow	<i>orej?</i>
10	forest	<i>kinir</i>	53	dog	<i>solo?</i>
11	hill	<i>biru</i>	54	egg	<i>aNDa</i>
12	ice	<i>pokeD</i>	55	feather	<i>beleD?</i>
13	moon	<i>lerAM</i>	56	fish	<i>karoM</i>
14	mountain	<i>biru</i>	57	fly	<i>koNDoy</i>
15	rain	<i>Da?gimna</i>	58	fox	<i>thuyu</i>
16	river	<i>ompAykhrom</i>	59	goat	<i>merom</i>
17	road	<i>go?juM</i>	60	grease	<i>itil</i>
18	sand	<i>roked?</i>	61	guts	<i>lag?</i>
19	wind	<i>koyo</i>	62	horn	<i>DeReM</i>
20	wood	<i>soMgal</i>	63	back	<i>guNDAM</i>
21	baby	<i>kūRu</i>	64	belly	<i>lag?</i>
22	boy	<i>kulam</i>	65	blood	<i>iM'am</i>
23	bride	<i>kimin</i>	66	body	<i>M'iri</i>
24	bride groom	<i>aram</i>	67	bone	<i>jaM</i>
25	brother	<i>dada</i>	68	breast	<i>numu</i>
26	child	<i>kūRu</i>	69	chest	<i>chati</i>
27	daughter	<i>beTi</i>	70	ear	<i>lutur</i>
28	father	<i>Apa</i>	71	eye	<i>mōD?</i>
29	friend	<i>sango</i>	72	face	<i>rumAM</i>
30	girl	<i>konsel</i>	73	fever	<i>kulDa?</i>
31	husband	<i>keNDor</i>	74	finger	<i>AMri</i>
32	male	<i>lebu</i>	75	flesh	<i>mās</i>
33	man	<i>lebu</i>	76	foot	<i>kaTa</i>
34	marriage	<i>kersoM</i>	77	hair	<i>uluy</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>mamu</i>	78	hand	<i>ti?</i>
36	maternal uncle's wife	<i>mai</i>	79	head	<i>bokob?</i>
37	mother	<i>ayo</i>	80	heart	<i>hrudAya</i>
38	nephew	<i>batig?</i>	81	leg	<i>kaTa</i>
39	niece	<i>batigin</i>	82	lip	<i>lucur</i>
40	old man	<i>buRhalebu</i>	83	liver	<i>goRe</i>
41	sister	<i>didi</i>	84	lung	<i>phoksa</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>boksel</i>	85	mouth	<i>tomoDi?</i>
43	son	<i>beTa</i>	86	neck	<i>konko</i>
			87	nose	<i>romAh</i>

88	spine	<i>jAM</i>	136	white	<i>osel</i>
89	tongue	<i>laM</i>	137	yellow	<i>sAMsAM</i>
90	tooth	<i>gone</i>	138	hungry	<i>betor</i>
91	waist	<i>koRi</i>	139	love	<i>piya:r</i>
92	fruit	<i>luku</i>	140	pain	<i>kusu</i>
93	liquor	<i>daru</i>	141	true	<i>so?to</i>
94	milk	<i>tomleM</i>	142	wish	<i>icca</i>
95	salt	<i>biluM</i>	143	ink	<i>ka:li</i>
96	smoke	<i>mo?</i>	144	school	<i>isku:l</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>cauli</i>	145	student	<i>pilla</i>
98	bed	<i>kaThiya</i>	146	teacher	<i>mAsTer</i>
99	door	<i>kap?To</i>	147	bullet	<i>go:li</i>
100	house	<i>o?</i>	148	first	<i>mesoM</i>
101	roof	<i>teloM</i>	149	second	<i>bersoM</i>
102	rope	<i>keke?</i>	150	third	<i>u?pe?ihAr</i>
103	wall	<i>bhit</i>	151	one	<i>moM'</i>
104	well	<i>cumRha?</i>	152	two	<i>uber</i>
105	window	<i>kiDka</i>	153	three	<i>u?phe</i>
106	flower	<i>ra?ra?</i>	154	four	<i>i?phonkar</i>
107	fruit	<i>luku</i>	155	five	<i>moloy</i>
108	garden	<i>baRi</i>	156	ten	<i>ghal</i>
109	grass	<i>gās</i>	157	sixteen	<i>rAbbe</i>
110	guava	<i>tamAras</i>	158	twenty	<i>ekRi</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>kenTara</i>	159	forty	<i>ubarekRi</i>
112	leaf	<i>sekom</i>	160	do	<i>kArAy</i>
113	lily	<i>saluko</i>	161	pull	<i>diM'</i>
114	mango	<i>kegAr</i>	162	push	<i>Dek?la?</i>
115	paddy	<i>ba?</i>	163	put	<i>un</i>
116	plough	<i>sini</i>	164	rub	<i>rAgRey</i>
117	potato	<i>alu</i>	165	sell	<i>opsom</i>
118	root	<i>juD?</i>	166	wash	<i>gu?ther</i>
119	sweet	<i>miTai</i>	167	work	<i>kamu</i>
120	tree	<i>daru</i>	168	sing	<i>AloM</i>
121	vegetable	<i>tiyAnsALAM</i>	169	bring	<i>ol</i>
122	wheel	<i>caka</i>	170	climb	<i>Deb?</i>
123	bitter	<i>osoM</i>	171	come	<i>De</i>
124	black	<i>moghAr</i>	172	give	<i>ter</i>
125	blind	<i>andho</i>	173	go	<i>co</i>
126	blue	<i>nilo</i>	174	jump	<i>puD?</i>
127	bright	<i>ujjolo</i>	175	vomit	<i>bAja?</i>
128	brow	<i>la:l</i>	176	say	<i>gam</i>
129	coldness	<i>rAnga</i>	177	write	<i>lu?toM</i>
130	green	<i>hara</i>	178	touch	<i>gib?</i>
131	hat	<i>loblob</i>	179	bathe	<i>ua?</i>
132	light	<i>lAluk</i>	180	all	<i>jhaRi</i>
133	red	<i>la:l</i>	181	bad	<i>karA:b</i>
134	sour	<i>rojAr</i>	182	big	<i>mAhā</i>
135	sweet	<i>sebol</i>	183	dirty	<i>kickica</i>

184	dry	<i>kosor</i>	219	for	<i>thoM</i>
185	few	<i>thoReken</i>	220	from	<i>tAy</i>
186	full	<i>boreda?</i>	221	he, she	<i>nokeRa</i>
187	good	<i>baru</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>nokeRute</i>
188	hand	<i>kAthin</i>	223	here	<i>ute</i>
189	honest	<i>imandar</i>	224	his/her	<i>ukeRa</i>
190	long	<i>jhelob?</i>	225	how	<i>henkeRa</i>
191	many	<i>Dheyir</i>	226	I	<i>ighAy</i>
192	narrow	<i>sAkur</i>	227	it/this	<i>iM'</i>
193	new	<i>tonme</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>nena</i>
194	old	<i>bAyir</i>	229	its/of this	<i>neye</i>
195	raw	<i>borel</i>	230	like	<i>hinka</i>
196	rotten	<i>loro?</i>	231	to me	<i>iM'te</i>
197	east	<i>munu?siM</i>	232	my	<i>i M'a?</i>
198	end	<i>sitil</i>	233	our	<i>iM'ara?</i>
199	far	<i>Disa?</i>	234	not	<i>eniha?</i>
200	left	<i>lengati?</i>	235	so/thus	<i>ughAy</i>
201	middle	<i>mūjhi</i>	236	that	<i>hokeR</i>
202	near	<i>kAbōT</i>	237	to them	<i>ukiyarte</i>
203	north	<i>Arlo</i>	238	then	<i>ARkite</i>
204	out	<i>bAhō</i>	239	those	<i>hokiyAr</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>bhujum</i>	240	there	<i>uki</i>
206	south	<i>sArlo?</i>	241	they	<i>ukiyA r</i>
207	again	<i>odo?ga?</i>	242	their	<i>ukiyarA</i>
208	always	<i>sob?bere</i>	243	these	<i>uki</i>
209	before	<i>siMtoy</i>	244	to us	<i>injarte</i>
210	daily	<i>rojroj</i>	245	we	<i>injar</i>
211	day	<i>dino</i>	246	what	<i>?i</i>
212	evening	<i>iDibiDib</i>	247	when	<i>iwere</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>sob?re</i>	248	where	<i>ate</i>
214	afterwards	<i>lo?Dho</i>	249	who	<i>ber</i>
215	behind	<i>lo?Dho</i>	250	why	<i>?iya</i>
216	between	<i>mūjhi</i>			
217	by	<i>boM</i>			
218	down	<i>tuta</i>			

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MUNDARI

J.Suresh

Family affiliation

Mundari belongs to most of the north Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages.

Location

The Mundari speakers are concentrated essentially in the districts of Mayurbhanj , Keonjhar and Sambalpur of Orissa , Midnapore district of West Bengal and Ranchi district of Bihar.

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

MUNDARI (LANGUAGE)					MUNDARI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	861,378	432,797	428,581		T	852,398	428,115	424,283
	R	803,488	402,872	400,616		R	794,589	398,229	396,360
	U	57,890	29,925	27,965		U	57,809	29,886	27,923
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	145,097	72,929	72,168		T	145,084	72,921	72,163
	R	134,687	67,610	67,077		R	134,687	67,610	67,077
	U	10,410	5,319	5,091		U	10,397	5,311	5,086

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Number of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	861,378	414,472	233,824	180,648	Hindi	311,168	176,974	134,194	46,519	34,417	12,102
					Oriya	60,996	34,294	26,702			
					Bengali	35,964	18,620	17,344			
					Assamese	4,087	2,475	1,612			
					Telugu	1,077	540	537			
Orissa	145,097	66,790	37,923	28,867	Oriya	60,979	34,277	26,702	15,268	10,937	4,331
					Hindi	5,082	2,917	2,165			

Phonology Phonemic inventory Segmentals Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
Higher mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
Low		<i>a a:</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>ʈ ɖ</i>	<i>c ɟ</i>	<i>k ɡ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Fricative(slit)							<i>h</i>
Fricative(Groove)			<i>s</i>				
Lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>			
Flap			<i>r</i>				
Semi-vowel					<i>y</i>		

Major allophonic variations

Vowels

	Phonemes	Allophones
/ i /	[i] [ɪ̥] [y] [ɪ]	
/ e /	[e] [E] and [ɛ]	
/ o /	[ɔ] and [O]	
/ u /	[U] [V] and [I]	

Consonants

	Phonemes	Allophones
/ n /		[n and M]
/ h /		[h and x]

Phonemic distribution

Vowels

/ i , e , a , o , u and their lengthened counter parts occur in all the three positions initial, medial and final.

Consonants

- / p , b , t , d , T , D , k , c , j , s / all these occur initially and medially and / b , d and g / occur in all three positions (finally as checked consonant).
- / m , n , N and M / occur in all the three positions except [M] which never occurs in initial position and [N] always occurring v - v that is, intervocalic
- / h / occurs only initially
- / ? / occurs only finally

Vowel Clusters

When two vowels occur together vowel clusters are formed. Depending upon the position of the occurrence vowel clusters may be classified as - initial, medial and depending upon their nature as identical and non-identical. The vowel clusters are listed below:

Initial non-identical two vowels - V₁ V₂

ia -	iam	'cry'
ai -	aidari	'officer'
au -	aub	'evening'

Medial non-identical Vowel Clusters - V₁ V₂

- ia -	kamiako	'member'
- iu -	ka:TTiuL	'fox'
- iu: -	siu:d	'essence'
- ea -	reaLa	'cold'
- eu -	neula	'mongoose'
- ai -	sail	'baison'
- au -	maura	'poison'

- oi -	<i>moisi</i>	'she buffalo'
- ui -	<i>kuili</i>	'cuckoo'
- ua -	<i>Tuar</i>	'orphan'
- ua: -	<i>sua:n mosla:</i>	'mace'

Final Vowel Clusters -V₁ V₂

- ia	<i>barduDia</i>	'bat'
- ia:	<i>gia:</i>	'continue (an action)'
- io	<i>jotio</i>	'even though'
- iu	<i>giu</i>	'shy'
- ei	<i>peNei</i>	'weaker'
- ea	<i>Dorea</i>	'bay'
- eo	<i>keo</i>	'brushing'
- ai	<i>dai</i>	'sister'
- au	<i>gau</i>	'blister'
- oi	<i>toroi</i>	'ashes'
- oe	<i>goue</i>	'death'
- oa	<i>joa</i>	'cheek'
- ui	<i>hasui</i>	'ache/pain'
- ua	<i>Da:Mgua</i>	'bachelor'

Three vowel Clusters - V₁ V₂ V₃

The three vowel clusters occur medially and finally Example.

Medially occurring

- aie -	<i>baier</i>	'rope'
- auo -	<i>porkauomni</i>	'examine'

Finally occurring

- ieu	<i>sieu</i>	'cultivate'
- aiu	<i>taiu</i>	'dwell'
- aea	<i>utti haea</i>	'passion'
- aua	<i>naua</i>	'now'
- uei	<i>guei</i>	'kill'

Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are available in the medial and final positions. Below are the cluster formations.

Medial identical two consonant clusters - c₁ c₁

- pp -	<i>goppo</i>	'story'	-mm-	<i>kamma:ri</i>	'injure a person'
- bb -	<i>babbu</i>	'penis'	-nn-	<i>banna:</i>	'bear'
- tt -	<i>otte</i>	'ground'	-MM-	<i>a:MMu:r</i>	'grape'
- dd-	<i>odda:</i>	'ginger'	-ss-	<i>hassagaDa:</i>	'grave'
- TT -	<i>moTTo</i>	'fat'	-ll-	<i>lollo</i>	'heat'
- DD-	<i>beDDoM</i>	'giant'	-LL-	<i>piLLei</i>	'bladder'
- cc -	<i>hiccir</i>	'lightening'	-rr-	<i>orrakab</i>	'raise'

-jj-	ujju	'wound'
-kk-	ukku	'hide'
-gg-	buggi	'merit'

Medial non-identical two consonant clusters - c₁ c₁

-pt-	hapta	'week'	-Tk-	aTkar	'feel/sense internally'
-pD-	ipDipium	'firefly'	-Dk-	buDki	'first wife'
-pk-	hupkeiuuM	'appear'	-Dg-	haDga	'wolf'
-pn-	olca: pni	'printer'	-Dh-	beDhon	'ugly'
-ps-	lupsurdaru	'herb'	-Ds-	piDsa	'diarrhoea'
-pl-	aplop	'wing'	-Dr-	kuDruM	'on the back'
-pr-	hapra:u	'race'	-jm-	ijma:li	'general'
-bg-	sakabgi	'seduce'	-cn-	bicna	'bed'
-bn-	oludubni	'teacher'	-jn-	kaojni	'acquit'
-bl-	meNeTgabra	'brass plate'	-jr-	ba:jra:	'spiked millet'
-br-	abrok	'mice'	-kt-	sokto	'strong'
-tg-	potgiTa	'purity'	-kT-	cokta:u	'mold'
-tr-	batra:	'message'	-kc-	bokcond	'wonder'
-dk-	jadka:	'enough'	-ks-	poksa	'lung'
-dl-	gadlad	'moss'	-kr-	akri	'to sell'
-dr-	godra	'elephantiasis'	-gD-	bagDoM	'gesture'
-gL-	dugLu	'jerk'	-gN-	ogNibaron	'arch'
-mp-	kaTa:ampa:	'claw'	-sl-	be:sleka:lel	'examine' (closely)
			-sr-	asra:om	'hope'
-mb-	ombol	'shade'	-lp-	kulpu	'bolt'
-mt-	samtul	'plain'	-lb-	seMgalburu	'volcano'
-md-	sumdi	'daughter- in-laws parents'	-ld-	dulda	'waterfall'
			-lc-	alci	'gooding'
			-lk-	helka:u	'wave'
-mT-	cimTa:	'pincers'	-lg-	dulgiDi	'empty(as jar)'
-mD-	camDa:	'pandal'	-lm-	ti:lmi:	'linseed'
-mc-	gonomciDa:u	'bargain'	-ln-	olni	'author'
-mk-	potracamka:	'timid'	-lh-	olhon	'student'
-mn-	porkauomni	'examinee'	-Lp-	soLpo	'road'
-mN-	samNom	'gold'	-LN-	moLNa	'dead body'
-ms-	jomsai	'rightside'	-rp-	ca:rpaTu	'cockroach'
-mr-	omrua:r	'collect'	-rb-	sirbol	'aluminium'
-np-	senparom	'pass by'	-rt-	darti	'world'
-nb-	dinba:r	'date'	-rd-	arda:s	'petition'
-nd-	joronda	'stream'	-rT-	sarTuMgi	'quiver'
-nT-	ja:nTi	'fence'	-rc-	mu:rci	'chilly'
-nc-	manci	'chair'	-rj-	garja:u	'gravel'
-nj-	honja:r	'father-in-law'	-rk-	porkuti	'nature'
-nm-	ma:nmi	'man'	-rg-	girgiNDum	'centipede'
-nh-	senhora:	'path'	-rm-	tirmid	'rub'
-nl-	senlala:iko	'infantry'	-rn-	jarna:	'brook'
-ns-	kua:nsi	'fog/mist'	-rl-	horlosi	'cyclone'
-NT-	TuNTa:	'cripple'	-rh-	birhoLo	'baboon'

- ND -	caNDa:	'one step'	-sp -	ispat	'steel'
- MT -	ja:MT:uli	'small pox'	-st -	dista:k	'zinc'
- MD -	leMDa:	'left handed person'	-sT-gosTom		'flatter'
- Mg -	goMgor	'cave'	-sk-	maska:l	'light'
			-sg -	arda:sgi	'pray'
- Mr -	roMrasika:	'merry'	-sn -	besnom	'love'

Medial non-identical three consonant clusters- $c_1 c_2 c_3$

-mpL-	pampLa:d	'butterfly'
-mbL-	ra:mbLa:	'black gram'
-ndr-	da: ndri	'cave'
-nsk-	hinska	'habit'
-NTk-	hoNTkir	'snore'
-NDr-	JoNDra	'maize'
-Mkc-	kuMka:u	'shrink'
-MgL-	da:MgLaukoLa	'male servant'
-Mgr-	Ta:Mgra:	'baldness'

Final non-identical two consonant clusters - $c_1 c_2$

- nt	ja:nt	'crusher'
- nd	bokeond	'wonder'
- nc	ca:nc	'metal cast'
- ns	ha:ns	'goose'
- nT	u:nT	'camel'
- nD	sonD	'trunk of elephant'

Syllables

In Mundari there are mono to hexa-syllabic words. The structure of non-syllabic words are

Monosyllabic - open			Monosyllabic - close		
V	i:	'human excrement'	VC	am	'you'
CV	ko	'crane'	VC	u:b	'hair'
CV	ti:	'hand'	VCC	u:nt	'camel'
CVV	hua	'bite'	CVC	ba:n	'flood'
CVV	Tu:i	'parrot'	CVVC	sail	'bison'
			CVCC	sond	'trunk of elephant'
CVV	gua:	'arecanut'	CVCC	ha:ns	'goose'

The canonical structure of di- to hexa - syllabic words can be presented as given below

[V [V(C)] CV [V(C)]]

This structure will not give the combination 'vvcc' and it is not available in Mundari speech of Orissa. This structure accounts for various canonical patterns available in di- to hexa- syllabic words in Mundari.

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are a class of words whose stems are distinguished or inflected for gender, number and case. Of the nouns the substantives are categorised into animate and inanimate and the pronouns into personal and non-personal. Besides, nouns contain derived nouns and numerals.

The substantives – animate or inanimate take genitive suffixes and post positions. Further, the animate nouns also take suffixes for dual and plural numbers. Below are exemplified the animate and inanimate categories:

Animate :	<i>seta</i>	'dog'	<i>ipil</i>	'star'
	<i>cokke</i>	'frog'	<i>bi:M</i>	'snake'
	<i>uri</i>	'cattle'		
Inanimate :	<i>da?</i>	'water'	<i>buluM</i>	'salt'
	<i>boro</i>	'fear'		

Number

Mundari has three number distinction – singular, dual and plural of which singular is unmarked the markers for dual is *-ki* and for plural is *-ko*.

Stem		Singular	Dual	plural
<i>seta</i>	'dog'	<i>seta - ∅</i>	<i>seta- kiM</i>	<i>seta-ko</i>
<i>ipil</i>	'star'	<i>ipil- ∅</i>	<i>ipil- kiM</i>	<i>ipil-ko</i>
<i>hai</i>	'fish'	<i>hai - ∅</i>	<i>hai - kiM</i>	<i>hai - ko</i>
<i>daru</i>	'tree'	<i>daru ∅</i>	<i>daru - kiM</i>	<i>daru - ko</i>
<i>nia</i>	'it/this'	<i>nia - ∅</i>	<i>nia - kiM</i>	<i>nia - ko</i>

When used in sentences the formations are :

<i>ni?</i>	<i>moeon seta</i>	'this is a dog'
<i>nikin</i>	<i>gai - kiM</i>	'two cows'
<i>nikin</i>	<i>gai - ko</i>	'these are cows'

Gender

Mundari has four genders- masculine, feminine, neuter and common.

I. The masculine and feminine difference is made by the use of *-a* and *-i* markers respectively.

Example

Masculine		Feminine		Masculine		Feminine	
<i>koLa</i>	'man'	<i>kuLi</i>	'woman'	<i>pisa</i>	'uncle'	<i>pisi</i>	'aunt'
<i>beDa</i>	'sheep'	<i>beDi</i>	'she-sheep'	<i>mosa</i>	'uncle'	<i>mosi</i>	'aunt'
<i>coTa</i>	'lame'	<i>coTi</i>	'lame'	<i>dula:</i>	'young'	<i>duli</i>	'young'
<i>kaja</i>	'hunchback'	<i>kujl</i>	'hunchback'	<i>konda</i>	'dumb'	<i>kondi</i>	'dumb'
<i>kala</i>	'deaf'	<i>kali</i>	'deaf'				

II. The forms *sa:Ndi ~ a:Ndia* for masculine and *eMga* for feminine.

Example

<i>sa:Ndi si:m</i>	'cock'	<i>eMga si:m</i>	'hen'	<i>a:Ndia kula</i>	<i>eMga kula:</i>
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<i>sa: Ndi para:l</i> 'pigeon'	<i>eMga para: l</i> 'pigeon'	<i>a:Ndia merom</i> 'tiger' 'goat'	<i>eMga merom</i> 'tigress' 'she goat'
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III. By having different lexicals for both masculine and feminine.

Example

<i>seta</i>	'dog'	<i>bulli</i>	'bitch'	<i>ma:mu</i>	'maternal uncle'	<i>hatam</i>	'maternal aunt'
<i>keDa</i>	'buffalo'	<i>moisi</i>	'she buffalo'	<i>haga</i>	'brother'	<i>misi</i>	'sister'
				<i>da:da:</i>	'brother'	<i>bu:</i>	'brother's wife'

Neuter gender

Example

<i>daru</i>	'tree'	<i>diri</i>	'stone'
<i>oLa</i>	'house'	<i>caTu</i>	'mud pot'
<i>sakam</i>	'leaf'		

Common gender

These are animate forms applied for sexes.

Example

<i>merom</i>	'goat'	<i>hoLo</i>	'human being'
<i>uri</i>	'cattle'	<i>bi : M</i>	'snake'
<i>cokke</i>	'frog'	<i>hai</i>	'fish'
<i>ceNe</i>	'bird'	<i>seta</i>	'dog'

Derived nouns

The derived nouns undergo morphological processes as - suffixation , infixation and compounding.

I. Suffixation

-a? suffixed adjective : *puNDI* -a? > *puNDia?*
'white' 'a white thing'

-ea? suffixed to verb roots to

nominalization: *jom* 'to eat' -ea?
>*jomea?* 'eatable'

-tea? suffixed to verb root *ol* - tea? > *oltea?* 'with what something is written'
to give meaning of instrumentality

(Herein -te is instrumental suffix and -a is genitive suffix)

II Infixation : -nV- / -pV- is infixed to the verb root to derive a noun

Example

tol 'to bind' > *to nol a* 'bind' *om - pv* > *opom* 'gift'
jo? 'to sweep' > *jono?* 'broomstick' *eraM - pv* > *operaM* 'fight'
-nV- suffixed also to adjectives to form nouns.

Example

mara:M 'great' > *manara:M* 'greatness'
[V can be any vowel]

III Compounding : Sometimes two nouns – one action and one non- action combine together to form compound noun :

<i>med</i>	'eye'	- <i>muLa</i>	'front'	> <i>medmuLa</i>	'face'
<i>mu</i>	'nose'	- <i>uNDu</i>	'hole'	> <i>mu uNDu</i>	'nostril'
<i>siMgi</i>	'sun'	- <i>tur</i>	'rise'	> <i>siMgitur</i>	'east'
<i>simko</i>	'cocks'	- <i>ra?</i>	'cry'	> <i>simkora ?</i>	'dawn'
<i>susun</i>	'to dance'	- <i>haria</i>	'expert'	<i>susunharia</i>	'dancer'

Some words are formed by adding *ni?* Example

akriM-ni? 'sellar' *olca:p-ni?* 'printer'

/ *t-* / is prefixed to the personal nouns to denote the possessive:

hon hopon tai 'my children'

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are realised in three persons- first, second and third and three numbers- singular, dual and plural. The various personal pronouns are mentioned below:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
I	<i>aiM</i>	<i>alaM</i> (inclusive)	<i>abu</i> (inclusive)
II	<i>am</i>	<i>aliM</i> (exclusive)	<i>ale</i> (exclusive)
		<i>aben</i>	<i>ape</i>
III	<i>ae/a:</i>	<i>akiM</i>	<i>ako</i>

Non-personal pronouns

The non-personal pronouns include the demonstratives, interrogatives, etc.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are definite and indefinite. The definite demonstratives take the personal pronouns in the third person as their suffix for the three numbers. The indefinite demonstrative and interrogative pronouns do not inflect for dual and plural numbers.

The three definite demonstrative roots are *-ne*, *en* and *han*.

Example

ne? - i? > ni? *ne - a > nea:*

ne - imin > nimin

The three indefinite demonstrative roots are *-oko*, *-ja*, *jeta*. of these *-oko* qualifies both for the animate and inanimate *ja* and *jeta*

suffix / *-n* / for qualifying the inanimate.

Interrogative

-oko is also used as interrogative. The exclusive root for this is / *ci* /. It is also used as a question marker as well as connective. The common suffix used for deriving these forms are *-kan*, *lekan*, *imin* and *imina*.

Cases

In Mundari there are six cases. They are discussed below with examples.

Nominative

It is unmarked.

Example

<i>ma: tiki isin keda</i>	'mother cooked the rice'
<i>setakiMjom keda</i>	'the(two) dogs ate'
<i>sadamko goi jana</i>	'horses died'

Similarly, dative and accusative cases are also unmarked.

Locative

It is marked by *-re*, *-tare*, *-late* and *-te*

Example

<i>sadom -re</i>	'on/in the horse'	<i>sadom -tare</i>	'near the horse'
<i>sakom -late</i>	'towards the horse'	<i>sakom</i>	'from the horse'

(Locative of motion)

Genitive

It is represented by a number of suffixes. They are used in different contexts.

Example

oLa -rea -duar 'the door of the house' *mon -rea -suku* 'peace of the mind, *Munda -ren - kuDi*
'the wife of the headman'

puku - a - hon 'Puku's son'

The possessive and the partitive genitives are marked by *-a-*

Example

paku-a-oLa 'the house of Paku'

Vocative

It is denoted by the use of *-o*, *-a* and *-hem*

Example

puku - a puka 'oh! Puku' *simi - hem semihem* 'oh! Simi'
sadom - o sadomo 'oh! horse'

Numerals

The numerals carry number -gender category and are inflected for case. They have both nominal and adjectival function. In Mundari, they are cardinal, ordinal and fractionals. The basic numerals are from one to ten. The higher numbers are obtained by additions upto twenty. Still higher numbers are obtained as multiples of twenty. The basic numerals in Mundari are:

<i>mid/miad</i>	'one'	<i>meon</i>	'two'
<i>baria</i>	'three'	<i>upunia</i>	'four'
<i>moNea</i>	'five'	<i>turia</i>	'six'
<i>erea</i>	'seven'	<i>iralia</i>	'eight'
<i>area</i>	'nine'	<i>gelea</i>	'ten'
<i>hisi</i>	'twenty'	<i>bar hisi</i>	'two twenty = forty'
<i>moNehisi</i>	'five twenty = hundred'		

This is usually replaced by *soi*; *tuNDu* 'last'

Proportional numerals are obtained by suffixing *sa?* to the shortened forms of the numerals: *mid*
-sa? 'once' *bar-sa?* 'twice', etc.

The first syllable of the numeral is prefixed to make the distributive numerals:

<i>ba-baria</i>	'in twos'	<i>api-apia</i>	'in threes'
<i>tur-turia</i>	'in sixes', etc.		

Adjectives

Adjectives are of three types – simple, derived and numeral.

Simple adjectives

These are monomorphemic forms and always qualify the following noun

Example

<i>marā:M</i>	'big'	<i>bugin</i>	'good'
<i>puNDia</i>	'white'	<i>lolo</i>	'hot'

Derived adjectives

These are obtained by suffixing *-an* (denoting inanimate and certain qualities), *-akan* (to the verb roots to form adjectives) and *-p-* (for superlatives). Example

<i>bilka</i>	'kindness'	<i>bilkan</i>	'kind'
<i>boro</i>	'fear'	<i>boroan</i>	'fearful'
<i>bul</i>	'to drink heavily'	<i>akan bulakan</i>	'drunk'
<i>marā:M - p-</i>	'great'	<i>mapa ra:M</i>	'very great'

Numeral adjectives

The cardinal forms drop the final vowel to give the adjectival meaning. Details given in the discussion of numerals.

Verbs

Finite verbs

Marker for the finite verb

Finite verbs in Mundari can be formed by suffixing the finite verb marker { *a* } through out all the aspects and tenses. A verb without { *a* } can function as a noun or adjective.

Tense markers

In Mundari tense marker and aspect marker are one and the same. Below are discussed the various tense forms.

Present definite <i>-tana</i>		Present perfect <i>-kana</i>	
<i>ain senotana</i>	'I am going'	<i>ain senakana</i>	'I have gone'
<i>alaM/aliM senotana</i>	'We(two) are going'	<i>aliMsenakana</i>	'we have gone'(incl)
<i>abu (n) senotana</i>	'we(pl) are going' (incl)	<i>ale senakana</i>	'we have gone'(excl)
<i>ale senotana</i>	'we (pl) are going' (excl)	<i>am senakana</i>	'you have gone'
<i>am senotana</i>	'you are going'	<i>akin senakana</i>	'they have gone'
<i>abin/aben senotana</i>	'you(two) are going'		
		Present indefinite <i>-no?</i>	
<i>ape senotana</i>	'you(pl) are going'	<i>ain seno?</i>	'I go'
<i>akin senotana</i>	'they (two)are going'	<i>aliM seno?</i>	'we go' (incl)
<i>ako senotana</i>	'they are going'	<i>ale seno?</i>	'we go' (excl)
		<i>ako seno?</i>	'they (pl) go'
Present perfect continuous <i>-utana</i>		Past tense <i>-jana</i>	
<i>ain senautana</i>	'I have been going'	<i>ain senojana</i>	'I went'
<i>aliM senautana</i>	'we have been going'	<i>aliM senojana</i>	'we (two)went'

<i>am senautana</i>	'you have been going'	<i>ale senojana</i>	'we (pl) went'
<i>akin senautana</i>	'they have been going'	<i>am senojana</i>	'you went'
	(two)		
<i>ako senautana</i>	'they have been going'	<i>ape senojana</i>	'you (pl) went'

Past imperfect - <i>tantaikena</i>		Past perfect - <i>lena</i>	
<i>ain senotantaikena</i>	'I was going'	<i>ain senleno</i>	'I had gone'
<i>aliM senotantaikena</i>	'we were going'	<i>aliM senlena</i>	'we had gone'
<i>abin senotantaikena</i>	'you were going'	<i>akin senlena</i>	'they had gone' (two)
<i>ako senotantaikena</i>	'they (pl) were going'	<i>ako senlena</i>	'they(pl) had gone'

Past perfect continuous - <i>autantaikena</i>		Future - <i>a</i>	
<i>ain senautantaikena</i>	'I had been going'	<i>ain senoa</i>	'I shall go'
<i>aliM senautantaikena</i>	'we had been going(incl)'	<i>aliM senoa</i>	'we shall go(incl)'
<i>ale senautantaikena</i>	'we(excl) had been going'	<i>ako senoa</i>	'they will go'
<i>ako senautantaikena</i>	'they had been going'		

Future imperfect - <i>ta?</i>		Future perfect - <i>ka noa</i>	
<i>ain senta?</i>	'I will be going'	<i>ain senakanoa</i>	'I shall have gone'
<i>ali M senta?</i>	'we will be going(incl)'	<i>ale senakanoa</i>	'we shall have gone'
<i>ale senta?</i>	'we will be going(excl)'	<i>akinsenakanoa</i>	'they(two) shall have gone'
<i>ako senta?</i>	'they will be going'	<i>ako senakanoa</i>	'they(pl) shall have gone'

Future perfect continuous - *auakanaua*

<i>ain senauakanaua</i>	'I shall have been going'
<i>ale senau kanaua</i>	'we shall have been going'
<i>ako senau kanaua</i>	'they(pl) shall have been going'

The markers used in different tenses may be summarised as follows.

Present	definite -	<i>tana</i>
	indefinite -	<i>no?</i>
	perfect -	<i>kana</i>
	perfect continuous -	<i>utana</i>
Past	indefinite -	<i>jana</i>
	imperfect -	<i>tantaikena</i>
	perfect -	<i>lena</i>
	perfect continuous -	<i>autantaikena</i>
Future	indefinite -	<i>a</i>
	imperfect -	<i>ta?</i>
	perfect -	<i>kanoa</i>
	perfect continuous -	<i>auakanaua</i>

Formation of imperatives

Imperatives are formed by suffixing *-m*, *-ben* or *-me* to the root or the stem or to the tense marker for singular, dual or plural.

Example

The intransitive verb stems take *-me*.

-seno? -me 'go' *dub-me* 'sit down'

If there is an inanimate object it takes *-e* before it

aveme 'bring it' *doeme* 'keep it'

In intentional or static future *-m* is used

daltam 'beat it' *do -akam* 'continue to keep it'

For the intransitive, the full tense form of *-akan* is used to differentiate it from transitive, but then the suffix is *-me*

Example

dub-akan-me 'keep sitting'

Others

Emphatic marker *-ge* is used with the marker *-akad* to denote present continuous differentiating them from pure perfects.

Example

senakangeae 'he keeps on going'

sena kanae 'he has gone'

The prohibitive *-alo* is used with the optative *-k* occurring before it and after the root, to denote a request not to do anything.

senalo kom 'please do not go'

Conditional

-do along with *-re* forms conditional mood.

Example

menai? redo 'but if he be'

Negation

Negation is expressed by the marker *-ka* and *-alo*

Example

ka - sena? aiM 'I will not go'

ain alokaseno, 'if he does not go to market'

Causal -te

-te is used with all aspects to denote a cause of action on account of something.

Example

om ke? ate 'on account of having been given'

seno? akante 'on account of going'

Absolutive -ci

Absolutive *-ci* denotes the completion of one act before which something is or is going to be undertaken.

Example

jomkedoi 'after taking the meals'

omki? ci 'after having given'

Possibility

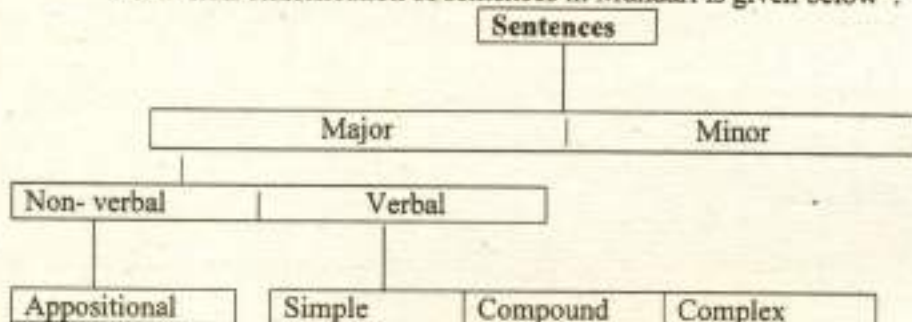
Possibility is expressed by *-hona /-tora /-dara*

Example

<i>ain senojanahonaM</i>	'I would be going'
<i>aliM senojanahonaM</i>	'we would be going'
<i>ain sinakantoraM</i>	'he would be going'
<i>akin senakanadaraM</i>	'perhaps he had gone'

Syntax

An overall classification of sentences in Mundari is given below :



Mundari sentences are phrase-based. Structure and function of a word are somewhat fluid. Most of the grammatical functions are performed by post positions and particles.

Phrases

According to their syntactic functions, phrases may be divided into four main groups – noun phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase and verb phrase.

Noun phrase

It is generally an endocentric construction with a noun as the head and performing the function of a noun in the sentence. Noun phrases are of four types - attributive, additive, appositional and vocative.

Example

<i>ne holo</i>	'this man'	<i>en aisum</i>	'that countryside'
<i>han daru</i>	'far off tree'	<i>isu pura? cauli</i>	'sufficient rice'
<i>mid hoLo</i>	'one man'	<i>moNema hula</i>	'five days'
<i>aina? oLa</i>	'my house' (possessive)		
<i>pukaren kuLi</i>	'Puka's wife'	<i>kulage</i>	'only the tiger (emphatic)'
<i>koLa ci kuLi</i>	'boy or girl'	<i>Dombari buru</i>	'hill Dombari!'
<i>am, bugin koLa</i>	'you, the good boy'	<i>dolapuka</i>	'let us(go) Puka'

Adjective phrases

Mundari has three main types of adjective phrases : 1) with genitival bound-morphemes 2) with participial form and 3) with intensifiers or emphatic particles.

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1) | <i>koLa hona (kisi)</i> | 'the anger of the child' | <i>bir -ra? daru</i> | 'tree of the jungle' |
| | <i>daru -rea? jo</i> | 'the fruit of the tree' | | |
| | <i>hatu ta?ra? oLa</i> | 'house of the village' | | |
| | <i>jom ea?</i> | 'that which is eaten' | | |
| 2) | <i>da?-pare koLa</i> | 'the boy who fills water' | | |
| | <i>hiju akan hoLo</i> | '(the man) having arrived' | | |
| 3) | <i>isu mara:M</i> | 'very big' | <i>huDiMge</i> | 'very small' |
| | <i>oLo? bugin</i> | 'better' | <i>bugin utar</i> | 'best' |
| | <i>maru:Mja?</i> | 'beg perhaps' | <i>hudiM hudiM</i> | 'very small' |

Adverb phrases

Mundari has five major types of adverb phrases formed with relators. They are locative phrases, temporal phrases, phrases of manner, with intensifiers and adverb phrases of reduplicative types.

Examples

<i>kami ete rula</i>	'to return from the work'	<i>holaete</i>	'since yesterday'
<i>musiM</i>	'one day'	<i>mosage</i>	'only once'
<i>en leka</i>	'like that'	<i>sekeDa ge</i>	'soon enough'
<i>hape hape</i>	'quietly'	<i>uku uku</i>	'hiding'

Verb phrases

In Mundari there are three main types of verb phrases, viz., 1) with combination of infinitives 2) with intensifiers and 3) with permissive markers.

Example

<i>jom eTe</i>	'to begin to eat'	<i>kamitaDa</i>	'to continue to work'
<i>nira kadgea -e</i>	'he keeps on running'	<i>dolaseno? aiM</i>	'let me go'

Clauses

Phrases combine into larger structure of clauses. Mundari clauses are divided as 1) principal, 2) subordinate and 3) co-ordinate.

Example

Principal clause

<i>jom nu jadam?</i>	'have you taken meals?'
<i>omapeaiM</i>	'I shall give (it) to you'
<i>hasutana</i>	'(it) pains' <i>jomnu hobajana</i> 'meal was finished'

Subordinate clauses

In Mundari there are five types of subordinate clauses – relative, adverbial, conditional, restrictive and adjectival.

Example

<i>sidakena</i>	'he who came first' (relative)
<i>kamitanre alom taimena</i>	'do not lag behind when you work' (adverbial)
<i>kamitante lagajanae</i>	'owing to work he has been tired' (causal)
<i>ramu te sen re ma?e le lo?ma</i>	'if you go to Ramu he will see you' (conditional)
<i>namkeddo</i>	'as for having found' (restrictive)

Co-ordinate clause

A coordinate clause is not different from a principal clause which is joined to another clause with the help of certain connectives 'free or bound' forming coordinate clauses.

Free *oDo, ad, ado?, har, te, ate, re, do, and ci*

Bound *-re, -te, -do, -ate* used with *-ge* or *-o ir* both for emphasis.

Sentence formation

The three sentence types – simple, compound and complex found in this language are discussed below:

Simple sentences

Any sentence with only one independent clause with a single subject and finite verb is a simple sentence. A single sentence may be statement, question, command or exclamation. Each of them may take any of the two voices and they conform to either affirmative or negative.

Compound sentences

Sentences which take more than one principal clause are compound sentences. In Mundari, compound sentences may be either with connector or without connector.

Example

neta? re aiMba:riḡe hoLo -do mena? ia 'here I (stay) all alone it is I who is the human being'
rajaokaiM boroia mente kaḡi jadae 'I will not be afraid even of the king, he said like this'

Complex sentences

Sentences which have one independent clause and one or more subordinate clauses are complex sentences. A complex sentence has only one subject and one finite verb.

mero m gupitanae enta dura:Mga?e 'he is grazing the goats, where he is singing'
meromgupitanta? dura:M ga 'he sings where he is grazing the goats'

Brief sociolinguistic information

This language is considered as a fullfledged autonomous language by its speakers on two grounds, namely, not only for its intrinsic distance from all other languages of the area but also for its development as a tool of advanced civilisation.

The speakers of Mundari language living in Orissa state use the Oriya script for writing Mundari language whereas those in Bihar use Devanagari script while some others use Roman script also for writing in this language. Hence there is no unified system of orthographic representation for this language.

This language is in the process of being standardised. Text books in Mundari and other subjects are produced in this language as well magazines and books of popular reading are also published. All India Radio broadcasts programmes in this language. Grammars and dictionaries are available in this language.

Some of the native speakers of this language have produced some literary works in Mundari. It is interesting to note that this language is used in rituals and other cultural functions of the Hindus and Christians, apart from using it in their native religious rituals. Christian Missionaries have translated the New Testament of the Bible in this language.

This speech community is a scheduled tribe closely related to other well known tribes such as Santal, Ho, Bhumij and others. Information on the dialect situation of Mundari language is scarce, although Sten Konow (Grierson, 1906) had noted that in general the Mundari dialect situation was like Santali, that is, there were influences of Aryan language on it, otherwise the most idiomatic Mundari was noted to be spoken in a tract of land in Bihar. John J. Gumperz (in Zide, 1969) is of the view that Mundari and neighbouring Hindi dialects could be said to have much of their grammar common.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Mundari	Sl. No	English	Mundari
1	air	<i>hoyo</i>	44	widow	<i>raNDira</i>
2	ashes	<i>toro?e</i>	45	wife	<i>?ira</i>
3	cloud	<i>rimil</i>	46	woman	<i>ira</i>
4	cold	<i>rabaM</i>	47	ant	<i>TonTo</i>
5	darkness	<i>nubbe</i>	48	bird	<i>o:ye</i>
6	earth	<i>disum</i>	49	cat	<i>bilei</i>
7	eclipse	<i>singi grahan</i>	50	claw	<i>juwa</i>
8	fire	<i>sengil</i>	51	cock	<i>si:m</i>
9	fog	<i>puke:T</i>	52	cow	<i>uri</i>
10	forest	<i>buru</i>	53	dog	<i>sita</i>
11	hill	<i>huRiMburu</i>	54	egg	<i>jyarom</i>
12	ice	<i>aril</i>	55	feather	<i>apoRob</i>
13	moon	<i>chaNDu</i>	56	fish	<i>hai</i>
14	mountain	<i>gaRa</i>	57	fly	<i>apir</i>
15	rain	<i>gama</i>	58	fox	<i>tuyu</i>
16	river	<i>marangaRa</i>	59	goat	<i>merom</i>
17	road	<i>soRopo</i>	60	grease	<i>itil</i>
18	sand	<i>gitil</i>	61	guts	<i>puTTa</i>
19	wing	<i>hoyo</i>	62	horn	<i>diriM</i>
20	wood	<i>sa:M</i>	63	back	<i>duya</i>
21	baby	<i>huRiMmai</i>	64	belly	<i>la:i</i>
22	boy	<i>babu</i>	65	blood	<i>mayom</i>
23	bride	<i>nama?ira</i>	66	body	<i>homo</i>
24	bride groom	<i>namakua</i>	67	bone	<i>jaM</i>
25	brother	<i>unDi bokko</i>	68	breast	<i>numu</i>
26	child	<i>hon</i>	69	chest	<i>kwem</i>
27	daughter	<i>mai</i>	70	car	<i>lutur</i>
28	father	<i>baM</i>	71	eye	<i>me:D</i>
29	friend	<i>sango</i>	72	face	<i>me:?D muwen</i>
30	girl	<i>mai</i>	73	fever	<i>ha:Ssu</i>
31	husband	<i>kua</i>	74	finger	<i>anguDi</i>
32	male	<i>kua</i>	75	flesh	<i>jilu</i>
33	man	<i>ho</i>	76	foot	<i>talka</i>
34	marriage	<i>a:ndi</i>	77	hair	<i>baLLe</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>kume</i>	78	hand	<i>ti</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>kumekui</i>	79	head	<i>bo</i>
37	mother	<i>ma</i>	80	heart	<i>hrudoyo</i>
38	nephew	<i>honteseD</i>	81	leg	<i>kaTTa</i>
39	niece	<i>hontekui</i>	82	lip	<i>tumRi</i>
40	old man	<i>buReho</i>	83	liver	<i>pakestoDi</i>
41	sister	<i>bokomkui</i>	84	lung	<i>puspus</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>tingakui</i>	85	mouth	<i>a</i>
43	son	<i>ba:bu</i>	86	neck	<i>tuTke</i>
			87	nose	<i>muTTe</i>

88	spine	<i>duyapanjara</i>	136	white	<i>punDi</i>
89	tongue	<i>ale</i>	137	yellow	<i>sasaM</i>
90	tooth	<i>DaTTa</i>	138	hungry	<i>range</i>
91	waist	<i>tiġhoNTi</i>	139	love	<i>pya:r</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo?</i>	140	pain	<i>hasu</i>
93	liquor	<i>arki</i>	141	true	<i>Ti:ki</i>
94	milk	<i>tu?a</i>	142	wish	<i>sanaM</i>
95	salt	<i>buluM</i>	143	ink	<i>siyai</i>
96	smoke	<i>sukkul</i>	144	school	<i>isku:l</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>cauli</i>	145	student	<i>isku:lhon</i>
98	bed	<i>tarkom</i>	146	teacher	<i>ma:sTor</i>
99	door	<i>silping</i>	147	bullet	<i>guli</i>
100	house	<i>u?a</i>	148	first	<i>maRaM</i>
101	roof	<i>kecco</i>	149	second	<i>tayom</i>
102	rope	<i>bayer</i>	150	third	<i>mayam</i>
103	wall	<i>ka:nto</i>	151	one	<i>mi?aD</i>
104	well	<i>kuē</i>	152	two	<i>hariya</i>
105	window	<i>jorka</i>	153	three	<i>apiye</i>
106	flower	<i>ba</i>	154	four	<i>upuniye</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo?</i>	155	five	<i>moneya</i>
108	garden	<i>ba?bagan</i>	156	ten	<i>geleya</i>
109	grass	<i>tasa:D</i>	157	sixteen	<i>gelturui</i>
110	guava	<i>towa jo</i>	158	twenty	<i>hisi</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>kaTuR</i>	159	forty	<i>ba:rhisi</i>
112	leaf	<i>sakam</i>	160	do	<i>paiTi</i>
113	lily	<i>salukba</i>	161	pull	<i>ore</i>
114	mango	<i>uLLi</i>	162	push	<i>udur</i>
115	paddy	<i>babba</i>	163	put	<i>em</i>
116	plough	<i>hail</i>	164	rub	<i>baba:ta</i>
117	potato	<i>aLLu</i>	165	sell	<i>akariM</i>
118	root	<i>sanga</i>	166	wash	<i>sapha</i>
119	sweet	<i>nagoD</i>	167	work	<i>paity</i>
120	tree	<i>daru</i>	168	sing	<i>dureM</i>
121	vegetable	<i>utu</i>	169	bring	<i>agui</i>
122	wheel	<i>chakka</i>	170	climb	<i>rakka</i>
123	bitter	<i>me:r</i>	171	come	<i>hiju</i>
124	black	<i>hende</i>	172	give	<i>ome</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:Na</i>	173	go	<i>seno?</i>
126	blue	<i>ni:la</i>	174	jump	<i>upi</i>
127	bright	<i>maskal</i>	175	vomit	<i>uLLe</i>
128	brown	<i>ara?</i>	176	say	<i>kaji</i>
129	coldness	<i>rabaM</i>	177	write	<i>oLLe</i>
130	green	<i>seka:mraM</i>	178	touch	<i>juTiD</i>
131	hot	<i>rag</i>	179	bathe	<i>uDa</i>
132	light	<i>ma:skal</i>	180	all	<i>saben</i>
133	red	<i>ara?</i>	181	bad	<i>kara:b</i>
134	sour	<i>moro?e</i>	182	big	<i>maraM</i>
135	sweet	<i>nagoD</i>	183	dirty	<i>moiRa</i>

184	dry	<i>ro?</i>	232	my	<i>ayā</i>
185	few	<i>huDiM</i>	233	our	<i>abuwe</i>
186	full	<i>pure?</i>	234	not	<i>ka</i>
187	good	<i>baniye</i>	235	so/thus	<i>ne?nika</i>
188	hand	<i>ti</i>	236	that	<i>ina</i>
189	honest	<i>bani?</i>	237	to them	<i>akoke</i>
190	long	<i>jiliM</i>	238	then	<i>ina:yte</i>
191	many	<i>isupure?</i>	239	those	<i>inkue</i>
192	narrow	<i>suRi</i>	240	there	<i>inta?ve</i>
193	new	<i>nama</i>	241	they	<i>ako</i>
194	old	<i>pappa:ri</i>	242	their	<i>akua</i>
195	raw	<i>bere:l</i>	243	these	<i>ninako</i>
196	rotten	<i>rappu:T</i>	244	to us	<i>abuke</i>
197	east	<i>singitu:r</i>	245	we	<i>abu</i>
198	end	<i>chaba</i>	246	what	<i>cina</i>
199	far	<i>sangi</i>	247	when	<i>cimiteM</i>
200	left	<i>linga</i>	248	where	<i>okonta</i>
201	middle	<i>taLLa</i>	249	who	<i>okoi</i>
202	near	<i>jappa</i>	250	why	<i>cina:mente</i>
203	north	<i>uttur</i>			
204	out	<i>onDoM</i>			
205	right/side/hand	<i>jompa</i>			
206	south	<i>dokkino</i>			
207	again	<i>oDomise</i>			
208	always	<i>sabai imiteM</i>			
209	before	<i>ayera:yte</i>			
210	daily	<i>sabedin</i>			
211	day	<i>singi</i>			
212	evening	<i>ayu:b</i>			
213	fast/quick	<i>anja</i>			
214	afterwards	<i>en tayom tayom</i>			
215	behind	<i>tayom</i>			
216	between	<i>taLLa</i>			
217	by	<i>dwa:ra</i>			
218	down	<i>lata:r</i>			
219	for	<i>lagiD</i>			
220	from	<i>ta:y</i>			
221	he, she	<i>a:ye</i>			
222	to her, to him	<i>a:yeke</i>			
223	here	<i>nita</i>			
224	his/her	<i>aya</i>			
225	how	<i>cilike</i>			
226	I	<i>aī</i>			
227	it/this	<i>nina</i>			
228	to it/to this	<i>ninake</i>			
229	its/of this	<i>niye</i>			
230	like	<i>inka</i>			
231	to me	<i>aīke</i>			

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PARENGI

R.Senkuttuvan

Introduction

Family affiliation

The Parengi belongs to southern group of Munda languages. Parengi and the three other upper Munda languages like Kharia, Juang and Saora form the Intermediary Munda Group as they agree more with Lower Munda than with Korku-Kherwari.

Location

Parengi is spoken in the district of Koraput of Orissa. The last available speakers' strength of Parengi is that as appeared in 1961 Census. Parengi is not returned in the censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991. In the census of 1961 'Parengi' was returned by 767 speakers the break ups are as under:

	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
India	767	417	350	761	413	348	6	4	2
Orissa	767	417	350	761	413	348	6	4	2

There is no record for return of bilingualism of 'Parengi' mother tongue. The field observation on the status of bilingualism among the Parengas has been as under:

The 'Parenga' people speak 'Desia' in the intra- and inter-community communication network and while interacting with the outsiders the youngsters prefer using "Oriya" more as the bilingual language. It has been observed that the Parenga people are gradually switching over to Oriya in their intergroup communication.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowel: 5- vowel with short and long variations

	front	central	back
High	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
Mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
Low		<i>a a:</i>	

Consonant - 22 - consonant-types

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops							
Unasp	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Asp.	<i>bh</i>						
Affricate					<i>c ʃ</i>		
Fricative			<i>s</i>	<i>S</i>			
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Semi vowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Suprasegmentals

Nasalisation is phonemic in Parengi /~/

Major allophonic variations

Vowels

/i/ It has three allophones [i.] [I] [i]

[i.] The high front unrounded half long vowel occurs finally

/atti/	[atti.]	'elephant'
/ali/	[ali.]	'liquor'

[I] The high front unrounded short vowel occurs in between consonants

/sisi/	[sIsi]	'flesh'
/e:kkIn/	[e:kkIn]	'sun'

[i] occurs elsewhere

/ali/	[ali]	'liquor'
/amli/	[amli]	'sour'

/e/ It has two allophones [E.] and [e].

[E.] The lower-mid front unrounded half long vowel occurs in the final position and in between consonants.

Example

/lakke/	[lAkkE.]	'sand'
/aMketta/	[amkEtta:]	'moon'

[e] The higher -mid unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/ekka:row/	[ekka:ru]	'eleven'
------------	-----------	----------

/a/ It has three allophones [A], [a.] and [a]

[A] The low mid back unrounded short vowel occurs in between consonants.

/arasi/	[arAsi]	'broker'
/tarū/	[tArū]	'star'

[a.] The low central unrounded half long vowel occurs in final position.

/ara/	[ara.]	'roof'
/jilla/	[jilla.]	'district'

[a] The low central unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/areM/	[areM]	'stone'
/aba:/	[aba:]	'father'

/o/ It has two allophones [u] and [O]

[u] The mean mid back rounded short vowel is produced in the same way as the vowel /o/ except the tongue height which occurs in between consonants.

/sona:/	[suana:]	'jewel'
/lobo:/	[lubo:]	'clay'

[O] The higher mid back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/ola:/	[Ola:]	'leaf'
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/u/ It has two allophones [w] and [u]

[w] Lower back rounded short vowel is produced same as the vowel [u] except the tongue height which is lower high which occurs in between consonants.

/kukku:/	[kwkku:]	'pot'
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[u] Lower back rounded short vowel, occurs elsewhere.

/uTa:/	[uTa:]	'mango'
/ulli/	[ulli]	'onion'

Phonemic distribution

Vowels

All the vowel phonemes occur initially, medially and finally. Below are exemplified the occurrences.

Initial			Medial			Final	
/i/	/iMke:r/	'bride'	/sisi/	'flesh'		/buddi/	'ashes'
/ɪ/	/i:Mko:/	'uncooked rice'	/ni:ni/	'mother's sister'		/si:/	'hand'
/e/	/ekka:ro/	'eleven'	/aMketta:/	'moon'		/pu:roVa:re/	'flood'
/ɛ:/	/e:kkin/	'sun'	/anke:ta:/	'moon light'		/maNDe:/	'knee'
/a/	/atti/	'elephant'	/arasi/	'broker'		/are/	'roof'
/ɑ:/	/a:tta:/	'father's sister'	/ara:sittete/	'under'		/ara:/	'tree'
/o/	/ola:/	'leaf'	/sona:/	'jewel'		/bhuddo/	'fear'
/o:/	/o:la:/	'bread'	/so:na:l/	'ear ring'		/loto:/	'clay'
/u/	/uNDu:t/	'ladder'	/asuTra:/	'little'		/silukku/	'silk'
/u:/	/u:ND/	'camel'	/asu:TTa:/	'baby'		/kuku:/	'pot'

Consonants

All the consonant phonemes except /t, m, R, w/ occur in the initial position and except /bh, d, g, c, j, S and N/ occur in the final position. In the word-medial position all the consonant phonemes are seen to occur.

Initial			Medial			Final	
/p/	/popssa/	'heart'	/urapuTTa/	'body'		/aru:p/	'beast'
/b/	/biye:l/	'ground'	/lolo/	'clay'		/la:b/	'one'
/bh/	/bhusu:r/	'salt'	/bhuhhu/	'snake'		.....	
/t/	/tana:/	'police station'	/montiriDi/	'female'		/kilje:pkiti/	'name of the monk'
/d/	/duNDa:/	'urine'	/sarkodidas/	'ninety'		.....	
/T/	.....		/koTTake/	'bed'		/lu:T/	'ear'
/D/	/Da:NDa:/	'sugar candy'	/ko:DDa:ne/	---		/Do:ND/	'danger'
/k/	/kirru/	'die'	/kikki/	'father's brother'		/ji:k/	'leg'
/g/	/gaDiya:/	'evening'	/gugudujo:t/	'cough'		.....	
/c/	/cilli/	'wheel'	/picca:l/	'kidney'		.....	
/j/	/jipo:n/	'life'	/ka:Mji/	'bottle'		.....	
/s/	/sakka:/	'brother'	/sisi/	'flesh'		/bisa:s/	'count'
/S/	/So:ti/	'true'	/aSu:/	'fever'		.....	
/m/	/ma:n/	'eye'	/ma:me/	'maternal uncle'		/tarum/	'sky'
/n/	/ni:ni/	'paternal aunt'	/ka:ndi/	'wrist'		/ma:n/	'eye'
/M/	.....		/aMketta:/	'moon'		/loru:M/	'oil'
/l/	/lu:t/	'ear'	/ala:/	'pig tail'		/jel/	'speak'
/r/	/ru:TTi/	'tiffin'	/kirru/	'die'		/i:r/	'jump-up'
/R/	.....		/poRRa:/	'parrot'		.....	
/w/	.....		/jwō/	'son-in-law'		/ba:row/	'twelve'
/y/	/yo:Dō/	'send'	/a:ya:/	'mother'		/barttaRkko:y/	'again'

Consonant clusters

In Parengi consonantal clusters are two-member and three-member. Consonantal clusters are more frequent in the word-medial position in comparison to the word-initial. In the word-final position no consonantal cluster is available.

Initial two-member consonant clusters

/dr-/	/dre:w/	'spoon'
/Dw-/	/Dwa:di/	'washerman'
/Dr-/	/Drukka:/	'tiger'
/sk-/	/sku:laga:/	'school'

Medial two-member consonant clusters

/pT-/	/karapTa:ru/	'alone'
/-pD-/	/pupupDupnu/	'bite'
/-pS-/	/pOpSSa/	'heart'
/-bD-/	/ba:bDukka:/	'headache'
/-td-/	/Suritdarba:/	'sunflower'
/-tk-/	/potka:Di/	'flag'
/-dr-/	/dirudrule/	'slow'
/-Tr-/	/poTridukku:/	'pregnant woman'
/-Ti-/	/gaTii/	'neck'
/-TR-/	/PuTRa/	'belly'
/kd-/	/ne:kdokdarmain/	'pain'
/-kD-/	/lukDa:ITa:/	'more'
/-kS-/	/rikSa:/	'rickshaw'
/-St-/	/gumuSta:diyi/	'clerk'
/-Sd-/	/ke:SdarTukku/	'court'
/-ST-/	/ma:STo:rDi/	'teacher'
/-SD-/	/ro:SDi/	'aluminium'
/-mp-/	/limpu/	'lemon'
/-mt-/	/Somti/	'relatives'
/-ms-/	/dulumsala/	'cowshed'
/-nt-/	/pantarow/	'fifteen'
/-nd-/	/tindinna:ra:/	'tamarind tree'
/-nD-/	/darinDugaga:/	'cooked rice'
/-ng-/	/ma:ngunukki/	'your'
/-ns-/	/karaiya:pansiyar/	'dhoti'
/-nm/	/kanmo:n/	'pig'
/-nl-/	/jo:nla:/	'twin'
/-nM-/	/da:rrinMna:/	'tears of the eye'
/-ND-/	/pa:NDo:yl/	'shoe'
/-NR-/	/kuNRa/	'circle'
/-Nj-/	/ka:Nji/	'bottle'
/-Ns-/	/Sansanganooa/	'yellow'
/-Mt-/	/maMtaya:lul/	'beggar'
/-Mk-/	/pa:Mke/	'hall'
/-Mn/	/go:Mna/	'dark'
/-rp-/	/potumtarpsa:/	'lotus'
/-rT-/	/ko:rTu/	'court'

/-rD-/	/ma:sTo:rDi/	'teacher'
/-rk-/	/Styð:Durka:/	'lion'
/-re-/	/kurei/	'bench'
/-rm-/	/de:rmokt:ru/	'ready'
/-rs-/	/mersutta:yidu/	'arrive'
/-wk-/	/sawka:rDi/	'money lender'
/-lT-/	/palTiyeka:/	'bucket'
/-lD-/	/rayalDi/	'train'

Medial three member consonant clusters

/-kDT-/	/Da:kDTergana:/	'hospital'
/-STT-/	/deSTTukku/	'world'
/-ncc-/	/Kuncci/	'lock'
/-rDD-/	/Soga:rDDi/	'bullock cart'
/-rkk-/	/carkka:Di/	'window'
/-ytt-/	/moytto:t/	'friend'

Syllable

The words in 'Parengi' consist of one to six syllables. In each syllable, the vowel is the peak of sonority and is called the nucleus of the syllable and it is preceded and followed by one or more consonants called onset and coda respectively. The syllable ending with a vowel is open syllable and that ending with a consonant is a close syllable.

In the following passage the syllabic structure in different types of words is presented

Monosyllabic words

(a) open syllable (C)CV	(b) close syllable CVC (C)	
CV /Da:/	CVC /bay/	'grand mother'
CCV /sla:/	CVC /ba:b/	'head'
	CVCC /Do:ND/	'danger'
	VCC /u:ND/	'camel'

Disyllabic words

Open syllable (C) (C) V (C) - CV				
VC - CV	/onsi/	'ring'	CVC-CV /baNDa:/	'thumb'
CV - CV	/ga:Di/	'bus'	CVCC-V /Da:NDa:/	'sugar candy'
CVC-CV	/bansi/	'flute'		
Close syllable (C)V (V) (C) - CVC				
V-CVC	/aru:p/	'beast'	CVC-CVC /mokkam/	'face'
CV-CVC	/ru-ma:M/	'cat'	CVC-CVC /be:MriM/	'loan'
CV-CVC	/gonun/	'leper'	CVV-CVC /balDam/	'husband'

Trisyllabic words

(a) Open syllable	CV(C)-CV (C)-CV		
CV-CV-CV- /gamaga/	'wheat'	CVC-CVC-CV /lupsakka:/	'elder brother'
CV-CV-CV- /ge:yire/	'visit'		
CV-CV-CV- /gana:Di/	'blind'	CVC-CV-CV /Dukka:Du:/	'kind'
CV-CV-CV /gaDiya:/	'evening'		
CVC-CV-CV /boTTuva:/	'bag'		

(b) Close syllable

CV-CVC-CVC /kugitta:M/ 'cow'
CCV-CV-CV /sku:laga:/ 'school'
CV-CV-CVC /ekka:row/ 'eleven'

Quadri syllable

Open syllable (C) CVC(C)-CV(C)-CV-CV
CV-CV-CV-CV /bo-puDunga/ 'bold'

CCV-CV-CV-CV /Truva:pupū:/ 'orphan'
CVC-CVC-CV-CV /Da:kko:rkuyt/ 'nurse'
CVCC-CVC-CV-CV /da:kDTergana:/ 'hospital'

Close syllable (C)VC(C)-CV(C)-CV-CVC
CVC-CV-CV-CVC /Sarkodidas/ 'ninety'
CV-CV-CV-CVC /boyira:lo:k/ 'fat'

VCC-CVC-CV-CVC /uNDro:klorūm/ 'honey'

Five syllable words
(a) Open syllable CV-CV(C)-CV-CVC-CV
CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV /Debirukoty:/ 'left side'
CV-CVC-CV-CV-CV /joDe:kkanava:/ 'co-wife'

(b) Close-syllable Nil

Six syllable words
Open syllable CV-CV(V)-CV-CV(C)-CV-CV
CV-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV /kuricitukokko:/ 'sit down'
CV-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV /joporura:Dukku/ 'fat'
CV-CVV-CV-CVC-CV-CV /karaiya:pansiya:/ 'dhoti'

Morphophonemics

When morphemes or words come together some of the phonemes get changed or deleted. Sometimes, new phonemes are inserted.

(i) $a \rightarrow \phi - a$

Short vowel a becomes ϕ when it occurs before long vowel a :

Example

/le:Mka:-ara:/ $\rightarrow$ /le:Mka:ra/ 'teak tree'

(2) $T \rightarrow k > d$

T becomes k before 'd'

/lu:T-dukka:/ $\rightarrow$ /lu:kdukka:/ 'ear ache'

(3) $[\phi] \rightarrow kk > k$

/asuDa-ka:TTi/ $\rightarrow$ /asuDa kka:TTi/ 'pen knife'

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns in Parengi are distinguished by gender, number and case.

(a) Gender

Categorisation of gender is marked by the two different words in case of human nouns. As for example

Masculine		Feminine	
/aba:/	'father'	/a:ya/	'mother'
/Sakka:/	'brother'	/dona:n/	'sister'
/DINDugu/	'son'	/koDa:n/	'daughter'
/baiDam/	'husband'	/kadama:/	'wife'
/kikki/	'father's brother'	/a:ta:/	'father's sister'

(b) Number

Numbers are distinguished for singular and plural and their respective markers are *-na* and *-k* *-Duge* respectively. Below are exemplified the use of number markers:

Singular	<i>-na</i>	'one'	
	/enDenna kuso:t/		'this is a dog'
	/enDenna a:sun/		'this is a house'
Plural	<i>-k, -Duge</i>		
	/ko:so:k kummu:re/		'dogs bark'
	/jOTe:k ruma:M Duge/		'here are two cats'
	/jOTe:k Duge asun/		'these are two houses'
	/ya:r miM Duge aSun/		'these are my houses'
	/min aSun jOTek Duge asuTTa/		'I have two small houses'

(c) Case

Cases are six- nominative or agentive, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. Below are noted the respective case markers.

Cases	Markers
Nominative/Agentive	- ϕ
Accusative	- Do:m
Instrumental	- ciM
Ablative	- Daiyū
Genitive	- nū
Locative	- De

The case markers are used both with the nouns and the pronouns. Below are shown the uses of the respective case markers.

Cases	Markers	Examples
Nominative/Agentive	ϕ	/miMnake asu:niM/ 'I am in my house' /miMnake ako:DuM/ 'I am in my cart'
Accusative	- Do:m 'to'	/aneMkā:Ruga:Do:m/ 'open the door' /aneMkā:naitey Do:m/ 'close the door'
Instrumental	- ciM 'by, with'	/mina:siM koro:t ma:nDugeciM/ 'I saw with my eyes'
Ablative	- Daiyū 'from'	/noM asuMalim Daiyū irusaiyū/ 'he jumped from the top of the house'

Genitive	- nū	'of'	/ara:nū Kenda/	'branch of tree'
			/ma:me nū kuyita:M/	'maternal uncle's cow'
Locative	- De	'at'	/lobokko De kinaina:ge/	'sit on the ground'
			/te:ble De tina:Mna:ge/	'stand on the table'

Pronouns

A pronoun is a noun substitute. In Parengi there are three classes of pronouns. These are: personal, demonstrative and interrogative.

Personal pronoun

The personal pronouns are of three types: first personal, second personal and third personal. The first personal refers to the speaker, the second personal refers to the hearer and the third personal to the person or object other than the speaker and the hearer. While the first and the second personal pronouns are definite, the third person may be either definite or indefinite.

The personal pronouns are the following:

I personal pronoun	/mi:M/	'I'	/mi:M/	'we'
II personal pronoun	/ma:M/	'you'	/bele:M/	'you' (plural)
III personal pronoun	/ē/	'he'	/na:M/	'they'
	/e/	'she'		

Below are presented the uses of the personal pronominal formations in the higher construction.

I personal pronoun:	/mi:M nake aSun:M/	'I am in my house'
	/mi:M indi asu:nDukku/	'we stay in this house'
II personal pronoun:	/ma:M ka:m paitti ne:rdə:/	'you do not work'
	/bele:M paitti ne:rdə:/	'you(pl) do not work'
III personal pronoun:	/ēnd aba:ni/	'he is my father'
	/ēnd a:y:ni/	'she is my mother'
	/no:M enniM salari:M/	'they will ask me'
	/no:M non nagiyu/	'they see them'

Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns are of proximate and remote types. Proximate demonstrative pronouns refer to the being or object present nearer the speaker and the remote one refers to the being or object existing away from the speaker.

The demonstrative pronominal formations are the following

Proximate demonstrative	-Singular	/ende/	'this'
	Plural	/ya:r/	'these'
Remote demonstrative	-Singular	/endu/	'that'
	Plural	nil	

Below are exemplified the uses of the demonstrative pronominal bases in the higher construction

Proximate demonstrative	-	/ende llyō:niM/	'this is my field'
		/ya:r Duge asu:n/	'these are my houses'
Remote demonstrative	-	/endu maRRa:ni/	'that man'
		/endu coNDatanali/	'that bull'
Interrogative pronoun		/-mo:y/	'who?'
		/na:n mo:y/	'who is he?'
		/mo:y kulo:n/	'who knows?'

Adjectives

Adjectives precede the nouns in the construction. Also, there are certain adjectives which do not require the following nouns. These are single morpheme words. Example

/tile/ 'old man' /kuyila/ 'old woman'

/nima:NDa:/ 'good boy'

Adjectives available in the data are of two types : attributive and numeral. Example

Attributive	-	/asal ko:da/	'white horse'
		/asal tara/	'dark cloud'
Numeral	-	/joTek ku so:r/	'there are two dogs'
		/ya:r Duge asu:n/	'these are my houses'

Numerals

The numerals are divided into -cardinals and ordinals.

Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals are the primary numeral. Example

/la:b/	'one'	/Duyi/	'two'	/ti:n/	'three'	/ca:ri/	'four'
/panj/	'five'	/co:/	'six'	/Sa:t/	'seven'	/a:T/	'eight'
/nō:/	'nine'	/to:s/	'ten'				

Ordinal numerals

/ameMna:/ 'first'

Besides these, there is a category of derived numerals which are formed by conjoining the primary numerals as shown below.

a) The additive methods. Example

/ekka:row/	'eleven'	/ba:row/	'twelve'
/te:row/	'thirteen'	/sawtow/	'fourteen'
/pantarow/	'fifteen'	/collow/	'sixteen'
/sattarow/	'seventeen'	/aTTYow/	'eighteen'
/onise/	'nineteen'	/koDe/	'twenty'

b) The multiplicative method. Example

/tiri:s/	'thirty'(10x3)	/sali:s/	'forty' (10x4)	
		/pocca:s/	'fifty'(10x5)	/catte:s/ 'sixty' (10x6)
		/sattu:s/	'seventy'(10x7)	

Numerals in Parengi are mostly borrowed from Oriya language.

Verbs

Verbs are inflected for tense and mood in Parengi. The verbs in Parengi are divided into finite and non-finite. The finite verbs are inflected for person and number while the non-finite counter-part does not.

Finite verbs

Tenses

In 'Parengi' the three-tier tenses are - past, present and future. Below are mentioned the respective tense markers

Past tense :	-u
Present tense :	-Du
Future tense :	-nittu

The use of tense markers in the construction are shown below:

Past tense :	<i>/eru la:aru Dom/</i>	'he went away'
	<i>/ayū ganū ne:nu/</i>	'I caught the fish'
	<i>/miM uDupun kailō:nainegairai/</i>	'I came yesterday'
Present tense :	<i>/mindī ditta:Du a SuniM/</i>	'I go home'
	<i>/mindī ditta:Du oD keye/</i>	'I go there'
	<i>/maniyo: ditta:Du ODikēye/</i>	'we go there'
Future tense:	<i>/no:nittu nō /</i>	'she will go'
	<i>/no:nittu no: /</i>	'he will go'
	<i>/no:Mkisuru nittu/</i>	'they will go'

Parengi has three persons namely, first, second and third; but realized in two-tier expressions as first and second –third. The persons are distinguished by two- numbers namely, singular and plural. Below are exemplified uses

First person singular -	<i>/mi:M neppadaiyu nekku/</i>	'we are reading'
	<i>/mi:M nejuma:n nekku/</i>	'we are eating'
First person plural -	<i>/mi:M bile:M le:k neppadaiyu/</i>	'we are reading'
	<i>/mi:M iNDi asu:nDukku/</i>	'we stay in this house'
Other person singular -	<i>/lē neppadaiya/</i>	'he is reading'
(second – third together)	<i>/lē neraiyu/</i>	'he is coming'
	<i>/maMuDa: lejumulekku/</i>	'you are eating a mango'
Other person plural-	<i>/naiM uDa lejumulekku/</i>	'you are eating a mango'
	<i>/no:Mki neppadaiyu/</i>	'they are reading'
	<i>/no:Mki uDa jomure:/</i>	'they are eating a mango'

Aspect:

Aspects are of three types: perfect, progressive and habitual. Below are presented uses of aspects in Parengi.

Perfect aspect	<i>/mi:M So:r Diki nekkiyu/</i>	'we have seen the thief'
	<i>/mi:M Danga: dhonu neru/</i>	'we have done the work'
Progressive aspect	<i>/mi:M neppadaiyu nekku/</i>	'we are reading'
	<i>/mi:M obey nerai/</i>	'we are coming'
	<i>/ja:TTiM ne:koru nekuru/</i>	'I was sleeping all the day'
	<i>/bupo:M Di part pODEyu Dukku/</i>	'the child was reading'
	<i>/mi:M paiTTi orDa: /</i>	'we will not be working'
	<i>/no:M paiTTi orDa: /</i>	'he will not be working'
	<i>/ariaMkkuDi paiTTi o:rDa:/</i>	'she will not be working'
Habitual Aspect	<i>/mi:M uDuppu:r ne:ru nekku nitta: noDu /</i>	'we sleep at night'
	<i>/mi:M ne:ru asuM le:bai uDu/</i>	'I go to the field in the evening'

Moods

There are five moods in 'Parengi'. These are indicative, imperative, interrogative, desiderative and obligative. Below are exemplified the different types of moods.

Indicative Mood :	<i>/non asu:n po:y a:y/</i>	'he came out of the house'
(expression of statement)	<i>/eru la: aru Da:M/</i>	'he went away'

Imperative mood:	/asu:n bai/	'come home'
(expression of commands and request)	/Te:ble detina:M na:ge/	'stand on the table'
	/bo:y pOTiye:n nū/	'read this book'
Interrogative mood:	/ma:M uDupuM Dugai makkuru/	'where were you yesterday?'
(expression of question)	/ettu nai palTTi Don mo:ru/	'who will give money to you?'
Desiderative Mood :	/miM obey nerai/	'I may come'
(expression of desire to carryout action)	/miM obey enu no:ru/	'I may go'
Obligative mood :	/Satto:obey nerai/	'I should come'
(expression of compulsion)	/ma:M satte:y eunmo:ru/	'you must go'
Non-finite verb	The non-finite verbs may be divided into : infinitive, conditional and temporal.	
Infinitives	/obey mon Dukka/	'I want to come'
Conditional	/mi:M nakta:r mi:M na:tta:y/	'if I am well I will come tomorrow'
Temporal	/bOkONRa:Di baiy/	'come after 4'O clock'

Adverbs

Adverbs in Parengi are semantically categorized into adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner. Below are exemplified the three categories of adverbs:

Adverb of time	/miM uDupun kulō:nai negairai/	'we came yesterday'
	/biyo:ke Da:viM na a:tta:ye/	
	'I shall go to the village tomorrow'	
Adverb of place	/maM naō DiMDugu/	'your son is here'
	/aM Konni Dugu/	'here is my son'
	/miNDi ditta:Du/	'I go there'
	/lobo:ttu Dugu/	'the earth is below'
Adverb of manner	/ra:m akke da:ru/	'Ram runs quickly'
	/tupurtupur morje lynai/	'don't speak loudly'
	/Sappu DuM keye nū Sara:Sari na:ye/	'I came last'

Syntax

The normal word-order in Parengi is S(O)V. The following are the examples:

/naga:ardū/	'I eat'	/enon nagiyu/	'I see them'
/miM nesuMku ne:tta:y/			'I fell down'
/maniyo:oDikeye/			'we go there'
/bugh su: jai/			'the boy falls'
/aiyū-ganū no: ru/			'I caught the fish'

In the SOV sentence structure where there are both direct and indirect objects in a sentence, direct object precedes the indirect object. Further, the indirect object is marked with case marker but not the direct object. Example

/no:n asuM aliM daiyũlu taiyu/ 'he jumped from the top of the house'

Interrogative pronoun generally precedes the verb in the construction. Example

/mo:yi kulõ / 'who knows. */ma:M uDupuM dugai mukkuru/*
'where were you yesterday?'

Description of types of sentences

Simple sentence

The minimum structure of simple sentence is a noun which is subject and a verb which is the predicate. The noun may be NP (noun phrase) and the verb may be VP (verb phrase). Example

/mindi DiTTa:Du/

'I go'

/ma:M DiTTa:Du/

'you go there'

/ẽ neraiyu/

'he is coming'

/mi:M bile:M le:k po:Deyile:kke/

'we are reading'

/no:Mki neppadaiyũ/

'they are reading'

Imperative sentence

In Parengi, the subject is absent in the imperative sentence.

Thus only predicate or (object+) verb or VP can construct the imperatives. Example

/a SuM bai/

'come home'

/Te:bi Di tina:Mna:ge/

'stand on the table'

/boy pOTiye:nnũ/

'read this book'

/aMkã:tuga:Do:m/

'open the door'

/aMkã: haitai Do:m/

'close the door'

Complex sentence

Complex sentence is formed by the combination of a minimum of one main clause and a subordinate clause. Generally, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause. Example

/miM makta:r miM na:ta:y/ 'if I am well I will come tomorrow'

Compound sentences

The conjunctive word occurs after the first simple sentence when there are two sentences but when there are more than two simple sentences, the conjunctive word occurs before the last sentence. Example

/aDi aSuM po:yi kO:n Dukkum Ko:nDukku kinaiy/

'there was a wall in the house and it was high'

Interrogative sentence

The interrogative sentence "Wh- type" is formed by adding interrogative pronouns. Example

/mo:M enttu?/

'what is that?'

/no:n mo:y /

'who is he?'

/mo:yi kulõ /

'who knows?'

/iammu mukku ma:M /

'where do you live?'

/mo:y obey minciM obe:y porrai /

'who will come with me?'

Negative sentence

The following are the examples of the negative sentences in Parengi language.

/miM mitta: nerrai/

'I am not coming today'

/pOTTi Da:u mo:nikku/

'he should not do the work'

Passive sentence

The construction of passive sentences in comparison to that of the active ones is the object heads the construction instead of the subject. Example

/Sa:uDī stadi paDā: Su:mudukku/ 'the book was read by him' (passive)

/mi:M uDa: nekku/

'I ate mango' (active)

/aiyū ganū ne:ru/

'I caught the fish'

Causative sentence

When the verb is performed through an agent the verb is causative one. Example

/mi:M koDa daiyu uttalayu danu neru/

'I am making the horse run'

/mi:M tittu ko:Da baDuTTa/

'I make the boy sit down'

Brief sociolinguistic information

The Parengi, the speech of a Scheduled tribal community named Parenga, is spoken in the district of Koraput of Orissa. Parengi is used exclusively in the home domain by the aged people. Otherwise in the intra and inter community communication Parenga people use Desia while the youngsters who have received education prefer the use of 'Oriya', the official language of the state. The community is well exposed to Hindi language because of its extensive use of mass-media. The language has no script and literature of its own.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Parengi	Sl. No	English	Parengi
1	air	<i>impu:r</i>	44	widow	<i>ra:Ndi reTTiku:</i>
2	ashes	<i>buddi</i>	45	wife	<i>kaDama:</i>
3	cloud	<i>tarum</i>	46	woman	<i>mai:ji</i>
4	cold	<i>je:n</i>	47	ant	<i>mu:mu:ji</i>
5	darkness	<i>no:M</i>	48	bird	<i>choDe</i>
6	earth	<i>lobo:</i>	49	cat	<i>ruma:M</i>
7	eclipse	<i>garo:n</i>	50	claw	<i>choDe goDo</i>
8	fire	<i>goDū</i>	51	cock	<i>gaja:M koM</i>
9	fog	<i>dhu:MDi</i>	52	cow	<i>kuyitta:M</i>
10	forest	<i>koNDa:</i>	53	dog	<i>kuso:r</i>
11	hill	<i>koNDa:</i>	54	egg	<i>arri</i>
12	ice	<i>Da:</i>	55	feather	<i>Dena</i>
13	moon	<i>aMketta:</i>	56	fish	<i>aiyū</i>
14	mountain	<i>koNDa:</i>	57	fly	<i>uDuwa:</i>
15	rain	<i>borssa:</i>	58	fox	<i>kolliya:</i>
16	river	<i>kiTa</i>	59	goat	<i>chelli</i>
17	road	<i>soDa:k</i>	60	grease	<i>bōs</i>
18	sand	<i>lakke</i>	61	guts	<i>ōtti</i>
19	wing	<i>impu:r</i>	62	horn	<i>si:M</i>
20	wood	<i>ara:</i>	63	back	<i>uva:</i>
21	baby	<i>asu:TTa:</i>	64	belly	<i>puTRa</i>
22	boy	<i>bub:M</i>	65	blood	<i>miya:n</i>
23	bride	<i>sakka:</i>	66	body	<i>urapuTTa:</i>
24	bride groom	<i>kaDow</i>	67	bone	<i>ya:</i>
25	brother (e)/(y)	<i>jupsakka/asursa kka</i>	68	breast	<i>dud</i>
26	child	<i>aDu</i>	69	chest	<i>bo:k</i>
27	daughter	<i>ko:Do:n</i>	70	ear	<i>lu:T</i>
28	father	<i>aba:</i>	71	eye	<i>ma:n</i>
29	friend	<i>moytto:r</i>	72	face	<i>mokkā</i>
30	girl	<i>ko:Do:n</i>	73	fever	<i>asu:</i>
31	husband	<i>baiDam</i>	74	finger	<i>aMti</i>
32	male	<i>maRRa:</i>	75	flesh	<i>sisī</i>
33	man	<i>maRRa:ni</i>	76	foot	<i>path</i>
34	marriage	<i>bibe:Da:ruDu</i>	77	hair	<i>tikkuyi</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>ma:me</i>	78	hand	<i>si:</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>banji/misi:</i>	79	head	<i>ba:b</i>
37	mother	<i>a:ya:</i>	80	heart	<i>popssa:</i>
38	nephew	<i>kuyila:</i>	81	leg	<i>ji:k</i>
39	niece	<i>iruva:pu:pū</i>	82	lip	<i>lonu:r/puTTa</i>
40	old man	<i>tile</i>	83	liver	<i>ji:bo:n</i>
41	sister	<i>dona:n</i>	84	lung	<i>pupus</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>salli</i>	85	mouth	<i>to:r</i>
43	son	<i>aMko:n</i>	86	neck	<i>gaTTi</i>
			87	nose	<i>mu:</i>

88	spine	<i>pantraha:D</i>	136	white	<i>asalDra:</i>
89	tongue	<i>la:k</i>	137	yellow	<i>saNsanganDa</i>
90	tooth	<i>ji:</i>	138	hungry	<i>bhuddu:rigz</i>
91	waist	<i>aDia:</i>	139	love	<i>nikko/bholo pollani</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo:</i>	140	pain	<i>ne:kdok darmain</i>
93	liquor	<i>ali</i>	141	true	<i>so:tt</i>
94	milk	<i>aDü</i>	142	wish	<i>icca:</i>
95	salt	<i>bhansu:r</i>	143	ink	<i>kolo:ma:nsiva</i>
96	smoke	<i>mü mü/aDa:l</i>	144	school	<i>sku:laga:</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>ca:wul</i>	145	student	<i>isku:l pillä:</i>
98	bed	<i>silar,ko:TTake</i>	146	teacher	<i>ma:sTo:rDi</i>
99	door	<i>kaba:T</i>	147	bullet	<i>nolli gulli</i>
100	house	<i>asun</i>	148	first	<i>ameMna:</i>
101	roof	<i>palim ju:n</i>	149	second	<i>tarpoce dui</i>
102	rope	<i>luva:r</i>	150	third	<i>tarpoce ti:n</i>
103	wall	<i>ko:ndia su:n</i>	151	one	<i>la:b</i>
104	well	<i>kuyissa:l</i>	152	two	<i>du:yi</i>
105	window	<i>carkka:Di</i>	153	three	<i>ti:n</i>
106	flower	<i>tarva:</i>	154	four	<i>ca:ri</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo:</i>	155	five	<i>pa:M'j</i>
108	garden	<i>balja:</i>	156	ten	<i>to:s</i>
109	grass	<i>gä:s</i>	157	sixteen	<i>collow</i>
110	guava	<i>ja:m</i>	158	twenty	<i>koDe</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>ponas</i>	159	forty	<i>sa:li:s</i>
112	leaf	<i>ola:</i>	160	do	<i>kola:</i>
113	lily	<i>tarpa:</i>	161	pull	<i>ji:kt</i>
114	mango	<i>uTa:</i>	162	push	<i>Tella:/emlai</i>
115	paddy	<i>koNDe:n</i>	163	put	<i>dj:nDo:ru</i>
116	plough	<i>irttu</i>	164	rub	<i>rogo:D</i>
117	potato	<i>alu:</i>	165	sell	<i>biggiwa:</i>
118	root	<i>ce:r</i>	166	wash	<i>doiwa:</i>
119	sweet	<i>ringe</i>	167	work	<i>ka:m</i>
120	tree	<i>ara</i>	168	sing	<i>gi:t ga:ywa:</i>
121	vegetable	<i>aro:</i>	169	bring	<i>dhonai</i>
122	wheel	<i>cilli</i>	170	climb	<i>Dai</i>
123	bitter	<i>pitta</i>	171	come	<i>baiDä:</i>
124	black	<i>kola</i>	172	give	<i>de</i>
125	blind	<i>ghana:Di</i>	173	go	<i>ju:</i>
126	blue	<i>nilliya:DDa</i>	174	jump	<i>Dego:</i>
127	bright	<i>ujol</i>	175	vomit	<i>beguru</i>
128	brown	<i>maTTiya:tta:</i>	176	say	<i>koila:</i>
129	coldness	<i>si:t</i>	177	write	<i>lekla:</i>
130	green	<i>nilliya ro:n</i>	178	touch	<i>guna:tta:y</i>
131	hot	<i>usum/gorom</i>	179	bathe	<i>kadhela</i>
132	light	<i>laitto:r</i>	180	all	<i>sabu</i>
133	red	<i>roNDagai</i>	181	bad	<i>karapTa:vu</i>
134	sour	<i>amli</i>	182	big	<i>baDo</i>
135	sweet	<i>miTTa/swat</i>	183	dirty	<i>kachara</i>

184	dry	<i>sukla</i>	219	for	<i>paI</i>
185	few	<i>alop/unna</i>	220	from	<i>te:I</i>
186	full	<i>pu:ruw/borti</i>	221	he,she	<i>ē, e</i>
187	good	<i>nimenDre</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>takke</i>
188	hand	<i>a:I</i>	223	here	<i>itti</i>
189	honest	<i>sa:da si:da</i>	224	his/her	<i>tar</i>
190	long	<i>lomb</i>	225	how	<i>kenti</i>
191	many	<i>athik/be:si</i>	226	I	<i>muI</i>
192	narrow	<i>kaniva:T</i>	227	it/this	<i>iTTa:</i>
193	new	<i>temiTTa:</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>akku</i>
194	old	<i>tile</i>	229	its/of this	<i>ar</i>
195	raw	<i>kancha</i>	230	like	<i>tarpara</i>
196	rotten	<i>nasla:</i>	231	to me	<i>mokke</i>
197	east	<i>puru:b</i>	232	my	<i>minnutta:</i>
198	end	<i>Di:ru</i>	233	our	<i>billeM'mTTa:</i>
199	far	<i>durge</i>	234	not	<i>naI</i>
200	left	<i>Debri baT</i>	235	so/thus	<i>teberpoI</i>
201	middle	<i>majoi</i>	236	that	<i>seTTe</i>
202	near	<i>logge</i>	237	to them	<i>taMke</i>
203	north	<i>uttar</i>	238	then	<i>tar pocce</i>
204	out	<i>podday</i>	239	those	<i>se:jabu/se:jakko</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>uja:baT</i>	240	there	<i>sitti</i>
206	south	<i>dakkin</i>	241	they	<i>semo:n</i>
207	again	<i>bartarkko:y</i>	242	their	<i>taMkorTa</i>
208	always	<i>sabuwale</i>	243	these	<i>e:sabu/e:jakko</i>
209	before	<i>aktoni</i>	244	to us	<i>amuke</i>
210	daily	<i>sabudin</i>	245	we	<i>bole:M</i>
211	day	<i>di:n</i>	246	what	<i>naine sennumotte</i>
212	evening	<i>uDum</i>	247	when	<i>ke:Tu pilla</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>da:pre da:bre</i>	248	where	<i>khene</i>
214	afterwards	<i>pocke:</i>	249	who	<i>teM kai ko:tta:</i>
215	behind	<i>pocce:</i>	250	why	<i>neDe sonnu mo:nu</i>
216	between	<i>Danren</i>			
217	by	<i>lagi</i>			
218	down	<i>gaDiya:</i>			

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SANTALI

J. Suresh

Introduction

Family affiliation

Santali is one of the numerically most important tribal language spoken in Orissa. In *LSI*, Grierson included Santali as one among the dialects of Kherwari language. However, in subsequent studies Santali has been treated as an independent language belonging to Eastern Munda sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic family. Santali is one of the two major languages of the northern Munda group, the other being Mundari. Santali shares a number of common features with Mundari and Ho. But, deviates from the two to an extent sufficient to recognise itself as an independent language.

Location

Santalis are mostly located in the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam scantily distributed in other states like Tripura.

Statistical Data: Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

SANTALI (LANGUAGE)					SANTALI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	5,216,325	2,651,478	2,564,847		T	4,915,808	2,498,278	2,417,530
	R	5,014,228	2,543,972	2,470,256		R	4,726,222	2,397,475	2,328,747
	U	202,097	107,506	94,591		U	189,586	100,803	88,783
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	661,849	333,962	327,887		T	616,337	311,278	305,059
	R	630,974	317,447	313,527		R	586,142	295,133	291,009
	U	30,875	16,515	14,360		U	30,195	16,145	14,050

Bilingualism:

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	5,216,325	2,087,805	1,207,628	880,177	Bengali	1,163,063	615,793	547,270	279,416	217,377	62,039
					Hindi	634,450	409,940	224,510			
					Oriya	242,099	146,981	95,118			
					Assamese	28,161	16,307	11,854			
					English	16,283	16,234	49			
					Bodo/Boro	3,423	2,115	1,308			
Orissa	661,849	252,050	156,963	95,087	Oriya	242,030	146,943	95,087	39,955	33,397	6,558
					English	6,680	6,680	-----			
					Hindi	3,340	3,340	-----			

Earlier history

The word *Santal* is derived from the place name *Saot*. Professor S.K. Chatterjee derives the word from *samantapala* 'bordering people' (ODBL). The Santals are the original inhabitants of the Chhota Nagpur plateau in Bihar. The districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau and Singhbhum were the stronghold of the Santals. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Santals moved to Rajmahal hills and made a permanent settlement in 1832 which later on came to be known as *Damin-i-koti* (Persian) 'skirts of hills'. It is from this place the Santals later on migrated to Orissa and other states.

The Tribe

The Santals are divided into twelve patrilineal exogamous *paris* or *sibs*, namely, Hansda, Murmu, Kisku, Hembram, Meundi, Soren, Tudu, Baske, Besra, Paunria, Core and Bedia.

The Santals speak the language *Santali* which belongs to the Kherwari group of the Munda family.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i i :</i>		<i>u u :</i>
Higher-mid	<i>e e :</i>		<i>o o :</i>
Low		<i>a a :</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i> <i>ph bh</i>		<i>t d</i> <i>th dh</i>		<i>ʈ ɖ</i> <i>ṭh ḍh</i>	<i>c ɟ</i> <i>ch jh</i>	<i>k g</i> <i>kh gh</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Fricatives								<i>h</i>
Slit								
Groove				<i>s</i>				
Nasals	<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals				<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>			
Flap				<i>ɾ</i>				
Approximants		<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>	

Occurrence

The vowels / *i, e, a, o* and *u* / and their corresponding long counterparts occur initially, medially and finally. In the final position, in some words the length is only half but the same is found to vary from place to place and individual variations are noticed. Out of the 33 consonants, all the unaspirated stop consonants, except the / *ʔ* / occur initially, medially and finally. / *ʔ* / occurs medially and finally in different environments like *v-ʔ, -Nʔ* where *N* = nasal, with / *p, t, k, c* / in different words. The aspirated stop consonants occur only initially. The nasal phonemes / *m, n* / occur initially, medially and finally while / *ɳ, ɲ, ŋ* / occur medially and in the final position only. / *ɭ* / occurs. The fricatives / *s, h* / occur initially, medially and finally. The alveolar lateral / *l* / occurs in all the three positions. / *ɾ* / occurs in all the three positions. Among the approximants / *w* / occurs in all the three positions while / *y* / occurs medially and finally only.

Diphthongs

Santali has initial medial, and final two vowel clusters, and the final three vowel clusters. The list of vowel clusters is given below-

Initial two-vowel clusters

<i>au-</i>	<i>aūria</i>	'epilepsy'
<i>ai-</i>	<i>ainom</i>	'casterpaste'
<i>ui-</i>	<i>uihor</i>	'memory'

Medial two vowel clusters

<i>-ie-</i>	<i>kaTTier</i>	'cockroach'
<i>-ai-</i>	<i>cailomipil</i>	'comet'
<i>-au-</i>	<i>bauNe</i>	'dwarf'
<i>-ei-</i>	<i>teIMMan</i>	'brother-in-law'
<i>-la-</i>	<i>rialu</i>	'cool'
<i>-ia-</i>	<i>tiaM</i>	'brother-in-law'
<i>-iu-</i>	<i>niut</i>	'darkness'
<i>-oi-</i>	<i>hoibaruNdu</i>	'cyclone'
<i>-ui-</i>	<i>muln</i>	'ant'
<i>-ua-</i>	<i>juaM</i>	'young'

Final two vowel clusters

<i>-ia</i>	<i>M'attia</i>	'husband's brother's wife'
<i>-iu</i>	<i>kottlu</i>	'beetle'
<i>-io</i>	<i>dario</i>	'flute'
<i>-ea</i>	<i>dorea</i>	'ocean'
<i>-ei</i>	<i>dei</i>	'maternal aunt's daughter'
<i>-ai</i>	<i>gai</i>	'cow'
<i>-au</i>	<i>Dau</i>	'wave'
<i>-oa</i>	<i>toa</i>	'breast'
<i>-ua</i>	<i>galua</i>	'sparrow'
<i>-ui</i>	<i>nui</i>	'river'
<i>-ue</i>	<i>gaDue</i>	'husband'
<i>-au</i>	<i>paDau</i>	'education'
<i>-oi</i>	<i>hoi</i>	'air'

Three-vowel clusters

<i>-eoā</i>	<i>keoa</i>	'chin'
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Consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are not found in Santali. Medial identical and non-identical two-consonant clusters, final two consonant clusters are found in Santali.

Medial non-identical two consonant clusters

<i>-rm-</i>	<i>serma</i>	'sky'
<i>-rn-</i>	<i>jharNa</i>	'brook'
<i>-ND-</i>	<i>hoibaruNDu</i>	'cyclone'
<i>-Mg-</i>	<i>seMgel</i>	'fire'
<i>-nd-</i>	<i>ningduca:ndu</i>	'moon'
<i>-rd-</i>	<i>terdei</i>	'moonlight'
<i>-lk-</i>	<i>ḍulki</i>	'swamp'
<i>-ḍr-</i>	<i>gidru</i>	'boy'

-rt-	<i>mirtika</i>	'world'
-md-	<i>sumdi</i>	'daughter-in-law's father'
-pl-	<i>bapla</i>	'marriage'
-mk-	<i>jama: igomke</i>	'son-in-law'
-bd-	<i>kubdu?</i>	'hunch back'
-Tk-	<i>cuTkiayo:</i>	'step mother'
-rs-	<i>birsindi</i>	'chimpanzee'
-NT-	<i>ToNTa:</i>	'beak'
-tk-	<i>bitkil</i>	'buffalo' (given birth to)
-M'j-	<i>pa: M'jri</i>	'cage'
-st-	<i>posta</i>	'deer'
-Dg-	<i>haDgar</i>	'panther'
-sk-	<i>maskuDu</i>	'gum'
-sp-	<i>ha: spattal</i>	'hospital'
-mb-	<i>ja: mbe jam</i>	'jaw'
-lk-	<i>talka</i>	'palm'
-rd-	<i>narDi</i>	'phlegm'
-rt-	<i>harta</i>	'skin'
-pr-	<i>kapri</i>	'skull'
-lh-	<i>pilhi?</i>	'spleen'
-mp-	<i>pa: mpoDu</i>	'papad'
-wr-	<i>pawru</i>	'liquor'
-hr-	<i>mehru</i>	'poison'
-sl-	<i>mosla</i>	'spice'
-sk-	<i>baske daka</i>	'tiffin'
-?t-	<i>do?ta</i>	'tobacco'
-mT-	<i>cimTu</i>	'tongs'
-rk-	<i>barki</i>	'blanket'
-mc-	<i>gamca</i>	'blouse'
-pr-	<i>Tupri</i>	'cap'
-md-	<i>tumda</i>	'drum'
-gr-	<i>pagra</i>	'ear-ring'
-cn-	<i>bicna:</i>	'bed'
-rt-	<i>ortap</i>	'loin cloth'
-sp-	<i>ispat</i>	'iron'
-Tr-	<i>kuTri</i>	'knife' (big)
-NT-	<i>biNTi</i>	'an instrument for cutting vegetable'
-rd-	<i>porda</i>	'curtain'
-tr-	<i>atra</i>	'hearth'
-lt-	<i>celtu</i>	'wax candle'
Medial identical two consonant clusters		
-pp-	<i>huppu</i>	'temple'
-bb-	<i>jobbe</i>	'dip into'
-tt-	<i>hutti</i>	'white ant'
-d d-	<i>gid di</i>	'vulture'
-TT-	<i>roTTe</i>	'frog'
-DD-	<i>oDDa</i>	'a small worm'
-cc-	<i>mocca</i>	'mouth'

-jj-	<i>ajje</i>	'an interjection'
-kk-	<i>sikkiNi</i>	'mosquito'
-gg-	<i>Ta:gga:</i>	'a kind of axe'
-mm-	<i>ramma</i>	'claw'
-nn-	<i>janno?</i>	'broom'
-NN-	<i>maNNa:n</i>	'a kind of bird'
-M'M'-	<i>tuM'M'i</i>	'a red coloured flower'
-MM-	<i>teiMMa:M</i>	'brother-in-law'
-ss-	<i>kissa:Nu</i>	'master'
-ll-	<i>hilli</i>	'elder brother's wife'
-yy-	<i>boyya</i>	'younger brother'

Final non-identical two consonant clusters

-ND-	<i>suND</i>	'trunk'
-Mk-	<i>jiMk</i>	'porcupine'
-nt-	<i>bosont</i>	'chicken pox'
-NT-	<i>ga:NT</i>	'joint'
-?b-	<i>busu?b</i>	'hay'
-?d-	<i>ju?lupi?d</i>	'barber'
-?n-	<i>ko?n</i>	'crane'

Syllables

Mono-syllabic words(open)

CV	<i>ro</i>	'fly'
CV	<i>ma:</i>	'mother'
CVV	<i>gai</i>	'cow'
CVVV	<i>tuiu</i>	'jackal'
VVV	<i>eai</i>	'seven'

Mono-syllabic words (close)

VC	<i>ot</i>	'ground'
VC	<i>i:l</i>	'feather'
VCC	<i>u:NT</i>	'camel'
CVC	<i>sel</i>	'bison'
CVC	<i>bi:r</i>	'forest'
CVVC	<i>Tuar</i>	'orphan'
CVCC	<i>ko?n</i>	'crane'
CVCC	<i>ga:NT</i>	'joint'

Disyllabic words

V-CV	<i>u-ju</i>	'boil'
V-CV	<i>a-yŌ</i>	'mother'
V-CVC	<i>a-rel</i>	'hailstorm'
V-CVC	<i>a-sŪl</i>	'adoption'
CV-CV	<i>bu-ru</i>	'hill'
CV-CV	<i>ba:ba:</i>	'father'
CV-CVC	<i>ri-mil</i>	'cloud'
CV-CVC	<i>ji-lu:p</i>	'scissors'
CVV-CVC	<i>eai-lom</i>	'tail'
CVC-V	<i>la?-i</i>	'pregnancy'
CVC-CV	<i>jar-na</i>	'brook'

CVC-CV	<i>ha:N-Di</i>	'beer'
CVC-CVC	<i>goM-gor</i>	'cave'
Trisyllabic		
V-CV-CV	<i>o-mo-ri</i>	'immortal'
C-CV-CV	<i>a-ka-Da:</i>	'alphabet'
V-CV-CV	<i>i-la:-ka:</i>	'district'
V-CVV-CV	<i>a-sai-ro</i>	'an insect'
V-CVC-CV	<i>u-Nun-du</i>	'an eatable'
V-CV-CVC	<i>u-ru-ma:l</i>	'handkerchief'
VC-CV-CV	<i>aM-kaLi</i>	'a kind of stick'
VC-CV-VC	<i>as-ra:-om</i>	'hope'
VC-VC-CVC	<i>ac-am-vit</i>	'onion'
VC-CVC-CV	<i>ar-d a:s-gi</i>	'prayer'
VC-CV-CVC	<i>eM-ga-sim</i>	'hen'
VC-CV-CV	<i>ek-sa-ra:</i>	'hernia'
VC-CV-CV	<i>a:m-bu-lu</i>	'hog palm'
CV-CV-V	<i>do-re-a</i>	'bay'
CV-CVV	<i>pa-Du- a:</i>	'lazy'
CV-V-CV	<i>re-a-La:</i>	'chill'
CV-CV-CV	<i>ka-li-mi</i>	'maid'
CV-CV-CV	<i>ku-hu-La:</i>	'mist'
CV-CV-CV	<i>ka-ha:-ni</i>	'story'
CV-CV-VC	<i>ha-ti-a:r</i>	'weapon'
CV-CV-VV	<i>ri-ri-a:u</i>	'insist'
CV-CVV-CVC	<i>sa-jau-ni?</i>	'painter'
CV-CV-CVC	<i>ha-sa-ja:M</i>	'paddy field'
CV-CVC-CV	<i>ki-yon-To</i>	'fisherman'
CV-CVC-CVC	<i>ga-la:M-ni?</i>	'dramatist'
CV-CVC-CVC	<i>su-sun-ni?</i>	'dancer'
CV-CVC-CVC	<i>ja-la:M-ka:r</i>	'desert'
CV-CV-V	<i>pO-lu-a:</i>	'a fruit'
CV-CV-CV	<i>ba:-gi-ni</i>	'niece'
CV-CV-CV	<i>na:-si-ga:</i>	'sound of bee'
CV-CV-CV	<i>ka:-So: ri</i>	'copper smith'
CV-CV-CVC	<i>ha-ja-na:r</i>	'husband's sister's husband'
CVC-CV-CV	<i>sam-to-lu</i>	'plain'

The overall structure of tri/tetra and higher syllabic words conform to the over all general structure.

(C)(V)(V)(V)(C)(C)(V)(V)(C)(C)(V)(V)(C)(V)

However, the higher members are very few in number.

Morphology

Nouns

The Santali nouns may be broadly classified into three classes, namely, 1) substantives, 2) pronouns and 3) numerals.

In Santali, nouns are either animate or inanimate. Following are the examples.

Animate nouns

All those noun stems which in addition to the genitive suffixes, postpositions, etc. can take dual and plural number suffixes / *kin/ and / ko /* respectively belong to the category of animate nouns. These number suffixes are also marked in the verb phrase in the case of third person subject or object.

Example

<i>sadom</i>	'horse'	<i>hoLo</i>	'man'
<i>DaMgri</i>	'cattle'	<i>pusi</i>	'cat' etc.

Inanimate nouns

The inanimate nouns differ from the animates by not taking suffixes for number and are not marked in the verbal phrase. In cases where the duality or plurality is to be emphasised upon they may take such suffixes. Example

<i>ot</i>	'ground'	<i>pafo</i>	'foam'
<i>losod</i>	'mud'	<i>hor</i>	'road'
<i>gitil</i>	'sand' etc.		

Pronoun

There are three personal pronouns in Santali, namely, first, second and third persons and they show a three way number distinction, namely, singular, dual and plural. The first person dual and plural also show inclusive/exclusive distinction. Pronouns denoting inanimates do not have dual and plural. The forms of personal pronouns are shown below.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	<i>iM</i> 'I'	<i>a-lan</i> 'we'(two) (inclusive) <i>a-lin</i> (exclusive)	<i>a-bo</i> 'we' (inclusive) <i>a-bon</i> 'we' (exclusive)
Second person	<i>am</i> 'you'	<i>a-ben</i> 'you'(two)	<i>a-pe</i> 'you'
Third person	<i>uni</i> 'he/she'	<i>a-kin</i> 'they' <i>un-kin</i> (animate) <i>ona</i> 'it' <i>ona-kin</i> (inanimate)	<i>a-ko</i> 'they' <i>on-ko</i> (animate) <i>ona-ko</i> (inanimate)

Besides the forms mentioned the language has certain forms of the personal pronouns used to denote possession. There are two sets one with *ta* and another without it. Example-

Singular-	first person	<i>ta - iM</i> > <i>tiM</i> 'my, mine'
	second person	<i>ta - am</i> > <i>ta m</i> 'they'
	third person	<i>ta - ae</i> > <i>tae</i> 'his/her'
Dual-	first person	<i>ta - alaM</i> > <i>ta laM</i> (mine) inclusive <i>aliM</i> > <i>ta liM</i> (mine) exclusive
	second person	<i>ta - aben</i> > <i>taben</i> 'you two's'
	third person	<i>ta - akin</i> > <i>takin</i> 'they two's'
Plural	first person	<i>ta - abo</i> > <i>tabo</i> 'our' (your and mine)incl. <i>abon</i> > <i>tabon</i> 'our' (exclusive)
	second person	<i>ta - ape</i> > <i>tape</i> 'your'
	third person	<i>ta - ako</i> > <i>tako</i> 'their'

The independent form of the personal pronouns conveys the idea of a possessive pronoun when it stands as an adjective preceding a word functioning as a noun. A personal pronoun preceding an inanimate noun always stands for possessive pronoun.

<i>am hopon</i>	'your child'	<i>ale koLa</i>	'our boy'
<i>ako oLa</i>	'their house'	<i>ale hoLo</i>	'we Santals'

When functioning as possessive pronouns, the personal pronouns are frequently given a determinative suffix, Example- *-kin* and *-ko* for animates and *-ak*, *-akin* and *-ako* for inanimates.

inic koLa 'my boy' *ama? gai* 'your cow'
apea? roD 'your talk'

To make the personal pronouns function as possessive ones, the postposition *-re* may be suffixed with *-n* added for animates and the determinative suffixes *-a* or *an* for inanimates.

amren gidra 'your child'
abo rea? boge juda 'our circumstances'

The genitive suffixes are illustrated below.

apu - n / apu - m 'my/your father'
kaka - n/ kaka - m 'my/ our/ your uncle' etc.

Number

Santali has a three number system as singular, dual and plural. Below are presented the respective markers

Singular	- ϕ
Dual	- <i>kin</i>
Plural	- <i>ko</i>

Animates and inanimates form the dual and the plural in the same way. Inanimates do not take number suffixes except when absolutely needed to show number.

sadom 'horse' *sadom kin* 'two horses'
sadom ko 'horses' (more than two)

Article

The numeral *mit* 'one', is made to serve as an indefinite article either in the bare form or with *ten*, *te* or *tay* or *goten*, *gote* or *gotay* added.

<i>mi?t hoLo</i>	'a man/one man'
<i>mi?t Ten sadom</i>	'a horse'
<i>mi?t Te? dare</i>	'a tree'
<i>mi?t goTen holo</i>	'a man'
<i>uni koDa</i>	'the boy/that boy'
<i>koD ai?</i>	'the boy'
<i>dokan mena?a</i>	'there is a shop'
<i>dokan t eye calaoena</i>	'he went to the shop'

Cases

Santali has no declension corresponding to what is found in the inflectional languages. If we compare the Santali use of postpositions with the declension of an inflectional language, we get the following picture. Besides nominative, which is the base itself, Santali has seven cases realised by the respective markers.

Nominative	- ϕ
Genitive	- <i>ren</i> (with animate nouns) - <i>a?k</i> , - <i>aM</i> - <i>rea?</i> , <i>reaM</i> with inanimate
Dative	- <i>Th en</i> (<i>Th e?</i>) <i>lagit</i> (<i>lagat</i>) <i>nutmte</i> , <i>te</i>
Accusative	<i>nil</i>
Instrumental	<i>Then</i> , <i>te</i> , <i>hotete</i>
Ablative	<i>khon</i>

Locative	<i>re, te, Dhabī?, Then</i>
Vocative	<i>e:, henda etc.</i>

We can illustrate this by taking one example: *halam* 'old man' The declensional formation may be as follows

<i>HaLam</i>	(nom.)	
<i>haLam - ren</i>	<i>koDa</i>	'the old man's boy'
<i>haLam - a?k</i>	<i>kierī?</i>	'the old man's cloth'
<i>haLam Tⁿen</i>		'to the old man'
<i>haLam lagit</i>		'for the old man'
<i>haLam Tⁿen</i>		'with/by the old man'
<i>haLam ho?ete</i>		'through the old man'
<i>haLam khon</i>		'from the old man'
<i>haLam re</i>		'in the old man'
<i>haLam</i>		'oh, old man'
<i>haLam dhabī</i>		'upto, until the old man'

Adjectives

Adjectives are those words which occur as attributes to nouns. In Santali any word may function as an adjective. The adjectives, as a rule, always precede the noun. Words functioning as adjectives are subject to the same rules as when serving as nouns, as to number, gender and lack of declension. Except in borrowed forms, there is no special form to show gender. The same word may be used for the animate and the inanimate. Sometimes, words with a determinative suffix, with a verbal suffix or even a whole sentence, may function as an adjective.

<i>maraM oLa</i>	'big house'	<i>huDiM koLa</i>	'small boy'
<i>usul hoL</i>	'tall man'	<i>ceppo kuLi hopon</i>	'short woman'
<i>aDigan buru</i>	'large mountain'	<i>oLop ipil</i>	'few stars'
<i>boge ho</i>	'the good ones'	<i>boge cauli</i>	'good rice'
<i>riaLu hoi</i>	'cool wind'	<i>hairay ot</i>	'barren land' etc.

Besides simple and derived words, numerals also serve as adjectives. The numerals are of various types like cardinals, ordinals, fractionals, integrals, distributives, etc. These are discussed below. Higher numbers are multiples of twenties or tens adding the units. Example-

<i>mit</i>	'one'	<i>bar</i>	'two'
<i>pe</i>	'three'	<i>pon</i>	'four'
<i>mōDe</i>	'five'	<i>turui</i>	'six'
<i>eae</i>	'seven'	<i>iral</i>	'eight'
<i>are</i>	'nine'	<i>gel</i>	'ten'
<i>isi</i>	'twenty'	<i>sae</i>	'hundred'

Ordinals

Strictly speaking, Santali has no native ordinal numeral form and whenever required it uses mostly the borrowed forms from Oriya or Hindi and rarely from Bengali. However, when these forms are needed they use it in different ways. For example, to refer to the first, second and third sons in the family they use *ma:ra:M*, *ṭala* and *huDiM* and for higher numbers they use the forms *saM'jhla* and for girls *saM'jhli*. More often they do not refer to the position inside the whole, but to the relative position of two. In such cases *sotok tayom* or *taenom* are commonly used.

Example *paNDu sotok* 'the one who comes after Pandu in age'

turui (ayomic 'the one after six', the seventh when the determinative suffix singular is added to a numeral, the expression is understood as being equal to an ordinal number.

pe gel mit ak 'the thirty first' *areyic* 'the ninth'

gel ak haTin 'the tenth'

Santali also has three collective or inclusive numerals, formed from the second, third and fourth numeral by infixing an *n* after the vowel which is repeated. Example

banar hoLo

'both persons'

dene banar secenko

'the person of both sides' etc.

An approximate number is expressed by naming two consecutive numbers, the lower numeral first. Example-

bar pe hoLo

'two three persons'

mit isi leka

'around hundred people'

amda bar sae

'about hundred'

amda pon isi leka gan hoD

'around 80 people'

Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed of the first ten numerals by reduplicating the first syllable and in cases where the word starts with a vowel by inserting /ʔ/ after the first vowel. Example-

mit mimit

'each one/one by one'

bar babar

'each two'

pe pepe

'each three'

pon popon

'each four'

turui tūturui

'each six'

eae eʔ eae

'each seven'

tral iʔ ral

'each eight'

gel gegel

'each ten'

The distributives require something added. This may be a word showing what is distributed or it may be *gTaM goTec* or *goTen* (piece). Sometimes *kate* is added either to the distributive numeral or to the words just mentioned.

mimit puDuʔ emakope

'give them each one leaf cup'

dinre popon ToMka kateko nama

'they get four rupees each daily'

mimit mimit holo

'one by one'

mimit mimit te

'one after the other'

Verbs

Any Santali word may function as a verb and in that state, the base word itself is not altered. A word in Santali when functioning as a verb, gets certain grammatical affixes added to it to realise tense, modal and voice differences.

To show tense or mood different for different voices, suffixes are added to the base form. As such Santali has three such sets of suffixes. Example, one set for the direct object, one for the indirect object and one for intentional action.

The base form is usually not altered. But in certain cases fresh base-words are formed from the old ones, when a special meaning is attached. The base form itself may in this way be altered to express performative and reciprocal actions.

Performative base

When it is to show that the base form is to convey the idea of active performance, the base may be altered by reduplication of the first syllable or the first consonant. Example-

benao

'to make'

be be nao

dal

'to strike'

dadal

si

'to plough'

sisi

lai

'to tell'

lalai

Repetitive base

Verbal bases may be formed by repetition of a single word. The verbal suffixes are added to the second word. The meaning of this form is primarily repetition or continued performance. It may also convey the idea of distribution. Repetition may be an attempt at doing a thing. This form may consequently convey a meaning; This is especially the case when the repetitive base has the suffixes of the intentional in the active. With the suffix of the simple past active of the intentional, we have a form that denotes an unsuccessful attempt.

<i>taDam taDampe</i>	'walk steadily on'
<i>baM dare dare akana</i>	'it has not yet grown much'

Verbal bases are constantly formed by adding a second word to a base word, the two words forming a verbal base. The second word may be any suitable word.

Tense

Definite present is formed by adding *kan* to the indefinite present and the passive *kan* to the indeterminate medium or passive. Example

<i>gidraye rakeŋ kan-a</i>	'the child is crying'
The indefinite imperfect is formed by adding <i>tahekan</i> to the indefinite present.	
<i>ŋin kalom guhumle caseŋ tahe:kana</i>	'last year we were cultivating wheat'
The definite imperfect is formed by adding <i>tahe:kan</i> to the definite present.	
<i>hakoe sapet ko kan tahe:kana</i>	'he was occupied in catching fish'
The simple past is formed by adding <i>ket</i> . The <i>t</i> is changed to <i>d</i> as in the past. Example	
<i>menketae</i>	'he said'
<i>poŋame TuTikedea</i>	'he shot the dove with an arrow'

Continuative form

It is formed by adding *aka* to the base

<i>sap a kae tahe me</i>	'keeping hold of him or it'
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The causatives and the permissive

By adding /*oco*/ to the conjugational base, a causative or a permissive is formed. With the direct object we get the causative, with indirect object it is permissive.

<i>kirIM ocokedeAM</i>	'I made him buy it'
<i>kirIM ocoadeAM</i>	'I let him'

oco is frequently used to show the sufferer, the subject of the passive; the performative is used to show the action.

dadali? Do nui dal ocoyic. do uni 'the one who gave the beating is this one, the one who was beaten is that one'.

Adverbs

Adverbs are those words which when placed before the verb describe the verb. Adverbs are of various types like adverb of place, time, quality and manner. Example-

Adverb of place

<i>goTa TaNDi</i>	'everywhere'	<i>ceŋante</i>	'upwards'
<i>ofoMŋayom</i>	'in file/one after the other'	<i>ŋayomre</i>	'behind'
<i>coTre/ceŋanre</i>	'high up/on the top' etc.		

Adverb of time

<i>tahe</i>	'today'	<i>meaM</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
<i>nes</i>	'this year'	<i>auri</i>	'later on'
<i>jaejug</i>	'always'	<i>ber</i>	'sun/day time'
<i>gapa</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>ŋikin</i>	'noon/at noon' etc.

Adverb of quality

<i>situM</i>	'summer'	<i>uā:ns</i>	'new moon day'
<i>hebaric</i>	'exceedingly/awfully'		
<i>bejae</i>	'extra ordinarily'	<i>nase nase</i>	'a little'

Besides base words used adverbially, these adverbs are mostly formed by adding certain postpositions especially *leka*, *lekate*, *kate* and *te*

<i>bes lekate</i>	'in a good way'	<i>jute jutete</i>	'in a nice way'
<i>barea kate</i>	'in twos'	<i>sulukte</i>	'in peace, peacefully'

Brief sociolinguistic information

Of all the tribal languages spoken in the country Santali is numerically the largest tribal speech community spoken by more than 5.21 million speakers with its major concentration in the hilly and forest region of Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas of Bihar. The ethnic community being fairly large is spread over several districts of Orissa like Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Sambalpur and Sundargarh; of Bihar like Bhagalpur, Monghyer, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh and of West Bengal like Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, West Dinajpur, Malda and Murshidabad. The speakers strength of Santali includes the speakers of the two mother tongues, Karmali and Mahili

The first systematic account of linguistic classification of the Munda languages was accomplished in the Linguistic Survey of India of Grierson (Vol.IV, 1906; Vol I, 1927). After this, a number of studies on this language have appeared, notable among them being Hans Jurgen Pinnow (1959, 1963 & 1966) and Norman Zide (1966 & 1969).

The dialect or variant situation of this language has, however, received no detailed investigation so far. [Grierson (1906) had observed that but for the two minor variants, namely, Karmali and Mahili, the Santali language throughout had remained intact and unchanged despite the negligible influence by the Aryan languages spoken in the area.] The present survey on Santali has been carried out in the state of Orissa. A comparison of the descriptions of this language as spoken in other States such as Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and so on would help us a lot to establish whether regional variations exist in the speech behaviour of the Santals of these States.

Regarding the developmental activities in Santali language, it can be said that it is relatively in better position when compared with other languages belonging to the Munda family such as Mundari, Ho, Kharia and so on where literary activity could be termed as marginal. During the post-independence era, developmental activities in the language have accelerated in the fields of education, literature and mass-media.

During the past three decades or so more than one hundred books in Santali language have been brought out which deal with varied subjects. Text books for schools and colleges have been produced in a sizeable number. Some of the primary schools have this language as their medium of instruction. Some of the Universities offer graduate and diploma courses on this language. A fairly good number of periodicals and newspapers are published in this language. Regular programmes are broadcast over All India Radio while the television programmes of Doordarshan are telecast occasionally in this language.

Santali is written in five scripts according to the State in which it is used. While Devanagari script is preferred in Bihar, West Bengal uses Bengali, Orissa uses Oriya and Christians throughout use Roman script. Santal literates, however, prefer to use Olchiki script, an orthographic system developed by Pandit Raghunath Murmu, a native speaker about sixty years back.

With a fairly large population of the ethnic community upholding the traditions of culture and a section of the people devoted to production of literature in the native script, an encouraging trend of language development is noticed in this language.

Word list follows:

Sl. no.	English	Santali	Sl. no.	English	Santali
1	air	ho:i	44	widow	raNDi
2	ashes	toroi	45	wife	bahu
3	cloud	rimil	46	woman	klihopan
4	cold	rabaM	47	ant	muĩ
5	darkness	niyu:t	48	bird	cene
6	earth	o:t	49	cat	pusi
7	eclipse	gakhana	50	claw	ramma:
8	fire	seMge:l	51	cock	sa:NDi si:m
9	fog	ku?khulu	52	cow	gai Dangri
10	forest	bi:r	53	dog	seta
11	hill	buru	54	egg	bili
12	ice	arel	55	feather	i:l
13	moon	ninduca:ndu	56	fish	haku
14	mountain	mara:Mburu	57	fly	ro
15	rain	hoida?	58	fox	kikiDi
16	river	gaDa	59	goat	merom
17	road	solok/hor	60	grease	gardon
18	sand	gitil	61	guts	lai
19	wind	ho:i	62	horn	derem
20	wood	sahan	63	back	dea
21	baby	gidra	64	belly	lai
22	boy	kola	65	blood	mayam
23	bride	bahu kuri	66	body	holomo
24	bride groom	jama:i kora	67	bone	jam
25	brother	boyya	68	breast	munu
26	child	gidra	69	chest	kolam
27	daughter	hoponera	70	ear	lutur
28	father	ba:ba	71	eye	me?D
29	friend	gatte	72	face	mi:?da
30	girl	kuri	73	fever	ruwu
31	husband	heral	74	finger	kaTTu
32	male	guti	75	flesh	jil
33	man	holo	76	foot	talka
34	marriage	bapla	77	hair	u:?b
35	maternal uncle	ma:mo	78	hand	ti:
36	maternal uncle's daughter	ma:mui:ch kuri gidura	79	head	baho
37	mother	ayo	80	heart	kuNDi
38	nephew	dā:chku:ra gidura	81	leg	janga
39	niece	d ā:ch ku:ri gidura	82	lip	luTi
40	old man	halam holo	83	liver	i:m
41	sister	dei	84	lung	boro
42	sister-in-law	irul kuri	85	mouth	mocca
43	son	hopon	86	neck	haTTu
			87	nose	mū

88	spine	<i>bisi</i>	136	white	<i>puMD</i>
89	tongue	<i>alaM</i>	137	yellow	<i>sasaMraM</i>
90	tooth	<i>daTTa</i>	138	hungry	<i>rengei</i>
91	waist	<i>da:NDa</i>	139	love	<i>be:sM'ya:mi</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo</i>	140	pain	<i>hasu</i>
93	liquor	<i>puwri</i>	141	true	<i>sotto</i>
94	milk	<i>toa</i>	142	wish	<i>icha</i>
95	salt	<i>buluM</i>	143	ink	<i>kaRi</i>
96	smoke	<i>dhu:i</i>	144	school	<i>olakali</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>huru</i>	145	student	<i>cella</i>
98	bed	<i>bī: can</i>	146	teacher	<i>ma:cet</i>
99	door	<i>duar</i>	147	bullet	<i>go:li</i>
100	house	<i>ola</i>	148	first	<i>maraM</i>
101	roof	<i>salim</i>	149	second	<i>tayoM</i>
102	rope	<i>bahe</i>	150	third	<i>manaM</i>
103	wall	<i>ka:nt</i>	151	one	<i>mi?D</i>
104	well	<i>kuin</i>	152	two	<i>baria</i>
105	window	<i>janala</i>	153	three	<i>pe?a</i>
106	flower	<i>ma:?D</i>	154	four	<i>pune</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo</i>	155	five	<i>mone</i>
108	garden	<i>ba:lege</i>	156	ten	<i>gel</i>
109	grass	<i>gā:s</i>	157	sixteen	<i>sula</i>
110	guava	<i>peDa</i>	158	twenty	<i>isi</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>kaNTalu</i>	159	forty	<i>ca:lis</i>
112	leaf	<i>sakom</i>	160	do	<i>kimi</i>
113	lily	<i>upal</i>	161	pull	<i>tulrakab</i>
114	mango	<i>u:l</i>	162	push	<i>telau</i>
115	paddy	<i>hulu</i>	163	put	<i>doho</i>
116	plough	<i>si:</i>	164	rub	<i>gasau</i>
117	potato	<i>ha:ru</i>	165	sell	<i>akriM</i>
118	root	<i>rehe?d</i>	166	wash	<i>ari?b</i>
119	sweet	<i>heDem</i>	167	work	<i>kami</i>
120	tree	<i>dare</i>	168	sing	<i>sereM</i>
121	vegetable	<i>uttuko</i>	169	bring	<i>agu</i>
122	wheel	<i>maran giridi</i>	170	climb	<i>dei</i>
123	bitter	<i>halahad</i>	171	come	<i>hiju</i>
124	black	<i>hende</i>	172	give	<i>e?m</i>
125	blind	<i>kana</i>	173	go	<i>seno</i>
126	blue	<i>hariali</i>	174	jump	<i>don</i>
127	bright	<i>marasa:l</i>	175	vomit	<i>ulli</i>
128	brown	<i>pu:ndi haridi</i>	176	say	<i>me?n</i>
129	coldness	<i>rabaM</i>	177	write	<i>ol</i>
130	green	<i>sakam hariali</i>	178	touch	<i>joTed</i>
131	hot	<i>lolo</i>	179	bathe	<i>u?m</i>
132	light	<i>marasa:l</i>	180	all	<i>thotto</i>
133	red	<i>ara:</i>	181	bad	<i>kara:b</i>
134	sour	<i>jofo</i>	182	big	<i>maraM</i>
135	sweet	<i>helem</i>	183	dirty	<i>so</i>

184	dry	<i>roho:r</i>	220	from	<i>kon</i>
185	few	<i>aDikom</i>	221	he,she	<i>uni</i>
186	full	<i>pere?</i>	222	to her, to him	
187	good	<i>be:s</i>	223	here	<i>nonDe</i>
188	hand	<i>ti:</i>	224	his/her	<i>aJa/unia</i>
189	honest	<i>be:s</i>	225	how	<i>okalika:te</i>
190	long	<i>jhal</i>	226	I	<i>iM</i>
191	many	<i>De:r</i>	227	it/this	<i>nu?do</i>
192	narrow	<i>sului</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>mwādo</i>
193	new	<i>nouwa</i>	229	its/of this	<i>mwā</i>
194	old	<i>ma:re</i>	230	like	<i>leka</i>
195	raw	<i>beral</i>	231	to me	<i>hiMdo</i>
196	rotten	<i>siyā</i>	232	my	<i>iMa</i>
197	east	<i>purub</i>	233	our	<i>alia</i>
198	end	<i>mucat</i>	234	not	<i>baM</i>
199	far	<i>sangin</i>	235	so/thus	<i>onate</i>
200	left	<i>langa</i>	236	that	<i>ona</i>
201	middle	<i>talla</i>	237	to them	<i>unku</i>
202	near	<i>su:r</i>	238	then	<i>kate</i>
203	north	<i>uttar</i>	239	those	<i>onaku</i>
204	out	<i>bahare</i>	240	there	<i>oNDe</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>jo?jo pahaTTa</i>	241	they	<i>unku</i>
206	south	<i>dukkin</i>	242	their	<i>unkua</i>
207	again	<i>dohola</i>	243	these	<i>Dhe:r</i>
208	always	<i>sarasaTu</i>	244	to us	<i>ale/abo</i>
209	before	<i>manaM</i>	245	we	<i>ale/abo</i>
210	daily	<i>di:n</i>	246	what	<i>ce:?d</i>
211	day	<i>si:M</i>	247	when	<i>tis/tinre</i>
212	evening	<i>ayūb</i>	248	where	<i>okare</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>logon</i>	249	who	<i>hokko:l</i>
214	afterwards	<i>tagom</i>	250	why	<i>cheDadai?</i>
215	behind	<i>pechu</i>			
216	between	<i>talla</i>			
217	by	<i>tel</i>			
218	down	<i>dalaM</i>			
219	for	<i>lagit</i>			

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SAVARA

R. Selvin Anand

Introduction

Savara (So: ra:) is one of the seven Munda languages recorded in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India. The term 'Savara' is an ethnic name of the people who speak Savara language as well as the name of the language spoken by them. This term is spelt and pronounced as Sora, Savara, Soura, Saora and Sawara. But the spelling 'Savara' which was used by Grierson has been retained here.

Savaras inhabit essentially in the Parlakhemundi Subdivision of the Ganjam district and Gunupur subdivision of the Koraput district of Orissa.

Savara language is mainly spoken by the Savara (Saora, Savaras and Sahara) tribe. The Mala Savaras and the Jara Savaras who speak Oriya are often called Suddha Savaras and the Savaras who speak Imani, Jurai and Jadu varieties of Savara language are often called as Lanjia Savaras by the Oriyas.

Family affiliation

Savara is a language of Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family. Norman Zide (1969 : 412) classifies Savara language under South Munda. The distribution of Savara speakers in India and Orissa is given below.

Statistical Data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

SAVARA (LANGUAGE)					SAVARA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	273,168	133,828	139,340		T	273,165	133,826	139,339
	R	271,251	132,838	138,413		R	271,248	132,836	138,412
	U	1,917	990	927		U	1,917	990	927
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	214,523	104,467	110,056		T	214,523	104,467	110,056
	R	213,258	103,816	109,442		R	213,258	103,816	109,442
	U	1,265	651	614		U	1,265	651	614

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	273,168	122,131	65,722	56,409	Oriya	80,425	44,144	36,281	11,647	8,442	3,205
					Telugu	39,700	20,456	19,244			
Orissa	214,523	85,530	47,010	38,520	Oriya	78,049	42,831	35,218	9,514	7,313	2,201
					Telugu	7,481	4,179	3,302			

Phonology

The Savara language consists of the following phonemes.

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

Front	Central	Back
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>A</i>	
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

[Scholars differ in opinion so far the vowel system of Savara is concerned, Ramamurty - 10 vowels system (1931), Mahapatra - 9 vowel - system (1963)].

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	-	<i>T</i> <i>D</i>	<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	?
Nasal	<i>m</i>	-	<i>n</i>	-	<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	-
Flap	-	-	<i>r</i>	-	-	-	-
Lateral	-	-	<i>l</i>	-	-	-	-
Fricative	-	-	<i>s</i>	-	-	-	-
Semivowel	<i>w</i>	-	-	-	<i>y</i>	-	-

Supra-segmentals length / : / is phonemic in Savara.

/i/ [i] high unrounded central short vowel. It occurs before bilabial nasal and glottal stop.
Example

	/kansim/	[kansim]	'chicken'
	/ji?i:/	[ji?t:]	'tooth'
[i]	high unrounded front short vowel. It occurs elsewhere.		
Example	/Dolei/	[Dolei]	'hunger'
	/Din/	[Din]	'cook'
/i:/	high unrounded front long vowel. It occurs in all positions.		
Example	/i:MAN/	[i:MAN]	'season'
	/ji?i:M/	[ji?i:M]	'leg'
	/si?i:/	[si?i:]	'hand'
/e/	[ε] lower-mid unrounded front vowel. It occurs before alveolar nasals and voiced checked retroflex stops.		
Example	/M'en/	[M'εn]	'I'
	/kimmeD/	[kimmeD]	'goat'
[e]	higher-mid unrounded front vowel. It occurs elsewhere.		
	/eM'jum/	[εM'jum]	'axe'
	/oDe/	[oDe]	'or'
/e:/	higher-mid unrounded front long vowel. It occurs in all positions.		
	/e:MDa/	[e:MDa]	'swim'
	/are:MAN/	[are:MAN]	'stone'
	/je?e:/	[je?e:]	'red'
/a/	[Λ] lower-mid unrounded back vowel. It occurs before bilabial stops.		
Example	/abo:i/	[Λbo:i]	'one'
	[a] low unrounded central vowel. It occurs elsewhere.		
Example	/amAn/	[amAn]	'you'
	/papar/	[pΛpar]	'grasshopper'
/a:/	low unrounded central long vowel. It occurs in all positions.		
Example	/a:nDe:rsi/	[a:NDe:rsi]	'finger'
	/kuma:b/	[kuma:b]	'ashes'
	/Da?a:/	[Da?a:]	'water'
/A/	mean-mid unrounded central vowel. It occurs initially and medially.		
Example	/AngajAn/	[AngajAn]	'moon'
	/kituMAN/	[kituMAN]	'god'
/u/	[U] lower-high rounded back vowel. It occurs before bilabial nasal.		
Example	/jum/	[jUm]	'eat'
[u]	high rounded back vowel. It occurs elsewhere.		
Example	/aDup/	[aDup']	'milk'
	/ua:M/	[ua:M]	'father'
/u:/	high rounded back long vowel. It occurs in all positions.		

Example

/u:/ 'yes' /u?u:D/ 'car'
/u?u:/ 'hair (in the head)'

/o/ [O] lower-mid rounded back vowel. It occurs before velar nasals and retroflex stops.

Example

/oMge:r/ [OMge:r] 'male'
/joDa/ [jODa] 'river'

[o] higher-mid rounded back vowel. It occurs elsewhere.

Example

/ome:i/ [ome:i] 'active'
/bosua/ [bosua] 'hundred'

/o:/ higher-mid rounded back long vowel. It occurs in all positions.

Example

/o:la:n/ [o:la:n] 'leaf'
/to:ge/ [to:ge] 'fire'
/jo?o:/ [jo?o:] 'fruit'

Nasalisation process

All vowels in the final position becomes nasalised under the following condition :

-V > Ṽ (after nasals and glottals)

Example

/ta:na/ [ta:nā] 'sister'
/mu?u/ [mu?ū] 'nose'

Consonants

/P/ [p'] voiceless bilabial (checked) stop. It occurs in the final position.

Example

/aDup/ [aDup'] 'milk'

[p] voiced bilabial stop. It occurs elsewhere.

Example

/pe:Di/ [pe:Di] 'coconut'
/papar/ [papar] 'grass-hopper'

/b/ [b'] voiced bilabial (checked) stop. It occurs in the final position.

Example

/ne:b/ [ne:b'] 'tree'

[b] voiced bilabial stop. It occurs elsewhere.

Example

/baru/ [baru] 'hill'
/bubuD/ [bubuD] 'worm'

/t/ [t] voiceless dental stop. It occurs initially and medially.

Example

/tarup/ [tarup] 'cloud'
/ate:M/ [ate:M] 'many'

/d/ voiced dental stop. It occurs initially and medially.

Example

/de:sa/ [de:sa] 'country'
/kudub/ [kudub] 'all'

/T/ [T'] voiceless retroflex (checked) stop. It occurs in the final position.

Example	/kinso:T/	[kinso:T']	'dog'
[T]	voiceless retroflex stop. It occurs elsewhere.		
Example	/aTa:na/	[aTa:na]	'cry'
	/araTa/	[araTa]	'snow'
/D/	voiced retroflex stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.		
Example	/Dukri/	[Dukri]	'married woman'
	/a:nDe:rsi/	[a:NDe:rsi]	'finger'
	/mo?o:D/	[mo?o:D]	'eye'
/c/	voiceless palatal stop. It occurs initially.		
Example	/citri/	[citri]	'ragi' (a kind of cereal)
/j/	voiced palatal stop. It occurs in all positions.		
Example	/ji?i:/	[ji?i:]	'tooth'
	/eM'jum/	[eM'jUm]	'axe'
	/abarij/	[abarij]	'full'
/k/	voiceless velar stop. It occurs initially and medially.		
Example	/kituM/	[kituM]	'god'
	/akarsi/	[akarsi]	'nail'
/g/	voiced velar stop. It occurs initially and medially.		
Example	/galji/	[galji]	'ten'
	/aga:b/	[aga:b']	'grass'
/ʔ/	glottal stop. It occurs medially.		
Example	/Da?a/	[Da?a]	'water'
/m/	bilabial nasal. It occurs in all positions.		
Example	/manra/	[manra]	'man'
	/amAn/	[amAn]	'you'
	/kansim/	[kansim]	'chicken'
/n/ [n]	dental nasal. It occurs before voiced dental stops.		
Example	/o:ndi/	[o:n di]	'bird'
[N]	retroflex nasal. It occurs before voiced retroflex stops.		
Example	/a:nDe:rsi/	[a:NDe:rsi]	'finger'
[n]	alveolar nasal. It occurs elsewhere.		
Example	/kansim/	[kans[m]	'chicken'
	/kan/	[kan]	'this'
/M/	palatal nasal. It occurs initially and medially.		
Example	/M'en/	[M'en]	'I'

/M/ Example	/eM'jum/	[eM'jum]	'axe'
	velar nasal. It occurs medially and finally.		
/r/ [ɾ] Example	/o:Mge:r/	[o:Mge:r]	'male'
	/gAmaM/	[gAmaM]	'Sora chief'
[r] Example	alveolar trill. It occurs after bilabial or retroflex stops and after alveolar nasals.		
	/ambri/	[ambri]	'like'
[r] Example	/Dra?a/	[Dra?a]	'elephant'
	/manra/	[manra]	'man'
/l/ Example	alveolar flap. It occurs elsewhere.		
	/rame:M/	[rame:M]	'cat'
/l/ Example	/uruMAN/	[uruMAN]	'bamboo'
	alveolar lateral. It occurs in all positions.		
/s/ Example	/laMga/	[laMga]	'beautiful'
	/a:la/	[a:la]	'tail'
/s/ Example	/kal/	[kal]	'difficult'
	voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs initially and medially.		
/w/ Example	/seriM/	[seriM]	'from'
	/bosua/	[bosua]	'hundred'
/y/ Example	semivowel. It occurs medially.		
	/talaiwa: mar/	[talaiwa: mar]	'old man'
/y/ Example	semivowel. It occurs initially.		
	/ya:gi/	[ya:gi]	'four'

Diphthongs

Diphthongs are common in this language.

Example	/ua/	/kua/	'well'
	/ia/	/taniami/	'black pepper'

Consonant clusters

Some of the consonant clusters which are commonly used in this language are given below:

/pr/	/pra:Da/	'heart/soul'
/kr/	/kre:Da/	'forget'
/Dr/	/Dram/	'bite'
/tr/	/traDu/	'strong'
/tn/	/tnaMyuM/	'breath'
/sk/	/sku:lsi/	'student'
/trD/	/trDu/	'hard'

Morphophonemics – Basic sandhi rules

Savara words undergo the following types of changes in the process of sandhi. 1.Replacement, 2.Deletion, 3.Changes involving deletion of syllable and 4.Changes in the morphemes having glottal stops.

Replacement

$n \rightarrow M' / - - j$

Example

are:MAN - ji → *are:MAM'ji* 'stones'
ansalo:n - ji → *ansalo:M'ji* 'women'

Deletion

(i) $m \rightarrow \phi / - + C (M')$

Example

eM'jum - M'en → *eM'juM'en* 'my axe'

(ii) $M \rightarrow \phi / - C (M', n)$

Example

ua:M - M'en → *ua:M'en* 'my father'
ua:M - nAm → *ua:nAm* 'your father'

(iii) $n \rightarrow \phi / - C (n)$

Example

DaMDio:n - M'en → *DaMDio:M'en* 'my daughter'

(iv) $T \rightarrow \phi / - - C (n \text{ and } b)$

Example

kinso:T - nAm → *kinso:nAm* 'your dog'
kinso:T - bin → *kinso:bin* 'your (plural) dog'

Changes involving deletion of syllable

When some disyllabic words are combined with other morphemes, the first syllable will be lost.

Example

o:Mge:r - pasi → *o:Mge:rsi* 'boy'
ansAlo - pasi → *ansAlosi* 'girl'
binā - kinso:T → *binaso:T* 'another dog'

Change in the morphemes and syllables having glottal stops

Example

Bo?o:p - M'en → *bo:mM'en* 'my head'
lu?u:D - nAm → *lu:nAm* 'your ear'
si?i: - M'en → *si:M'en* 'my hands'
su?u:M - len → *su:Mlen* 'our houses'

Morphology

Nouns

Savara nouns can be classified as animate and inanimate.

Noun markers : $\{-n\} \sim \{-jAn\} \sim \{-An\}$

$\{-n\}$ occurs after stems ending in a long vowel.

Example

manra:n 'man'

$\{-jAn\}$ occurs after stems ending in a short vowel.

Example

pasijAn 'child'
{ -An } occurs elsewhere.

Example

kinso:DAAn 'dog'
gorja:MAAn 'village'

The noun marker is often deleted in informal speech. Ramamurti (1931) has given nine conditions under which noun markers are deleted. For example, when the noun is used in the vocative case the noun marker is deleted.

o?o:nAn 'a child' *e:/ o?o:n/* 'oh ! child !'

Many nouns have short (contracted) forms.

Example

ansalo:n > *salo:n* 'woman'
aMgajAn > *gajAn* 'moon'
bo?o:bAn > *bo:bAn* 'head'

Gender

There are three meaning-based genders in this language, namely, masculine, feminine and neuter.

Example

Masculine : *manra:n* 'man'
Feminine : *ya:M* 'mother'
Neuter : *are:MAAn* 'stone'

The adjectives *O:Mge:r* 'male' and *ansalo* 'female' are prefixed to the nouns to form masculine and feminine nouns respectively.

Example

pasi 'child' *o:Mge:rsi* 'boy'
ansalosi 'girl'

Masculine and feminine nouns are also formed by adding *-mar* or *-bo:i* to a verb or noun.

Example

ba:ra:mar 'worker' *seruMbo:i* 'bride'

Feminine nouns are sometimes formed by changing the final vowel (*-a* > *-i*) in the stems of the masculine nouns.

Example

DaMgaDa 'young man' *DaMgaDi* 'young woman'

Number

There are two numbers (singular and plural) in this language. Most of the nouns can take the plural morpheme { *-ji* } which is added to the singular nouns.

Example

manra:n 'man' *manra:M'ji* 'men'
jundu 'animal' *jondum'ji* 'animals'

Cases and postpositions

The case suffixes/postpositions which occur in this language are given below.

Cases	Case suffixes/ Postpositions	Examples
1. Nominative	ϕ	<i>Kinso:DA</i> 'dog'
2. Accusative	<i>-a-Do? o:M</i>	<i>Anin-a-Do? o:M</i> 'to him'
3. Dative	<i>Ammele -a-Do? o:M</i>	<i>amAn ammele</i> 'for you'
4. Instrumental / Sociative	<i>ba:te</i>	<i>M'en ba:te</i> 'by/with me'
5. Locative	<i>liMan</i>	<i>tula:b-liMan</i> 'in the forest'
6. Ablative	<i>SeriM</i>	<i>sera:Mgo seriM</i> 'from scrango'
7. Genitive	<i>-M'en -nam -le:n</i>	<i>o:nDe:rsi - M'en</i> 'my finger' <i>kinso:T - nam</i> 'your dog' <i>gorja:M - le:n</i> 'our village'

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns which occur in this language are given below

Person	Singular	Plural
I	<i>M'en</i> 'I'	<i>anle:n</i> 'we'
II	<i>amAn</i> 'you'	<i>ambe:n</i> 'you'
III	<i>anin</i> 'he/she/it'	<i>aninji</i> 'they'

Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns which are commonly used in this language are:

<i>kan</i>	'this'	<i>kun</i>	'that'
<i>kana:te</i>	'this one'		

Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns which are commonly used in this language are:

<i>ua:n</i>	'where'	<i>bu:tin</i>	'who'
<i>eMa:le</i>	'how'	<i>ite:n</i>	'what'
<i>etina:sa:n</i>	'why'		

Adjectives

There are four kinds of adjectives in this language.

Attributive adjective

It describes the quality of the noun which it modifies.

Example

<i>ta?a:r</i>	'white'	<i>yaga</i>	'black'
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Quantitative adjective

It is used to indicate indefinite number.

Example

<i>asui</i>	'some'	<i>sabi</i>	'all'
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Numeral adjective

The cardinal numerals are added to the nouns to modify nouns.

Example

abo:i/bo 'one' *ba:gu* 'two'

Demonstrative adjective

The demonstrative pronouns are added as adjectives to modify nouns.

Example

kan 'this' *kun* 'that'

Numerals

There are twelve basic numerals in this language.

<i>aboi</i>	'one'	<i>ba:gu</i>	'two'
<i>ya:gi</i>	'three'	<i>uM'ji</i>	'four'
<i>monloi(molloi)</i>	'five'	<i>tuDru</i>	'six'
<i>gulji</i>	'seven'	<i>ta:mji</i>	'eight'
<i>tiM'ji (timji)</i>	'nine'	<i>galji</i>	'ten'
<i>galmui</i>	'eleven'	<i>miggat</i>	'twelve'

Higher numerals (upto nineteen) are formed by adding the respective basic number term plus /miggat/ 'twelve'

<i>miggat</i>	<i>aboi</i>	'thirteen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>ba:gu</i>	'fourteen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>ya:gi</i>	'fifteen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>uM'ji</i>	'sixteen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>monloi (molloi)</i>	'seventeen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>tuDru</i>	'eighteen'
<i>miggat</i>	<i>gulji</i>	'nineteen'
<i>bokuDi</i>		'twenty'

Higher numerals above this are counted in twenties.

Thus :

ba:kuDi 'forty' *molloi kuDi/bosua* 'hundred'

Verbs

Ramamurti (1931: 25 and 26) classifies Savara verbs into three classes.

Class I Consists of verbs which have an active sense and are not used reflexively.

Example

jir 'go' *jum* 'eat'

Class II Consists of verbs which denote action the result of which accrues to the agent.

Example

ber 'talk' *der* 'believe'

Class III Consists of some ordinary verbs and used impersonally.

Example

g?u:r 'ripen' (*saro:n g?u:rre* 'the paddy has ripened')

Words such as nouns are also sometimes used as verbs in this language.

Example

anin kina:le 'he became a prey to the tiger'

Finite verbs

Tense

There are two tenses, namely, past and non-past in this language.

Tense markers

Past : (-l-) Example *jum-l-a:i* 'I ate'
 Non-past: (-t-) Example *jum-t-a:i* 'I will eat/I am eating'

Verb root *jum* 'eat'

Person	Num	Pronoun	Past	Non-past
I	Sg.	M'en	<i>jumla:i</i> 'I ate'	<i>jumta:i</i> 'I will eat/I am eating'
	Pl.	<i>anle:n</i>	<i>a-jum-la:i</i> 'we ate'	<i>a-jum-ta:i</i> 'we will eat/we are eating'
II	Sg.	<i>amAn</i>	<i>jum le:</i> 'you ate'	<i>jum te</i> 'you will eat/you are eating'
	Pl.	<i>ambe:n</i>	<i>ajumle:</i> 'you ate'	<i>ajumte</i> 'you will eat/you are eating'
III	Sg.	<i>anin</i>	<i>jum le:</i> 'he ate'	<i>jumte:</i> 'he will eat/he is eating'
	Pl.	<i>aninji</i>	<i>jum le:ji</i> 'they ate'	<i>jum te:ji</i> 'they will eat/they are eating'

Person

There are three persons, namely, first, second and third in this language.

Mood

Indicative A verb which makes a statement of facts is in indicative mood.

Example

jumte:ji 'they will eat'/ 'they are eating'

Interrogative A verb which expresses question is in interrogative mood.

Example

amAn baMsa:le samaM po 'are you well?'

Imperative A verb which expresses a command, wish, etc. is said to be in imperative mood.

Example

amAn lja: 'you go' *amAn lja:t* 'you come'

Causative

Causatives are formed by adding the prefix *ab-* to the verb root.

Monosyllabic roots are generally reduplicated when causatives are formed.

Example

gu 'call' *guta:t* 'I shall call' *ab-gu-gu:-ta:t* 'I shall cause someone to call'

Negative

Negation of existence : *ijja* 'no/not'

Negative marker : *a-*

Example

amAn aM'um-nAm a-pa:Mla:t 'you did not bring your axe'

ijja, M'en irgini anin ammo 'No, I never saw him before'

Non-finite verbs

Infinitive The infinitive is formed by prefixing the particle *A-* before the root of the verb and suffixing *-ben* to the root.

Example

A- jum -ben 'to eat'

Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are usually formed by the addition of *-marAn* 'man' to the verb.

Example

ba:ra:marAn 'worker' *gadsarmarAn* 'one who reaps paddy'

Participles

Past participle of the verb (class I and II) are formed by adding the suffix *-le*.

Example

jum-le 'having eaten' (class I)

uma: -len 'having bathed' (class II)

Auxiliary verbs

The auxiliary verbs *laM* and *lo:* are commonly added to the verbs.

Example

anin kaM' - kaM' - la - ten 'he abuses (all people)'

anin gu - gu - lo: - ten 'he calls (me) frequently'

Compound verbs

Example

ij - tem 'go and sell' *ij - al - tem* 'come and sell'

Adverbs

Adverbs of this language may be divided into the following kinds based on their meaning.

1) Adverbs of time

Example

rubAn 'yesterday'

aMan 'when'

2) Adverbs of frequency

Example

barAn 'again'

3) Adverbs of place

Example

ua:n 'where'

laMka:n 'above'

4) Adverbs of manner

Example

ente ga:mle 'how'

baMsa:le 'well'

5) Adverbs of degree or quantity

Example

boiboi 'much'

dakka 'as much as'

Particles

Particles are those forms which cannot take either case or tense suffixes.

Example

Do - conjunctive particle

po - interrogative particle.

Interjection

Interjections which are commonly used in this language to express some emotion are :

aga:i ! 'alas !'

e:! 'oh !'

Reduplication

Some of the echo words which are commonly used in this language are:

boi boi 'very' *pir pir* 'worship'

Syntax

The general structure of a Savara simple sentence is :

Subject + Object + Verb

Example

gonDijAn *a:a:liMan* *Dakuten*

1 2 3

'the squirrel lives in a tree'

1 3 2

Sentences having SVO structure are also found in this language.

Example

(*aninji*) *ga: -sa:l-tenji* '(they) drink -liquor-they'

Description of types of sentences

Interrogative

Interrogative sentences are formed as follows

Using question word

A question word (*eMa:le* 'how' ; *itin-a:sa:n* 'why' etc.) is used in forming this type of sentences.

Example

amAn eMa:le galamle? 'how do you know?'

itin-a:sa:n amAn su:MAN atiyire:D? 'why did you not go home yesterday?'

Using interrogative particle

For the formation of 'yes' or 'no' type of interrogative sentences, the interrogative particle *po* (which expresses doubt and uncertainty) is added at the end of sentences.

Example

amAn bio l:rtai: po? 'are you coming tomorrow?'

amAn hinDin birtin po? 'can you speak Hindi?'

Negative sentence

Negative sentences are commonly formed by adding *teD* 'not' at the end of an affirmative sentence.

Example

kan munanAm teD 'this is not your bag'

Yes or no type of sentences are negated by using *ijja* 'no/not'

Imperative sentence

In an imperative sentence, the subject will be a second person. There are two types of imperative sentences, namely, affirmative and negative.

Affirmative

The marker *-a:* is generally added to the end of verbs in a sentence.

Example

juma: '(you) eat'

Negative (prohibitive)

Negative imperatives are usually formed by adding *-Do:M* at the end of sentences.

Example

toDubAn gigDo:M 'you don't look at the basket'

Causative

In a causative sentence the causative marker is added before the verb.

Example

M'en anin are:MAN DrubAn absisila:i
'I caused him to throw a stone yesterday'

Co-ordination

Sentences are co-ordinated by adding co-ordination marker *Do* 'and' between sentences.

Example

anin goble Do gaga:tin 'he was sitting and eating'.

Complex sentence

A Complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.

Example

abo:i su:Da tula:b liMan gorja:MAN aDamba abo:i

su:Da taba:r nebAn Dakole, aeMan ate:M o:ndiDaM'ji
 anda ara:hum suMlin DakolIM'ji
 'In a thick forest near a city of south there was a big banyan
 tree, in which many birds lived in their nests'

Brief sociolinguistic information

The main concentration of the people speaking Savara language is in the Ganjam district of Orissa and the Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh. Some attempts have been made to use the Oriya scripts for writing Savara language. The Christian missionaries have used Roman scripts for translating the gospels into this language. However, the whole of Bible is yet to be translated into this language. Tribal people in the Gunupur-Padampur region of the Ganjam district use a recently invented script system called Sorand-Sampeng. One primer employing this new script system has been prepared and published.

Linguistic studies have been carried out to some extent in this language. A *manual of so:ra: (Savara) language* has been published as long back as 1931 by Ramamurti. Another publication entitled *English-Sora dictionary*, compiled by the same author was published in the same year and his *Sora-English dictionary* was published in the year 1938.

Two important group of Savaras could be identified, namely, 1. the Savaras of the plain and 2. the Patara Savara. The former are the people who have settled permanently in the villages and represent the early Hinduised section of the Savara tribe while the latter are the people who are the most primitive section of the Savara and are mainly confined to the hills and forests of Orissa.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Savara	Sl. No	English	Savara
1	air	raMge	44	widow	kunrO:bO:i
2	ashes	kuma:b	45	wife	Dukrin
3	cloud	tarup	46	woman	ansAlobo:i
4	cold	sayu	47	ant	muyDa
5	darkness	luMAn	48	bird	o:ndi
6	earth	labo	49	cat	rame:
7	eclipse	mojuMAn	50	claw	akarsitiDAn
8	fire	toge	51	cock	o:nge:riM
9	fog	poiDa	52	cow	ansAlota:M
10	forest	kanriM(tula:b)	53	dog	kinso:T
11	hill	baru	54	egg	aresim
12	ice	aralDa	55	feather	reniM
13	moon	a:Mka:i(AMgajan)	56	fish	ayo:n
14	mountain	baru	57	fly	aro:JAn
15	rain	gamu:r	58	fox	bo:ra:
16	river	jo:Da	59	goat	kimme
17	road	sa:y	60	grease	migol
18	sand	lakoI	61	guts	kappō
19	wind	raMge	62	horn	DiriM
20	wood	ara:	63	back	KanDuM
21	baby	pasi	64	belly	Kampu:M
22	boy	o:Mge:rsi	65	blood	miM'a:m
23	bride	seruMbo:i	66	body	Da?a:M
24	bride groom	seruMmar	67	bone	ja?ja:M
25	brother	ka:kun	68	breast	meme
26	child	pasi	69	chest	mayo:M
27	daughter	DaMDiyo:n	70	ear	lu?u:D
28	father	ua:M	71	eye	mo?o:D
29	friend	saMgam	72	face	mukka
30	girl	ansalosi	73	fever	asu
31	husband	tano:Mba:	74	finger	a:nDe:rsi
32	male	o:Mge:r	75	flesh	jelu
33	man	manra	76	foot	ata:lji
34	marriage	seruM	77	hair	u?u:
35	maternal uncle	ma:ma:M	78	hand	si?i
36	maternal uncle's daughter	raMDiya:n	79	head	bo?o:p
37	mother	ya:M	80	heart	pra:Da
38	nephew	ta:ta:Man	81	leg	ji?i:M
39	niece	mosseI	82	lip	usa:ltam
40	old man	talaiwa:mar	83	liver	a:wanDiD
41	sister	ta:nā:	84	lung	baro
42	sister-in-law	bonnin	85	mouth	ta?a:D
43	son	o?o:n	86	neck	saMka
			87	nose	mu?u:M

88	spine	<i>kiM'a: MAn</i>	136	white	<i>ta?a:r/pAlun</i>
89	tongue	<i>la?a:M</i>	137	yellow	<i>saMsaMguDu:r</i>
90	tooth	<i>ji?i:</i>	138	hungry	<i>Dolei</i>
91	waist	<i>dia:n</i>	139	love	<i>ma:nne</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo?o</i>	140	pain	<i>asu:Da</i>
93	liquor	<i>alin</i>	141	true	<i>Ajadi:n</i>
94	milk	<i>aDup</i>	142	wish	<i>ane:me: mAn</i>
95	salt	<i>basiD</i>	143	ink	<i>iMk</i>
96	smoke	<i>gamuna</i>	144	school	<i>isku:l</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>ruMku:n</i>	145	student	<i>isku:l isijAn</i>
98	bed	<i>sandi:n</i>	146	teacher	<i>ma:stro:</i>
99	door	<i>sanaM</i>	147	bullet	<i>guDi:n</i>
100	house	<i>su?u:M</i>	148	first	<i>aparmaMta:n</i>
101	roof	<i>alsiM</i>	149	second	<i>anam ba:gu</i>
102	rope	<i>luwa:DA</i>	150	third	<i>ba:gu sedda:le ti:kia</i>
103	wall	<i>kinda:l</i>	151	one	<i>Abo:i</i>
104	well	<i>Da?a:n</i>	152	two	<i>ba:gu</i>
105	window	<i>sanna saMAn</i>	153	three	<i>ya:gi</i>
106	flower	<i>tarba</i>	154	four	<i>uMji</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo?o:</i>	155	five	<i>mollo:i</i>
108	garden	<i>ko:to:</i>	156	ten	<i>galji</i>
109	grass	<i>aga:bAn</i>	157	sixteen	<i>miggall uM'ji</i>
110	guava	<i>jilakanebAn</i>	158	twenty	<i>bokuDi</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>paDasa</i>	159	forty	<i>bakuDi</i>
112	leaf	<i>o:la</i>	160	do	<i>lum</i>
113	lily	<i>koMita:rAn</i>	161	pull	<i>DiM</i>
114	mango	<i>uDa:</i>	162	push	<i>kub</i>
115	paddy	<i>sero</i>	163	put	<i>Daku</i>
116	plough	<i>iMsa/or</i>	164	rub	<i>biD-biD</i>
117	potato	<i>alu:</i>	165	sell	<i>Tim</i>
118	root	<i>ja:D</i>	166	wash	<i>giDa/tuDaka:b</i>
119	sweet	<i>mana DAM</i>	167	work	<i>ba:ra:</i>
120	tree	<i>ne:b</i>	168	sing	<i>ken</i>
121	vegetable	<i>ua:bAn</i>	169	bring	<i>paM</i>
122	wheel	<i>sakka:Din</i>	170	climb	<i>Dai</i>
123	bitter	<i>baked</i>	171	come	<i>er</i>
124	black	<i>yaga</i>	172	give	<i>ti/tanite</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:na</i>	173	go	<i>erjir</i>
126	blue	<i>kaDuwu</i>	174	jump	<i>ur</i>
127	bright	<i>lartar</i>	175	vomit	<i>baj</i>
128	brown	<i>je?e</i>	176	say	<i>anobliM</i>
129	coldness	<i>raMa:n</i>	177	write	<i>id</i>
130	green	<i>ku:lijAn ambdi</i>	178	touch	<i>jah</i>
131	hat	<i>tupi:n</i>	179	bathe	<i>uma:</i>
132	light	<i>lier</i>	180	all	<i>kudub</i>
133	red	<i>je?e:</i>	181	bad	<i>erbaMsa</i>
134	sour	<i>arAMAn</i>	182	big	<i>su:Da</i>
135	sweet	<i>mana: DAM</i>	183	dirty	<i>aDil DAM</i>

184	dry	<i>asar</i>	219	for	<i>a:sa:n</i>
185	few	<i>asui</i>	220	from	<i>seriM</i>
186	full	<i>abrij</i>	221	he, she	<i>anin</i>
187	good	<i>baMsa:n</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>amaMan</i>
188	hand	<i>si?i</i>	223	here	<i>tene</i>
189	honest	<i>taruMna</i>	224	his/her	<i>anina:te</i>
190	long	<i>laMka</i>	225	how	<i>itano:muri</i>
191	many	<i>ate:M</i>	226	I	<i>M'en</i>
192	narrow	<i>rakuddAm</i>	227	it/this	<i>kani</i>
193	new	<i>tamme:</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>kani</i>
194	old	<i>pa:pur</i>	229	its/of this	<i>kana:te</i>
195	raw	<i>ergu?u:rAn</i>	230	like	<i>ambri</i>
196	rotten	<i>aso</i>	231	to me	<i>maMM'en</i>
197	east	<i>truDumayu</i>	232	my	<i>M'en</i>
198	end	<i>Amutti</i>	233	our	<i>le:n</i>
199	far	<i>saMa:i</i>	234	not	<i>ijja</i>
200	left	<i>kanrabDi si:ba:n</i>	235	so/thus	<i>kana:sa:M</i>
201	middle	<i>tara:M di:n</i>	236	that	<i>kuni</i>
202	near	<i>tuya</i>	237	to them	<i>amaManJi</i>
203	north	<i>utor</i>	238	then	<i>andiseriM</i>
204	out	<i>ba:e:rAn</i>	239	those	<i>kuniji</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>tike</i>	240	there	<i>titin</i>
206	south	<i>dakino</i>	241	they	<i>aninji</i>
207	again	<i>ba:r</i>	242	their	<i>koDln</i>
208	always	<i>to:do:M</i>	243	these	<i>kaniji</i>
209	before	<i>muka:ba:</i>	244	to us	<i>maMbo:lē:</i>
210	daily	<i>ujuMAn</i>	245	we	<i>anle:n</i>
211	day	<i>Dina</i>	246	what	<i>ite:n</i>
212	evening	<i>oMolAn</i>	247	when	<i>anno:n</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>baja:na</i>	248	where	<i>ua:namna</i>
214	afterwards	<i>jo:lo</i>	249	who	<i>butin</i>
215	behind	<i>tiki</i>	250	why	<i>yanDo</i>
216	between	<i>tara:Mdin</i>			
217	by	<i>ba:te:</i>			
218	down	<i>ja:tta</i>			

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DRAVIDIAN FAMILY KHOND/KONDH

S. Rajendran and S. Boopathy

Introduction

Family affiliation

Khond/Kondh language belongs to the central Dravidian group of the Dravidian family of language. It forms a sub-group known by the name Kui-Kuvi sub-group of which Kuvi is the southern branch of the Khond tribe while Kui is the northern one. Khond/kondh is the speech of one of the scheduled tribes of Orissa namely Kondh or Kandha.

Location

The speakers of Khond/Kondh language are concentrated essentially in the state of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. They are scantily distributed in the states and union territories of West Bengal, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Tripura, Chandigarh and Delhi. In the state of Orissa the Khond/Kondh speakers are located in the districts of Koraput, Ganjam and Kalahandi and in Andhra Pradesh they are settled in the adjacent districts of Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram.

Earlier census information

In Linguistic Survey of India of Grierson, "Kai, kandhi, or Khond" is reported as a "Dravidian language of the Intermediate group spoken in Orissa"(Grierson :1927:471). Prior to 1951 Census Kui and Kandha were treated as one language. However, from 1951 Census onwards Kui and Kandha have been treated as two separate mother tongue.

Statistical data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism - 1991

KHOND/KONDH (LANGUAGE)					KHOND/KONDH (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	220,783	108,691	112,092		T	197,762	96,988	100,774
	R	217,016	106,849	110,167		R	194,013	95,156	98,857
	U	3,767	1,842	1,925		U	3,749	1,832	1,917
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	193,775	94,896	98,879		T	191,177	93,627	97,550
	R	190,033	93,067	96,966		R	187,435	91,798	95,637
	U	3,742	1,829	1,913		U	3,742	1,829	1,913

Bilingualism

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	220,783	81,885	47,623	34,262	Oriya	65,801	38,780	27,021	6,793	4,555	2,238
					Telegu	15,920	8,767	7,153			
Orissa	193,775	64,656	37,958	26,698	Oriya	63,667	37,958	25,709	1,938	949	989
					Telegu	989	-----	989			

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Affricate						<i>c j</i>		
Fricative		<i>v</i>		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Lateral				<i>l</i>				
Flap				<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Frictionless continuant						<i>y</i>		

Suprasegmentals

Length	<i>/ : /</i>	Nasalization	<i>/ ~ /</i>
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Major allophonic distribution

Vowels do not show any specific allophonic variation.

Consonants show allophonic variation when they occur intervocally after a short vowel

/j/ is a voiced alveolar affricate when it occurs before nasal, elsewhere it is a voiced palatal affricate

/n/ is a palatal nasal before the homorganic affricate; dental before dental stop; elsewhere it is alveolar nasal

/v/ is a voiced labio-dental fricative occurring essentially initially and medially

/l/ is retroflex lateral before a retroflex stop elsewhere it is a voiced alveolar lateral

/s/ is a retroflex before a retroflex stop elsewhere it is a voiceless alveolar fricative

Phonemic distribution

Only /s/ and /v/ occur in all the three positions, namely, initially, medially and finally

Only /ʔ/, /N/, /M/ and /y/ occur at the word medial position

Rest of the consonants occur in initial and medial position

All consonants except /M, n, ʔ, y/ occur in the initial position and all of them occur intervocally and in clusters

There is no regular word final consonant. Some borrowed words like /pu:lis/ 'police', /pa:v/ 'quarter of a measure' have /-s/ and /-v/ in the word final occurrences respectively

Diphthongs

Khond/Kondh does not have diphthongs or vowel clusters. Whenever two vowels occur in a sequence, there is always a boundary between them.

Consonant clusters

Khond/Kondh has both initial and medial consonantal clusters, the latter occurring more frequently and in diverse combinations. New combinations by metathesis appear in the initial position.

There is no clear-cut single versus double consonantal contrasts in the language and hence it has become possible to analyse the double consonant clusters phonemically as single. The clusters of identical consonants are not recorded in the phonemic transcription.

In Khond/Kondh all consonants may be divided into two classes (a) obstruents: stops, affricates and fricative /s/ in which the voiced-voiceless opposition is significant; (b) sonorants: nasals, laterals, flaps and fricatives which are generally voiced and in which the opposition of voiced: voiceless is imperative.

All the two-consonantal clusters can be treated under the following four classes:

- (i) obstruent – obstruent
- (ii) sonorants – sonorants
- (iii) obstruents – sonorants
- (iv) sonorants – obstruents

Generally, clusters of voiceless obstruents are more numerous than those of the voiced ones. /c, D, j/ do not occur with any obstruent as first members or as second members, /g/ does not occur as first member and /b/ does not occur as second member with any obstruents.

With regard to sonorant – sonorant clusters /m, r, h/ have wider distribution as first member of clusters and /m, v/ as second members; /n/ never occurs as the first member of a cluster and /M/ never as the second member.

Among the obstruent – sonorant cluster /M, g/ do not combine with any obstruent as second members. /p, t, k/ have wider distribution as first member of clusters and /l, r, R, v/ as second member.

With regard to sonorant – obstruent clusters /y, v/ do not occur as the first member of cluster. Both voiced and voiceless obstruents occur after sonorants as second member of clusters /m, l, r/ have wider distribution as first member of cluster and /p, k, s, d/ as second members. /M/ is followed by only its homorganic stops /k, g/. It may be noted that four nasals /m, N, M, n/ contrast before /k/, /m, n, M/ before /d/ and /m, N/ before /p, t, s, D/. /c/ never occurs as the second member of the cluster.

Khond/Kondh has quite a few three-consonant clusters which occur in the non-initial position and between the first two peaks in a word such as (c) v c₁ c₂ c₃ v There is an audible release of c₂ before it meets c₃ in all such clusters. Even phonemically the syllabic division falls between c₂ and c₃. Thus structurally all c₁ c₂ c₃ clusters are sequences of c₁ c₂ plus a voiced obstruent or sonorant as c₃.

Only sonorants seem to occur as c₁ and comparatively more obstruents (though some of them are voiced) than sonorants occur as c₂. In contradiction to the formation of two consonant clusters, /M/ occurs as second member in a few three consonant clusters. /p/ occurs as second member and /N/ is the only phoneme that occurs in all the three positions in the whole system. It is interesting to note that /p, k, t, c, s/ among obstruents and /g/ among sonorants are not involved in c₁ c₂ c₃ in cluster position.

Morphophonemics

Both "internal" and "external" sandhi rules are found operating in Khond/Kondh language.

Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi which operates between two bound forms or between a free form and a bound form is often of the non-automatic type.

1. The final vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ of many nouns are dropped in some words before the plural morpheme. Example

/va:li - ka → va:lka/ 'stones' /palu - ka → palka/ 'teeth'
/udara - ka → udarka/ 'loans'

2. $\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ u \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \phi$ $\begin{Bmatrix} -ka \\ -Mga \end{Bmatrix}$

Example /ja:Rjya - ka → ja:Rika/ 'money purse'
/pu:yu - Mga → pu:Mga/ 'flowers'

3. $\begin{Bmatrix} yu \\ nu \\ mu \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \phi / -ka$

Example /tra:yu - ka → tra:ka/ 'heads'
/marnu - ka → markal/ 'trees'
/murm - ka → murkal/ 'nose-ring'

External sandhi

-V # + # V → V /-

/ma: - a: ba → ma: ba/ 'our father'
/ma: - ijo → ma: jo/ 'our house'
/ri: - ijo → ri: jo/ 'second house'
/ro: - iceka → ro: ceka/ 'a little'

-c → ∅ / - -tuh	
/hat - tuh → hatuh/	'to go completely'
/kut - tuh → kutuh/	'to shift completely'
/ve: - tuh → ve:tuh/	'to beat up'

Morphology

Khond/Kondh has the following classes of words -nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, connectives and clitics.

Nouns

Nouns are identified on purely morphological grounds being marked by certain exclusive grammatical categories of gender, number and case. A typical noun has the following structure: noun stem - gender/number - oblique formative - case. The stem may be simple (root) complex (root - one or more derivatives) or compound (more than one root).

Gender and number

There are two genders- masculine and non-masculine. All nouns denoting male persons belong to the masculine gender, both in singular and in plural, all others- those denoting female persons and the non-persons (birds, animals, plants, objects etc.) belong to the non-masculine gender. Syntactically, finite verbs and derived pronominals carry overt markers of gender contrast when they are used predicatively and thus reflect the gender and number of the subject noun.

There are two numbers in Khond/Kondh, singular (denoting 'one') and plural (denoting more than 'one'). Except in the case of a few masculine and feminine nouns, the singular is not marked.

A class of human nouns shows gender differentiation by suffixes. Among them a group of noun roots - ake - esi as the masculine singular marker and -eNi as feminine marker. Another group of nouns take -a as the masculine marker and -i as the feminine marker. Example

/kaMgre? -esi/	'thief' (masculine)	/kaMgra- eNi/	'thief' (feminine)
/gote? -esi/	'servant' (masculine)	/got-eNi/	'servant' (feminine)
/Dere? -esi/	'weaver' (masculine)	/Der-eNi/	'weaver' (feminine)
/kaN -a/	'blind man' (masculine)	/ko:N-i/	'blind woman'
/kuj -a/	'short man' (masculine)	/kuj-i/	'short woman'
/Dol-a/	'child' (masculine)	/Dol-i/	'child' (feminine)

A group of simple masculine nouns take -yā as the plural marker

/aku - aku - yā/	'grand father'	/a:ba -a:ba-yā/	'man'
/ka:Na - ka:Na -yā/	'blind man'	/DoMa -DoMa -yā/	'thieves'
/ta: yi -ta: yi -yā/	'younger brother'		

A few masculine nouns take -ka as the plural marker.

/go:Ru - go:r -ka/gRo:-ka/	'shepherds'
/guru -gur -ka/	'priests'

A group of complex nouns carrying masculine singular marker - si will take -ri as the plural marker. Example

/e:va -si -e:va -ri/	'they/those men'
/koka -si -ko:ka -ri/	'boys'
/ro? o- si -ro? a -ri/	'two men'
/keja -si -keja -ri/	'big men'

A group of complex nouns carrying the masculine singular marker -esi take -yā as the

plural marker

/DoMNe ? -esi -doMNa -yā/	'servants' (masculine)
/kaMgre? -esi -kaMgara -yā/	'thieves' (masculine)
/gote? -esi -gota -yā/	'guests' (masculine)

A simple feminine noun as well as a group of complex feminine nouns in singular form take -ska/-iska as the plural marker.

/atu -atu -ska/	'grand mothers'	/i: ya - i:ya -ska/	'mothers'
/ama - ama -ska/	'aunts'	/Dokri -Dokri -ska/	'wives'
/ka:ni -ka:Niska/	'blind women'	/totli -totliska/	'women stammerers'

A group of simple neuter nouns take -yā as the plural marker. Example

/a:sva -a:sva -yā/	'ducks'	/a:ji -a:ji -yā/	'hailstones'
/ne:cu -ne:cu -yā/	'days'		

A group of simple neuter nouns take -ka as the plural form. Example

/vali -valka/	'stones'	/koNu -koN -ka/	'eyes'
/vegu -ves -ka/	'firewoods'	/ja:cu -ja:s -ka/	'spoons'
/vanju -ves -ka/	'fingers'	/Do:Ri -Dro:-ka/	'ropes'

A small group of nouns take -Mga as the plural marker

/uli -uliMga/	'onions'	/ko:Di -ko:Di -Mga/	'cows'
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A group of non-masculine complex nouns take -?i as the plural marker

/ambcyi	-ambe-? i /	'who(feminine)/which'
/kajayi	-kaja-? i /	'bigwomen/animals'
/hi: nayi	-hi:na -? i /	'women/animals who give'

Pronouns

Pronouns are distinguished for number and gender and are inflected for case. Pronouns may be divided into- personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun and reflexive pronoun.

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns of the first and second person are a sub-class of nouns in that they are distinguished for number (but not for gender) and are inflected for case. Personal pronouns of third person are all derived from demonstrative and interrogative adjectives and are being treated under demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

The first person has two plurals, one inclusive (includes the party addressed) and one exclusive (excludes the party addressed)

Person	Singular		Plural	
First person	/na:nu/	'I'	/ma:mbu/	'we' (exclusive)
			/ma:ro/	'we' (inclusive)
Second person	/ni:nu/	'you'	/mi:mbu/mi:ru/	'you'(plural honorific)

Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns show gender-number distinction. They are formed from demonstrative adjective.

The demonstrative pronominal bases are -/i:/ 'this' /e:/ 'that' /u:/ 'that over there' /he:/ 'that yonder' /-asi/ 'masculine singular' /-ari/ 'masculine plural' /-di/ 'non-masculine singular' /-vi/ 'non-masculine plural'

There are five forms of demonstrative adjective indicating varying degrees of remoteness or proximity.

Number/ Gender	Proximate	Intermediate	Remote	More Remote	More Proximate
Singular masculine	/i:vasi/	/u:vasi/	/e:vasi/	/he:vasi/	/hu:vasi/
Plural masculine	/i:vari/	/u:vari/	/e:vari/	/he:vari/	/hu:vari/
Singular non-masculine	/i:di/	/u:di/	/e:di/	/he:di/	/hu:di/
Plural non-masculine	/i:vi/	/u:vi/	/e:vi/	/he:vi/	/hu:vi/

There is distinction between feminine and neuter for plural; feminine plural take *-sika* as marker whereas neuter plural take *-vi* as the marker.

Interrogative pronoun

The interrogative pronoun meaning 'who' are formed by the addition of the gender-number suffixes to the interrogative stem which has three variants.

Masculine		Non-masculine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>amba? asi</i>	<i>amba? ari</i>	<i>ambayi</i>	<i>amba? i</i>
<i>emba? asi</i>	<i>emba? ari</i>	<i>embayi</i>	<i>emba? i</i>
<i>imba? asi</i>	<i>imba? ari</i>	<i>imbayi</i>	<i>imba? i</i>

The interrogative pronouns referring to objects are /a:ni/ and /e:ni/ 'what'. There are derived interrogative pronouns formed by the addition of person-number suffixes to *e:ni*

Masculine		Non-masculine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>/e:nasi/</i> 'which man'	<i>/e:nari/</i> 'which men'	<i>/e:nayi/</i> 'which thing'	<i>/e:na? il</i> 'what'

Another type of interrogative pronoun used to question specifically with regard to type or location (meaning which or where) can be formed by *amini-imini-emni* 'which'. The stems *amini-imini* and more frequent.

	Singular		Plural	
Masculine	<i>/aminasi/</i>	'which man'	<i>/aminari/</i>	'which men'
	<i>/iminasi/</i>	'which man'	<i>/iminari/</i>	'which men'
	<i>/eminasi/</i>	'which man'	<i>/eminari/</i>	'which men'
Non-masculine	<i>/aminayi/</i>	'which woman/ thing'	<i>/amina? il</i>	'which women/ things'
	<i>/iminari/</i>	'which woman/ thing'	<i>/imina? il</i>	'which women/ things'
	<i>/eminari/</i>	'which woman/ thing'	<i>/emina? il</i>	'which women/ things'

Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are not distinguished for gender and occur only in the third person.

/ta:nu/ta:na/ 'he/she/it' /ta:mbu/ta:ma/tamu/ 'they'

The reflexive refer to the subject of the sentence in which case it occurs immediately after the subject. Example

/evasi ta:na a:ba lehēmannes/ 'he resembles his father'

/evasita:na ji:vu ji:nikiha koDDitesil/ 'he was defending himself'

/na:nu ha:ta?a nahā ta:nu va:hamcesil/ 'without my calling he himself came'

Numerals

Numerals are sub-class of nouns since they carry gender-number and are inflected for case. Khond/Kondh has numerals for 'one' and 'two', the numerals used for other numbers are of Indo-Aryan origin, those are borrowed from the Oriya language.

Cardinal numerals

/roNDi/ /eka/	'one'	/riNDi/ /du:yi/	'two'
/ti:ni/	'three'	/sa:ri/	'four'
/pa:sa/	'five'	/sa:/	'six'
/sa:ta/ /sa:to/	'seven'	/a:Ta/ /a:T/	'eight'
/no:/ /no:ho/	'nine'	/doso/ /dos/	'ten'

Numerals above forty are formed by using bound forms of the numeral *sa:ri*, *pa:so* which is followed by

/koDe/	'twenty'	/ri koDe daso/	'fifty'
/ti:n koDe/	'sixty'	/ti:n koDe daso/	'seventy'
/sa:ri koDe/	'eighty'	/sa:ri koDe daso/	'ninety'
/pa:so koDe/	'hundred'		

Fractionals

The fractionals most frequently used are probably borrowed from Oriya and are meant for measurement of clothes, grains currency. Example

/pa:v/	'quarter'	/ada/	'half'
/ti:n pa:v/	'three-fourth'		

For fractions of a rupee the words used are -

/no:punja/	'three-fourth of a rupee'
/Taka nara/	'one and a half rupee'
/Taka no: punja/	'one rupee and seventy five paise'

Cases

Case indicates the relationship between a noun or pronoun and the predicate in the sentence. The only case which expresses relation between two nouns is the genitive.

Nominative case

The nominative case is the base itself and is having no marker. A nominative form of a noun is free and uninflected and it is capable of occurring as the subject of a sentence.

Accusative case

The accusative case markers are *-ti, ni, Ni, -?i, -?ā, -ge, -go, -ti* occurs with neuter singular, *-ni* occurs with non-masculine plural nouns and also after uncharacterised masculine plural nouns, *-ni* occurs with feminine singular nouns and with neuter participial nouns, *-?i* occurs with masculine singular and plural nouns; *-?ā* occurs with personal pronouns and neuter singular and plural demonstrative pronouns. Example

/keyu -ti/	'head' (accusative)	/lika - Ni/	'houses' (accusative)
/ābā - Ni/	'fathers' (accusative)	/a:ya - Ni/	'woman' (accusative)
/kokaNa - ?i/	'boy' (accusative)	/na:na - ?ā/	'ye' (accusative)
/ni:na - ?ā/	'you' (accusative)	/e:da - ?ā/	'it' (accusative)
/e:va - ?ā/	'they' (neuter) (accusative)		

The accusative case of the personal pronouns is alternatively expressed also by the addition of the suffix *-ge / -go* which appears to be the original dative case suffix. Example

/nan - ge/nan - go/	'me'	/man - ge/man - go/	'us'
/nin - ge/nin - go/	'you' (accusative)	/min - ge/min - go/	'you' (accusative)

Dative case

The dative is formed by the suffixes *-ki, -naki, -taki* and *-ge, -ki* occurs with nouns denoting persons (except feminine singular nouns), *naki* after feminine singular nouns and neuter demonstrative pronouns and participle nouns *-taki* with the neuter nouns; for personal pronouns the dative case is formed by the addition of *-ga*. Example

/a:ba - ki/	'to the father'	/a:ya - naki/	'to the woman'
/eDa - naki/	'to her/to it'	/ilutaki/	'to the house'
/lika - taki/	'to the houses'	/naM - ge/	'to me'
/maM - ge/	'to us'	/niM - ge/	'to you'
/miM - ge/	'to you' (plural)		

Ablative case

The ablative case is formed by the addition of the suffix *-Ti*. Example

/ilu - ti/	'from the house'	/ilu ko - ti/	'from the houses'
/karu - Ti/	'from the eyes'	/neska - Ti/	'from the dogs'

For nouns denoting persons and with the pronouns the ablative case meaning is expressed by the addition of postposition *taNa* inflected for ablative *-Ti* to the genitive stem. Example

/kokaNataNa - Ti/	'from the body'	/kokra taNaTi/	'from the boys'
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Locative case

The locative case is formed by addition of *-ta* to the neuter singular nouns and *-na* with the neuter plural nouns. Example

/ilu - ta/	'in the house'	/ilka - Na/	'in the houses'
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-o occurs with certain neuter nouns. Example

/na:T - o/	'in the village'	/ij - o/	'in the house'
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Instrumental sociative

tole as the instrumental case suffix marks the use of the noun as the instrument of the action and as sociative case suffix marks the expressions the idea of association with some one. Example

/na:nu go:pa:tole hajama ce? ē/	'I went with Gopal'
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Adjective

The adjectives are not inflected for gender and number. Morphologically, adjectives may be classified into three types, namely, simple, complex and compound.

Simple adjective

The simple adjectives are of descriptive, demonstrative, interrogative and numerative types.

Descriptive adjective

/u:Na/	'small'	/nehĩ /	'good'
/ka:Riya/	'black'	/ambRi/	'sour'

Demonstrative adjective

/i:/	'this'	/e:/	'that'
/u:/	'that/there'	/hu:/	'that younder'
/he:/	'that yonder'		

Interrogative adjective

/amini/emini/	'which'	/a:ni/e:ni/	'what'
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Numeral adjective

/ro:/	'one'	/ti:n/	'three'
/oro/	'another'	/ri:/	'two'

Complex/derived adjective

Derived from adjectival roots

/icayi/iceka/	'this much'	/ucekel/	'that much'
/ecayi/eceka/	'how much'		

Derived from nouns

/marnuti koma/	'branch of tree'	/kaDaTi e:yu/	'river water'
/e:vani ilu/	'his house'		

Derived from verbs

/u:da/	'wet'	/no:ka/	'first'
/du:ti/	'very old'	/pikni/	'heavy'
/o:fiti/	'nice'	/ruki ko:Di/	'ploughing bull'
/va:gi a:ku/	'drying leaf'	/rukini ko:Di/	'bull which is ploughing'

Compound adjectives

/gaTi gaTi/	'huge'	/ici:ci/	'very small'
/Deka Deka/	'very hard'	/kica kica/	'very very bad'

Verbs

Verbs are inflected for tense, mood and aspect. The nucleus of the verb form is the verb stem.

Morphologically finite verbs possess person-number-gender marker while the non-finite verbs do not.

Tense

There are two tenses- past and non-past.

Past tense

-t- is the past tense morpheme having three allomorphs $t \sim c \sim h$. Stems ending in vowel, glottal stop and aspirants take -t, those ending in sonorants take -c and those ending in obstruents take -h. Example

/kac (i) -kaci-t-/	'bite'	/va:- va:-t/	'come'
/ki- ki-t/	'did'	/kot- kot-h/	'pecked'
/veT- veT-h/	'returned'	/tin- tin-c/ti-c-/	'ate'
/in- in-c/i-c/	'said'	/ve: ? ve:-t/	'beat'
/le? -le-t/	'hanged'	/guh- gus-t/	'swallowed'
/to-h to:s-t-/	'showed'		

Non-past

The non-past tense suffix -n- has the following allomorphs $\phi \sim -d \sim j \sim -n$.

ϕ occurs when the subject is first person singular

$j \sim d$ occurs with second person plural when the verb root ends in -l and other vowels respectively and -n occurs elsewhere.

The tense suffix is added to the verb base which is then followed by the person-number-gender suffix. Example

/kugi - ϕ - ? i /	'I will sit'	/tin - j - i /	'you will eat'
/ki -d- l/	'you will do'	/doh - n - esi/	'he will build'

Person-number-gender

Finite verbs in the past tense possess the following personal suffixes

Person	Singular	Plural
First person	-e?ē (exclusive) (inclusive)	-om i -ovi ~ -ayi (-o)
Second person	-l	-evi
Third person	-esi -e	-eri -u

Example

/hi:t -e? ē /	'I gave'	/hi:t -omi/	'we (exclusive) gave'
/hi:t -ovi/	'we(inclusive) gave'	/hi:t -l /	'you gave'
/hi:t -eri/	'you(plural) gave'	/hi:t -esi/	'he gave'
/hi:t -eri/	'they gave'	/hi: t-e/	'she gave'
/hi: t-u/	'they gave'		

The personal suffixes of the non-past finite verb are same as those of past finite verbs except that the first person singular suffix in the non-past is -i. Example

/kugi? -i /	'I will sit'
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Mood

Indicative mood

Verb stem - (negative) - tense - person-number-gender

/hi:t- eri/	'they(masculine) gave'	
/ta-t -u/	'they(feminine) brought'	/haTa- a?- ē -t-e?ē / 'I did not call'
/ki -? a -t -l/	'you did not do'	

Imperative mood -mu and -du

- mu is used when the subject is second person plural;
- du is used when the subject is second person singular
- mu has an alternant -a mu that occurs after -i and
- n and -mu occurs elsewhere.
- du has alternants as

-adu occurs after the verb stems ending in -i and -n
-ju after -n ending stems and -du elsewhere. Example

/va:mu/	'come'(you singular)	/pa:c(i)-amu/	'sing'(you singular)
/ven-amu/	'listen'(you singular)	/va:-du/	'come'(you plural)
/e:nd(i)amu/	'dance' (you plural)	/ven-ju/	'listen'(you plural)

Desiderative mood

-p- is the morpheme which is followed by third person marker. The alternant -mb- freely varying with -b- occurs after stems ending -i and -n, -p- elsewhere. Example

/kaca-p-esi/	'let him bite'	/kaca-?a -pe -p-esi/	'let him not bite'
/ven -mb-esi/	'let him listen'	/ven-?a-p-esi/	'let him not listen'

Prohibitive mood

-ni and -du added to negative verb stem expresses prohibition.

-ni is used in second person singular; -du for second person plural. Example

/kica-?a -ni/	'do not pinch'(you singular)
/tap- ?a-ni/	'do not stop'(you singular)
/kica-?a-du/	'do not pinch'(you plural)
/tap-?a-du/	'do not stop'(you plural)

Optative mood

Optative verbal forms are formed by the addition of second person suffixes to the verb stem directly without tense marker. The second person singular suffix is often found nasalized; a glottal stop appears in between the stem and the personal suffixes to prevent hiatus. Example

/ki? ɿ/	'you (singular) may do it'
/ki?erɿ/	'you(plural) may do it'
/ka:h ɿ/	'you do not do it'
/ha-herɿ/	'you (plural) don't do it'

Hortative mood

This is expressed by suffixing -o after non-past tense suffix -n. The subject of the verb in the optative mood is always the first person inclusive plural. Example

/hi: -n-o/	'let us give'	/ki -n-o/	'let us do'
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Non-finite verbal forms

Infinitive: main verb - auxiliary verb hi: 'to give' - other relevant suffixes;

/koDali hi:te? ẽ/	'I allowed (somebody) to bring'
/hajali hi:?ani/	'do not allow(somebody) to go'
/mi:yali hi:mu/	'follow (somebody) to bathe'
/pa:cali hi:navi/	'we will allow (somebody)'

Aspect

Durative aspect

- (I) main verb in durative participle form – auxiliary verb – man – tense – other relevant suffixes
verb – man – tense – other relevant suffixes

/kugi mace? ē/	'I was sitting'	/kihi mace? ē/	'I was doing'
/kugi manesi/	'he is sitting'	/kihi mavesi/	'he is doing'

- (II) main verb in durative participle form – auxiliary verb *hi* – negative – tense – other relevant suffixes.

/hi:hi hila? atesi/	'he was not giving'	/hi:hi hilo? osi/	'he is not giving'
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Perfect aspect

- (i) main verb in perfect participle form – auxiliary verb – man – tense – other relevant suffixes.

/kuga maceri/	'they had sat down'	/kiha maceri/	'they had done'
/kuga mane/	'she has sat down'	/kiha mane/	'she has done'

- (ii) main verb in perfect participle form – auxiliary verb *hil* – negative marker – other relevant suffixes.

/hi:ha hila? a tesi/	'he had not given'	/hi:ha hilo? osi/	'he has not given'
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Verbal compounding

There are two types of verbal compounding viz.. sub-ordinate compounding and co-ordinate compounding.

Sub-ordinate compounding

Compound verbs in adverbial participle form, infinite form, durative participle form and perfective participle form with subsidiary verbs gives various shades of meaning with reference to tense, mood and aspect.

Co-ordinate compounding

Co-ordinate compounding takes place between two verbs denoting two successive actions. It is having the structure verb stem – *ka* – verb stems – other relevant suffixes. Mostly imperative mood is expressed by co-ordinate compounding.

/gos –ka halamu/	'go and drink'	/tinga va:mu/	'come and eat'
/vaja tiMga hanomi/	'we go to cook and eat'		

Noun – compounds

Many nouns enter into compounding with verbalizers. The most frequent verbalizers are

/-a:/	'to become'	/ki/	'to do'
/beta a:-/	'to meet'	/ma:da a:/	'to fight'
/beTi ki/	'to find'	/ma:da ki/	'to beat'

Prohibitive/negative

The Prohibitive or Negative marker *-ni* and *-du* added to the negative verb-stem *-ni* is used for second personal singular and *-du* for plural.

/kica-? ani/	'do not pinch'(you singular)
/tap -?a -ni/	'do not stop'(you singular)
/kica -?a -du/	'do not pinch'(you plural)
/tap-?a-du/	'do not stop'(you plural)

The structure of the prohibitive mood is main verb in infinitive form + auxiliary verb

- (KuDi) – negative marker – third person non-masculine marker *-e*

/gasali kuDe-? -e/	'he must not drink'
/kiyali kuDe-? -e/	'he must not do'
/tingali kuDe-? e/	'he must not eat'

Adverb

Syntactically adverbs function as attributes or complements to verb phrases or sentences. There is a small number of adverbs which can be said as basic as they are not derived verbal or nominal inflection. There are a few complex adverbs derived by adding exclusively adverbial suffixes. Morphologically identifiable adverbs can be divided into three- simple, complex and compound. They are classified semantically as adverbs of time, place and manner.

Simple adverbs

They are mono morphemic and are unmarked morphologically.

/o:Ri/	'again'	/rupa/	'completely'
/upko/	'freely'	/soje/	'directly'

Complex adverbs

Complex adverbs are divided from adjectives, nouns and verbs by addition of one or more derivative suffixes. Sometimes the roots are formally segmentable and their class may not be identifiable.

Root - e

/aT ke? -e/	'separately'	/me:ne? -e/	'silently'
/ko:le? e/	'easily'	/vohe? -e/	'jointly'

Demonstrative - le (-ki) ile

/e-le/	'in that way'	/ile - ki/	'in this way/manner'
/ele -ki/	'in that manner'		

Adjective - e

/sato/	'truth'	/sate? -e/	'truly'
/leko/	'upon/above'	/leko? -e/	'up above'

Verb - adverbial participle

Resultative

/hi:tati/	'when(somebody) gave'
/itinati/	'when(somebody) eat'

Causative

/ri:-t-aki/	'because it rained'	/jo:li-n -aki/	'because(somebody) tell'
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Conditional

/kaci -t -ih i/	'if (somebody) bite'
/hi:-t-ih i/	'if (somebody) gave'

Concessive

/mesta-t -ih i va/	'although (somebody)said'
/ve:t- ih i va/	'although (somebody) beat'

Completive

/kac-a, kac -hā, kac-ana; kac-anahā/	'having bitten'
/hi:-ha, hi:-hā, hi:-hahā, hi:-hana, hi:-hanhā/	'having given'

Continuative

/beci va: ? a/	'come and see'	/vigi h i/	'while thatching'
/taci va:hi/	'coming-bringing'	/ja:pi ha? i/	'going to learn'

Compound adverbs

Reduplicative:

(Repetition of continuative participle form expresses both continuity and intensity)

/meci mecih i/	'grazing continuously'
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/hajihaɣɪh ɪ/

'to keep on going'

/Riɪ ri:hi/

'keep on trying anything intensively'

Other compounds

These are formed by adding adverbial head with adjectives and nouns.

/elca be:Re? o/

'soon'

/o:Re reNDe?e/

'once/again'

/ve:Ra Dumbel/

'day time'

/panda mukayā/

'piece by piece'

Clitics

They form a class of words and particles which enter into construction with words, phrases or clauses as connectives or as elements signalling different modalities like interrogation, emphasis, probability, concession, permission, surprise, doubt etc.

Connectives

/e/va, ..., e/va/

'and'

/ape/paTe...ape/paTe/

'either ...or'

/injahā/oRe/

'and'

/matromis /sama/

'but'

/e:da? ātaki/lako/

'therefore'

/embaTise/

'and then'

/doboni?e/

'at once'

/leh ē/

'as/like'

Modality

/e:vasi? e/

'he-only'

/jo:ke, jike, jik?e/

'even/also'

/e:vasime/

'it could be him'

/mane na/

'it is here, of course'

/peTe/ape/

'just'

/bale/

'so why'

/ha?o ve?sā/

'I may ask'

/koRe/

'only/even'

/i:di koRe a:?e/

'ho, not even this'

Syntax

Sentences are two types -major and minor. Minor sentences are formed of vocatives and interjection. Example

/he:ba/

'O! father'

/amare/

'O! aunty'

/huo:tut/

'expression of anger'

Major sentences are of three types -simple, complex and compound. A simple sentence has a single independent clause, a complex has a main clause and one or more subordinate clause: a compound sentence contains two or more independent clause combined by co-ordinating conjunctive.

Simple sentence

S = NP + PP (sentence = noun phrase + predicate phrase)

Noun phrase

NP=(adj P) + N ; Adj.P (Det) (Num) (Quano) (poss) (Des)

1. Det - N i:ho:ru

'this mountain'

2. Det - Num - N i:ri:marka

'these two trees'

3. Det - Poss - N e: na:yū-i lo:ku

'people of that country'

4. Num - N ro: raja

'a king'

5. Num - Num - N ro: a:Ta Dina

'one eighth days(a week)'

6. Num - Poss - N ri: tami pōdayā

'his two daughters'

7. Num - Des - N ro: kaja maru

'one big tree'

8. Num - Quan - N sa:ta puTimaNDiya

'seven measures of rice'

9. Quan - N heceka Takayā

'trayful of money'

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 10. | Poss - N | na:mir?esi | 'my son' |
| 11. | Poss - Des - N | na: i:ci rani | 'my younger queen' |
| 12. | Des - N | nehi himbori | 'good cloth' |

Adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrase contains simple or complex or compound adverbs.
/e:di dabRi vate/ 'she came quickly'

Complex sentence

Complex sentence has a main clause and one or more than one subordinate clause. The subordinate clauses are of two types- relative and adverbial clause'.

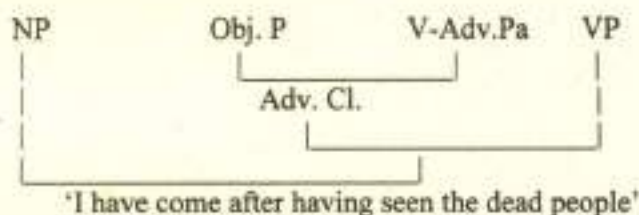
Relative clause

Relative clause contains a verbs form in relative participle form (that is adjectival participle form)

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>/hi:ti buRah/</i> | 'the oldman who gave' |
| <i>/hi:ti dabuyā/</i> | 'the rupee which were given' |
| <i>/ve:ti baRga/</i> | 'the stick with which (he) beat' |

Adverbial clause

An adverbial clause can contain a verb in adverbial participle form.
na: nu ha:ti lo:kuNi mosā va:ha ma? i



Compound sentences

A compound sentences contain two or more independent clauses combined by co-ordinating connection.

- /e:vasi oso uTesi matomi nelvi a:? atesi/*
 'he took medicine but did not get well'
/e:di kokaNa? i pomite injahā e:yu mīthe/
 'he embraced the boy and gave him a wish'
/mīrsi a:d? ate?āēē:da? ātakini va:tepe:/
 'I could not eat the chilly and therefore I came'

Brief Sociolinguistic information

Khonds are known by different names. Kond, Khond, Kondh, Kandh, etc. are some of the names used to refer to these people. The people call themselves as Ku or Kui, but are called Kondh or Kandha by the Oriyas and Kond by Telugu speakers. There is no unanimity among the scholars regarding the origin or derivation of the names of these people.

Khonds are primarily agriculturalists. They practise jhum and terrace cultivation. The language spoken by this people is Kuvi which belongs to Central Dravidian. A grammar of Kuvi language has been written by Joy Reddy (1979) and it is very closely related to Kui language. Both

the speech communities, namely, Kui and Kuvi are identified by the same tribal name Khond or Kondh.

Joy Reddy (1979) mentions that there are three main dialects in this language, namely, 1. The Rayagada dialect, bordering the district of Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh, 2. The Laximpur dialect corresponding to the Laximpur, Kasipur, Naurangpur subdivision and adjoining areas of Koraput district of Orissa and 3. The Dongria dialect corresponding to the Bisham-Cuttack and Maniguda subdivision and adjoining areas.

Kuvi is one of the well described languages so far as the minor languages of India are concerned. The boundary between Kui, Kuvi and Konda is not always maintained, as a result of which it becomes too difficult to classify the publications under each name.

Although publication of biblical literature started as early as 1893, the advantage enjoyed by the people on that was minimal. A couple of primers and language handbooks were prepared by the missionaries but in the absence of encouragement and participation from the native speakers this language lapsed back to the unwritten state.

After a gap of several decades, the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore published recently a phonetic reader on Kuvi language. A grammatical description, folk literature, a primer and copy books in a series have been brought out by it on Kuvi language. Despite all these attempts, this language remains an unwritten language only. Moreover, this language is not yet introduced as a medium of instruction or as a language in any of the schools.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Khond/Kondh	Sl. No	English	Khond/Kondh
1	air	ga:li	45	wife	a:ya a:Ri/Dokri
2	ashes	darmbu	46	woman	o:ca ma:Mga/a:ya
3	cloud	dundra/ha:gu	47	ant	seema
4	cold	penni	48	bird	poTTa
5	darkness	andiri	49	cat	vlleyi
6	earth	bho:mi	50	claw	mala
7	eclipse	garonumi	51	cock	go:nja
8	fire	iccu	52	cow	ko:di
9	fog	ha:gu	53	dog	ne?o:Di
10	forest	aRvu/kamNa	54	egg	to:la
11	hill	mi:la ho:ru	55	feather	kelu
12	ice	ajiMg	56	fish	mNi:nu
13	moon	lénju	57	fly	vi:hā:
14	mountain	ho:ru/ma:Ri	58	fox	nakka/kolya
15	rain	piu	59	goat	gori
16	river	na:gDu	60	grease	koDuva
17	road	pa:he:ri	61	guts	vahī
18	sand	bayili	62	horn	komu
19	wing	ga:li	63	back	je:nu
20	wood	veka:	64	belly	baNDi
21	baby	mi:la	65	blood	kasa
22	boy	Do:la	66	body	aMga
23	bride	bihā po:da	67	bone	Do:mmu/pDe:nu
24	bride groom	honi iMg	68	breast	ra:Mgu
25	brother	bo:va	69	chest	cipa:Dakki
26	child	do:la	70	ear	kriya
27	daughter	ma:Mga	71	eye	kanu/mRogla
28	father	a:ba/tanji	72	face	mumpu:
29	friend	soi	73	fever	no:mbri
30	girl	po:da	74	finger	vaMgju
31	husband	Dokra	75	flesh	u:Mgka:
32	male	a:baTTi	76	foot	pa:tam
33	man	mNe:ha	77	hair	ba:naMg
34	marriage	pendili	78	hand	keyu
35	maternal uncle	ma:ma:	79	head	tra:yu
36	maternal uncle's daughter	na:na	80	heart	tedalaMg
37	mother	tali	81	leg	koDDa
38	nephew	baNanja	82	lip	lu:Da
39	niece	baNanji	83	liver	tarlaMg
40	old man	buDha	84	lung	jiu po:nda
41	sister	na:na, taMgi	85	mouth	gu:thi
42	sister-in-law	ava/taMgi po:ya	86	neck	herki
43	son	mir?esi	87	nose	mu:Mgli
44	widow	raNDi	88	spine	DuTTu moha:Di
			89	tongue	Vendru

90	tooth	<i>pallu</i>	139	love	<i>rahā</i>
91	waist	<i>TeDily</i>	140	pain	<i>kastami</i>
92	fruit	<i>pa:Reyi</i>	141	true	<i>sotto</i>
93	liquor	<i>ka:Du</i>	142	wish	<i>isTomi</i>
94	milk	<i>pa:lu</i>	143	ink	<i>si:ra</i>
95	salt	<i>ha:ru</i>	144	school	<i>sku:li</i>
96	smoke		145	student	<i>ja:pia:si</i>
97	uncooked rice		146	teacher	<i>ja:pina:si</i>
98	bed	<i>buDutta:</i>	147	bullet	<i>gulli</i>
99	door	<i>da:ra</i>	148	first	<i>tolli</i>
100	house	<i>illu</i>	149	second	<i>jeā/reNDa:na:</i>
101	roof	<i>kadiri</i>	150	third	<i>ti:nai</i>
102	rope	<i>Do:ri</i>	151	one	<i>eka</i>
103	wall	<i>katiku:Du</i>	152	two	<i>riNDi</i>
104	well	<i>kuwā</i>	153	three	<i>ti:ni</i>
105	window	<i>kiTki</i>	154	four	<i>sa:ri</i>
106	flower	<i>pu:yu</i>	155	five	<i>pa:sa</i>
107	fruit	<i>pa:Reyi</i>	156	ten	<i>dos/doso</i>
108	garden	<i>doTTi</i>	157	sixteen	<i>sowla</i>
109	grass	<i>gaNDri</i>	158	twenty	<i>ko:Ri</i>
110	guava	<i>ja:mbu</i>	159	forty	<i>du:yi ko:Ri doso</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>paNhā:</i>	160	do	<i>ki</i>
112	leaf	<i>a:ku</i>	161	pull	<i>re</i>
113	lily	<i>panda: pu:yu</i>	162	push	<i>meDi</i>
114	mango	<i>ma:?</i>	163	put	<i>iTi</i>
115	paddy	<i>ku?liyā</i>	164	rub	<i>rubi</i>
116	plough	<i>na:rigeli/me:Ri</i>	165	sell	<i>pra:/pa:r</i>
117	potato	<i>a:lu</i>	166	wash	<i>ra:ccinai</i>
118	root	<i>gunna:</i>	167	work	<i>kamma</i>
119	sweet	<i>henna/anuMgu</i>	168	sing	<i>pa:ci</i>
120	tree	<i>mra:nu/mormu</i>	169	bring	<i>ta?/iTi</i>
121	vegetable	<i>kuccha Ta:di</i>	170	climb	<i>ho:?</i>
122	wheel	<i>billa:</i>	171	come	<i>kiN/kNi/keN/va:</i>
123	bitter	<i>kambeli</i>	172	give	<i>hi:nno</i>
124	black	<i>ka:Riya</i>	173	go	<i>hano</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:nala</i>	174	jump	<i>gumbi</i>
126	blue	<i>ni:li</i>	175	vomit	<i>kakvi</i>
127	bright	<i>ujDi</i>	176	say	<i>in</i>
128	brown	<i>ma:ndi:ni</i>	177	write	<i>ra:cno</i>
129	coldness	<i>jilli</i>	178	touch	<i>Di:gi/bRu:</i>
130	green	<i>pacca</i>	179	bathe	<i>e:yuminai</i>
131	hat	<i>Osomi</i>	180	all	<i>barre</i>
132	light	<i>baru ille</i>	181	bad	<i>kaMgala</i>
133	red	<i>nettiri</i>	182	big	<i>kaja</i>
134	sour	<i>ambRe</i>	183	dirty	<i>kaMgala</i>
135	sweet	<i>aNuMgu</i>	184	dry	<i>wainai</i>
136	white	<i>vella</i>	185	few	<i>roceka</i>
137	yellow	<i>hiMgri</i>	186	full	<i>pura:</i>
138	hungry	<i>hakki</i>	187	good	<i>nehī</i>

188	hand	<i>keyu</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>eddani , eva tyi</i>
189	honest	<i>sa:du</i>	223	here	<i>imbaā</i>
190	long	<i>lamba</i>	224	his/her	<i>evayī vadhi,</i>
191	many	<i>gaDu/gho:ru</i>			<i>edda:ni vadhi</i>
192	narrow	<i>Daska:</i>	225	how	<i>enihī</i>
193	new	<i>punai</i>	226	I	<i>na:nu</i>
194	old	<i>pNa?yi</i>	227	it/this	<i>idhi</i>
195	raw	<i>hi:lai</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>idhaā</i>
196	rotten	<i>sirha:nai</i>	229	its/of this	<i>idhani va: dhi</i>
197	east	<i>tu:ruppi</i>	230	like	<i>na:dalē</i>
198	end	<i>ra:ha:nai</i>	231	to me	<i>naMko</i>
199	far	<i>hekko</i>	232	my	<i>na:di</i>
200	left	<i>Te:bri</i>	233	our	<i>madi</i>
201	middle	<i>adara</i>	234	not	<i>a:e</i>
202	near	<i>Dege</i>	235	so/thus	<i>edha:n takki</i>
203	north	<i>uttor</i>	236	that	<i>e:di</i>
204	out	<i>boMga:</i>	237	to them	<i>evari Mg</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>tini pakka:</i>	238	then	<i>eda:ni jeoMg</i>
206	south	<i>dakkino</i>	239	those	<i>e:va</i>
207	again	<i>o:Re</i>	240	there	<i>yemba ha:Mg</i>
208	always	<i>barre dinna</i>	241	they	<i>eva:ri</i>
209	before	<i>toli?e</i>	242	their	<i>evarivai/evari vadhi</i>
210	daily	<i>sabudina</i>	243	these	<i>i:va</i>
211	day	<i>dinna</i>	244	to us	<i>maMgo/maMgei</i>
212	evening	<i>miR?ola</i>	245	we	<i>ma:mbu/ma:mbi</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>be:gi</i>	246	what	<i>enadi</i>
214	afterwards	<i>Dayū</i>	247	when	<i>e:di?e</i>
215	behind	<i>jeō</i>	248	where	<i>ambia/embiya</i>
216	between	<i>madye</i>	249	who	<i>embe:ye</i>
217	by	<i>taNa</i>	250	why	<i>a:natakki</i>
218	down	<i>telle:ni</i>			
219	for	<i>taki</i>			
220	from	<i>-Ti</i>			
221	he,she	<i>evay(he)e:di(she)</i>			

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KISAN

P. Perumalsamy

Family affiliation

Kisan is a language of north Dravidian group of Dravidian family of languages.

Location

Kisan speakers are concentrated essentially in the two districts of Orissa - Sambalpur and Sundargarh.

Statistical data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

KISAN (LANGUAGE)					KISAN (MOTHER TONGUE)				
		Persons	Male	Female			Persons	Male	Female
INDIA	T	162,088	81,091	80,997	INDIA	T	162,088	81,091	80,997
	R	151,949	75,828	76,121		R	151,949	75,828	76,121
	U	10,139	5,263	4,876		U	10,139	5,263	4,876
		Persons	Male	Female			Persons	Male	Female
ORISSA	T	160,704	80,345	80,359	ORISSA	T	160,704	80,345	80,359
	R	150,619	75,125	75,494		R	150,619	75,125	75,494
	U	10,085	5,220	4,865		U	10,085	5,220	4,865

Bilingualism :

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	162,088	93,735	49,302	44,433	Oriya	89,251	46,640	42,611	14,670	10,576	4,094
					Hindi	3,421	1,680	1,741			
Orissa	160,704	93,207	49,010	44,197	Oriya	89,190	46,600	42,590	14,463	10,444	4,019

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Higher mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Suprasegmentals

(a) Length of vowel / : / is phonemic

Examples

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------|--------------|------------|
| 1. | <i>hessu</i> | 'paddy' | <i>he:su</i> | 'blood' |
| 2. | <i>curi</i> | 'knife' | <i>cu:ri</i> | 'bracelet' |

(b) Nasalization of vowels / ~ / is phonemic

Examples

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-------|-------------|---------|
| 1. | <i>hu:s</i> | 'he' | <i>hõ:s</i> | 'duck' |
| 2. | <i>oTTa</i> | 'gum' | <i>õ.Tu</i> | 'shade' |

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop :							
Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>T</i>	-	<i>k</i>	-
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>D</i>	-	<i>g</i>	-
Aspirate:							
Voiceless	<i>p^h</i>	-	<i>t^h</i>	<i>T^h</i>	-	<i>k^h</i>	-
Voiced	<i>b^h</i>	-	<i>d^h</i>	<i>D^h</i>	-	<i>g^h</i>	-
Affricate:							
Voiceless	-	-	-	-	<i>c</i>	-	-
Voiced	-	-	-	-	<i>j</i>	-	-
Aspirate :							
Voiceless	-	-	-	-	<i>c^h</i>	-	-
Voiced	-	-	-	-	<i>j^h</i>	-	-
Fricative	-	-	<i>s</i>	-	-	-	<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	-	<i>n</i>	-	-	<i>M</i>	-
Lateral	-	-	<i>l</i>	-	-	-	-
Flap	-	-	<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>	-	-	-
Trill	-	-	<i>(R)</i>	-	-	-	-
Semivowel	<i>w</i>	-	-	-	<i>y</i>	-	-

[(*R*) is a marginal phoneme]

Major allophonic variations

Vowels

Phonemes

- / *i* / [*i*] - occurs word finally. Example
a:li 'woman'
[*I*] - occurs word-initially and word-medially. Example
IbaDa:d 'these', *gunhya* 'mosquito'.
/ *e* / [*e*] - occurs word-finally. Example:
nimhe 'your'
[*E*] - occurs word-initially and word-medially. Example
Emba: 'sweet', *jEhari* 'niece'.
/ *u* / [*u*] - occurs word finally. Example :
margu 'horn'

- [U] - occurs word-initially and word-medially. Example
Ucha: 'tall', *kUjuri* 'boil'
- /o/ [o] - occurs word finally. Example
saino 'soldier'
- [ɔ] - occurs word-initially and word-medially. Example
yska: 'rat', *rynand* 'husband's sister'
- /a/ [a] - occurs word finally. Example
esana 'break stick'
- [ʌ] - occurs word-initially and word-medially. Example
'lu 'potato', *nʌtti* 'grand son'

Consonants

1. Voiceless aspirates do not occur in the word final position. Thus /pʰ, tʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ are seen to occur only in the word initial and word-medial position. Exception being /ch/ that occurs in all three positions, initial, medial and final. [There are only few examples of /ch/ occurring in the word final position- *mich* 'lie, falsehood].

2. The phoneme /n/, alveolar nasal has three allophones, n (dental), *N* (retroflex) and *M* (palatal) occurring before t (dental), *D* (retroflex) and *j* (palatal) respectively. Examples

/n/	[n]	<i>niso:t</i> <i>e:n</i>	'lazy' 'I'	<i>cuna:ri</i>	'goldsmith'
	[<u>n</u>]	<i>o<u>n</u>tʰo</i>	'blind'	<i>n i <u>n</u> t a</i>	'blame'
	[N]	<i>raNDi</i>	'widow'	<i>bara:NDa</i>	'verandah'
	[M]	<i>paM'jora:</i>	'rib'	<i>kopa:maM'ji</i>	'lin seed'

Phonemic distributions

The phonemic distribution of the vowel and consonant phonemes are presented below :

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	✓	✓	✓
/e/	✓	✓	✓
/u/	✓	✓	✓
/o/	✓	✓	✓
/a/	✓	✓	✓

Consonants

/pʰ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
/b/	✓	✓	✓	✓	
/bʰ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	
/t/	✓	✓	✓	✓	

/p/	✓	✓		X		
/d/	✓	✓			✓	
/ḍ/	✓		✓		✓	
/t/	✓		✓		✓	
/tʰ/	✓		✓		X	
/D/		✓		✓		✓
/Ḍ/		✓		✓		✓
/k/		✓		✓		✓
/kʰ/		✓		✓		X
/g/		✓		✓		✓
/gʰ/		✓		✓		X
/c/		✓		✓		✓
/cʰ/		✓		✓		✓
/j/		✓		✓		✓
/ʃ/		✓		X		
/s/		✓		✓	X	✓
/h/		✓		✓		X
/m/	✓		✓		✓	
/n/	✓		✓		✓	
/M/	X	✓				
/r/	✓					
/R/		X		✓		X
/Ṛ/		X		✓		X
/l/		✓		✓		✓
/w/	✓		✓		X	
/y/		✓		✓		✓

Diphthongs

Diphthongs are found essentially in the medial position. These are exemplified as follows.

-ai-	<i>bhaira:</i>	'deaf mute'	-au-	<i>mausi</i>	'maternal aunt'
-oi-	<i>boṛsi</i>	'flute'	-oe-	<i>goel</i>	'bison'
-ui-	<i>kuilī</i>	'cuckoo'	-ue-	<i>nue:TTa</i>	'nine'

However, in the initial and final positions the occurrences are very few and these are exemplified below.

Initial position :	<i>au - aulana:</i>	'yawn'		
Final position :	<i>-ia: jia:</i>	'life'	<i>-oi- koi</i>	'lily'

Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are available in all three positions, namely, initial, medial and final.

Initial cluster

<i>pr-</i> , <i>br-</i> , <i>gr-</i> , <i>dw-</i>	Examples		
<i>praka:so:</i>	'publisher'	<i>prasansa:</i>	'praise'
<i>brahma:NDo</i>	'universe'	<i>brohospati</i>	'jupiter'
<i>groha</i>	'planet'	<i>gro:Na</i>	'hat'
<i>dwarpa:nd</i>	'gate'		

Medial cluster

Geminated : -pp-, -tt-, -TT-, -kk-, -bb-, -dd-, -DD-, -gg-, -cc-, -jj-, -ss-, -mm-, -nn-, -mm-, -ll-

Examples

<i>bhappe</i> :	'steam'	<i>katti</i>	'knife'
<i>boTTe</i>	'foam'	<i>Dukku</i>	'elopement'
<i>sebba</i>	'serve a master'	<i>haddu</i>	'son'
<i>haDDu</i>	'leg'	<i>bagge</i>	'more'
<i>lcca:</i>	'passion'	<i>hajju</i>	'clay'
<i>massu</i>	'beak'	<i>tumma</i>	'bitter gourd'
<i>baDka mannu</i>	'banyan tree'	<i>a:MTThi</i>	'finger'
<i>pallu</i>	'tooth'		

Non geminated or heterogenous

1. Obstruent – obstruent

-pt-, -pd-, -pD-, -pc-, -ps-, -bb-, -bd-, -bD-, -bc-, -tD-, -tk-, -dk-, -Tb-, -Tk-, -Dp-, -Dd-, -Dk-, -Dg-, -Ds-, -cD-, -ck-, -kp-, -kt-, -kd-, -kD-, -kc-, -ks-, -gD-, -sp-, -sT-, -st-, -sj-, -sk-, -sg-, -hD-

2. Obstruent – sonorant

-pm-, -pn-, -pl-, -pr-, -pR-, -py-, -bn-, -br-, -bR-, -tm-, -tn-, -tl-, -tr-, -tw-, -ty-, -dm-, -dn-, -dl-, -dw-, -Tm-, -Tn-, -Tl-, -Tr-, -Tw-, -Ty-, -Dm-, -Dn-, -Dr-, -Dw-, -Dy-, -cm-, -cn-, -cl-, -cr-, -jn-, -jr-, -jw-, -jy-, -kn-, -kl-, -kr-, -kw-, -ky-, -gn-, -gl-, -gr-, -gy-, -sm-, -sn-, -sl-, -sr-, -sw-, -sy-, -hn-, -hl-, -hr-

3. Sonorant – sonorant

-mn-, -ml-, -mr-, -nm-, -nw-, -ny-, -Mn-, -ln-, -lw-, -ly-, -rm-, -rn-, -rl-, -rw-, -wn-, -yn-

4. Sonorant – obstruent

-mp^h-, -mb-, -mt-, -md-, -mT-, -mD-, -mj-, -mh-, -nt-, -nd-, -nc-, -nj-, -nk-, -ns-, -nh-, -Mb-, -Mt-, -MT-, -MD-, -Mk-, -Mg-, -Mh-, -lp-, -lb-, -lt-, -ld-, lT-, -lc-, -lj-, -lk-, -lg-, -lh-, -rp-, -rb-, -rt-, -rd-, -rc-, -rj-, -rk-, -rg-, -rh-, -rs-, -Rk-, -Rg-, -Rh-, -wt-, -yp-, -yj-, -yg-

Final clusters

Two member and three member consonant clusters are found;

Examples:

Two consonant clusters

-mp-, -Mg-, -nd-, -Mk-			
<i>bulco:mp</i>	'earthquake'	<i>baMg</i>	'father'
<i>nonand</i>	'husband's sister'	<i>jiMkA</i>	'porcupine'

Three consonant clusters

-Dsk-, -lck-, -ksy-, -sTr-, -srn-

aDska: 'horse gram'
siksyapriti 'lesson'
misrna: 'collision'

elckatti 'timid'
ra:strapadi 'president'

Morpho-phonemics

The vowel -a is lost in the syllable final position when it follows another vowel sound and it is retained while it occurs after consonants and semivowels. Examples

kukka:y 'girl' kukka:yar 'girls'
kukko:s 'boy' kukko:r 'boys'
haddu 'child' haddu:r 'children'

In Kisan, further morphophonemic changes are seen where loss of -a has resulted from the occurrence of mid-back vowel 'o' before it. Examples

e:n baro: -an → e:n baro:n 'I shall come'
ni:n baro: -ay → ni:n baro:y 'you will come'
hu:s baro: -as → hu:s baro:s 'he will come'

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns classified into masculine singular, non-masculine singular, human plural and non-human plural are realised into two-tier genders masculine and feminine and their respective markers are -o:, -a:, -wa: for masculine and -a:y, -ba:li, -i: for feminine.

kukko: 'boy' kukka:y 'girl'
ajjo: 'grand father' ajji: 'grandmother'
sa:Da: 'wife's brother' sa:Di: 'wife's sister'
a:la: 'man' a:li: 'woman'
naTwa: 'actor' naTba:li: 'act.ess'

Besides, in kinship relation, -i: masculine and -o: feminine ending is observed.

somdi: 'father-in-law' somdo: 'mother-in-law'

The numbers are two term, singular (unmarked as -ϕ) and plural (marked as -r, -ar, -ir for human and guTTi:d for non-human). Examples

taMda 'daughter' taMdar 'daughters'
haddu 'son' haddu:r 'sons'
kukka: 'girl' kukka:yir 'girls'
ga:y 'cow' guTTi:d 'cows'

Pronouns

First and second person pronouns are not marked for gender while third personal is gender-based. Below are presented the pronouns available in Kisan. They are :

Human

		Singular	Plural
I	Person	e:n T'	e:m 'we'
II	Person	ni:n 'you'	ni:m 'you'
	Reflexive	ta:n 'self'	ta:m 'self'
III	Person		
	Masculine	hu:s 'he'	ha:r/a:r 'they'
	Feminine	hu:d 'she'	ha:r/a:r 'they'

Non-human*hu:dT:d* 'it'*guTTi*

'these'

Proximate and distant**Human**

	Proximate		Distant	
Singular	<i>i:</i>	'this'	<i>ha:/a:</i>	'that'
Plural	<i>ibaRa</i>	'these'	<i>habaRa</i>	'those'

Non-human

Singular	<i>i:d</i>	'this'	<i>a:d</i>	'that'
Plural	<i>ibaRa</i>	'these'	<i>abaRa</i>	'those'

Inanimate

<i>i:</i>	'this'	<i>a:</i>	'that'
-----------	--------	-----------	--------

Cases

Cases are six in Kisan. They are nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. Their respective markers are as follows.

Nominative	-	ϕ (unmarked)	
Accusative	-	<i>-a:n, eMga:n</i>	'to me'
		<i>taMga:n</i>	'to him/her'
Instrumental	-	<i>-ti, sostorti</i>	'with stick'
Dative	-	<i>-ge, taMge a:la:sin</i>	'to her husband'
Ablative	-	<i>-n t j, manmuntj</i>	'from the tree'
Genitive	-	<i>-e:-e, -n t a ~ ta</i>	
		<i>eMge aDpa:n</i>	'my house'
		<i>manmuntja</i>	'of the tree'
Locative	-	<i>-nnu, tappa:nnu</i>	'in the nest'

Interrogative pronouns*-ne:* (base)*ne:d*

'who'

ne:khe:t

'whose'

Indefinite pronouns*ni:mmen t j n*

'some of you'

Relative pronouns*taMga:n*

'whom'

ne:d

'who'

Adjectives

Adjectives function as attributes to nouns syntactically occurring before the nouns.

Examples

1. *onTa baDka: Dala:* 'a big basket'
2. *baDka: Dala: guTTi:d* 'big baskets'

Adjectives are of demonstrative, qualitative and numeral types.

Demonstrative adjectives

1. *i:* *a:la:s* 'this man'
2. *hu:* *a:la:s* 'that man'
3. *i:* *a:la:r* 'these men'
4. *hu:* *a:la:r* 'those men'

Qualitative adjectives

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. | <i>bonne</i> | <i>kukko:s</i> | 'the good boy' |
| 2. | <i>bonne</i> | <i>kukko:r</i> | 'the good boys' |
| 3. | <i>bonne</i> | <i>kukka:yid</i> | 'the good girl' |
| 4. | <i>bonne</i> | <i>kukka:yir</i> | 'the good girls' |

Numeral adjectives

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>itoNTa</i> | <i>khara:p padda</i> | 'this (one) is a bad village' |
| 2. | <i>itoNTa</i> | <i>nikoTi padda</i> | 'the(one) is a good village' |
| | <i>Also, a baDa joDe</i> | | 'there are two' |

form numeral adjective with a noun.

Numerals

The numeral system is blended with both native and borrowed elements. The first ten numerals are

<i>oNTa</i>	'one'	<i>joDe</i>	'two'
<i>mu:nTa</i>	'three'	<i>na:kTa</i>	'four'
<i>pance:TTa</i>	'five'	<i>sue:TTa</i>	'six'
<i>catte:TTa</i>	'seven'	<i>aTThe:TTa</i>	'eight'
<i>nue:TTa</i>	'nine' and	<i>tase:TTa</i>	'ten'

Numerals from 'one' to 'four' are sourced from Dravidian whereas the rest upto hundred are from Indo-Aryan akin to Oriya.

Verbs

Finite verbs

The finite verbs are inflected for person, number and gender. The non-finite verbs are not inflected and are predicates of the sub ordinate clauses. The non-finite categories of verbs are verbal nouns, gerunds and participles.

The second person singular imperatives are identical with the stem itself. Examples

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------|----|-------------|--------|
| 1. | <i>okka:</i> | 'sit down' | 2. | <i>ija:</i> | 'rise' |
| 3. | <i>idhin esa:</i> | 'break it' | | | |

Also, the imperative suffix -a: is extracted to form stems of respective words. Examples

<i>okk-</i>	'sit'	<i>ij-</i>	'rise'
<i>es-</i>	'break'		

Tense

The Kisan speech has the following tense system.

Present tense

Present tense markers of Kisan speech are -o:, -da:, -i: Example

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | <i>e:n isa:Mge: baro:n</i> | 'I come here' |
| 2. | <i>e:m isa:Mge: baro:m</i> | 'we come here' |
| 3. | <i>ni:n isa:Mge: baro:y</i> | 'you(sg.) come here' |
| 4. | <i>ni:m isa:Mge: baro:r</i> | 'you(pl.) come here' |
| 5. | <i>hu:s isa:Mge: baro:d</i> | 'he comes here' |
| 6. | <i>hu:d isa:Mge: baro:d</i> | 'she comes here' |
| 7. | <i>i:d isa:Mge: baro:d</i> | 'It comes here' |
| 8. | <i>ta:m isa:Mge: baro:r</i> | 'they come here' |

The other two markers *-da-* and *-i-* are used in the masculine and the feminine gender respectively.

1. *hu:s hasa:n i:jas* 'he stands there'
2. *hu:s isku:lge: ka:das* 'he goes to school'
3. *hu:d hasa:n iji:d* 'she stands there'

Past tense

The past tense markers are *-ca-*, *-ka-*, *-a-*, and *-da-*. Examples

1. *hu:s parta: miya:n kerka:ca:s* 'he went upto the hill'
2. *hu:s parta: ta: Di barca:s* 'he came down the hill'
3. *e:n khattarka:n* 'I fell down'
4. *e:n cekka:n* 'I caught'
5. *hu:d hakki* 'she found'
6. *hu:s khattara:s* 'he fell down'
7. *e:rdan* 'I looked'
8. *hakdan* 'I found'

Future tense

The future tense marker is *-o-*. Examples

1. *ni:n ko:y* 'you shall go'
2. *e:n nela: baro:n* 'I shall come tomorrow'

Aspects

Aspects are two namely, perfect and imperfect. The perfect markers are *-cikka:cikka-*, *-aliya-*, *-alka-*. Examples

1. *e:n pha:Du cikka: cikka:n* 'I was reading'
2. *e:n pha:Du cikka: cikka:m* 'we were reading'
3. *ni:m pha:Da lka:r* 'you(pl) were reading'
4. *hu:s pha:Da liya:s* 'he was reading'
5. *hu:d pha:Da liya:d* 'she was reading'
6. *ta:m pha:Da lya:r* 'they were reading'

Perfect

Perfect tenses are of three, namely, present, past and future.

Present perfect

Markers are *-ka:da-*, *-kici-* and *-kana-*. Examples

1. *mokka:da:n* 'I have eaten'
2. *mokka:da:m* 'we have eaten'
3. *mokka:da:y* 'you(sg.) have eaten'
4. *mokkici:d* 'she has eaten'
5. *mokkana:r* 'they have eaten'

Past perfect

Markers are *-cikka:*, *-cca:*, *-cikka:d*

Examples

1. *kerka:cikka:n* '(I) had gone'
2. *kerka:cca:r* 'they had gone'
3. *kamcikka:das* 'he had gone'

Future perfect

Marker is *-ka:ro:r*. Examples.

ni:m sappo:k manjka:ro:r 'you will have some support'

Personal terminations

First person singular	- <i>a:n</i> - <i>n</i>
plural	- <i>a:m</i> - <i>m</i>
Second person singular	- <i>y</i>
plural	- <i>r</i> - <i>ar</i> - <i>a:r</i>

Third person singular masculine	- <i>s</i> - <i>as</i> - <i>a:s</i>
non-masculine	- <i>d</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>d</i> - <i>a:d</i> - <i>i</i>
human plural	- <i>r</i> - <i>ar</i> - <i>a:r</i>
non-human plural	- <i>guTTi</i>

Moods

Imperative mood is formed by *-a:* to the verbal stem. Example

bara: (you) come (here) *okka:* (you) sit (down).

The prohibitive imperative is *ama:*. Example

hadin ama: teMga: 'don't say thus'

The habitual mood is *-da:*. Example

e:n portidi:n moyas ha:pu ho:da:n

'I used to take the she-buffalo for grazing everyday'

The negative mood marker is *-po:l* -

e:n nela: bara po:lda:n 'I shall not come tomorrow'

Conditional mood marker is *jo:ti* 'if' ... *helle:* 'then'

conditioned with future marker *-o:*

jo:ti ku:p ju:r nalku kamo:s helle hu:s sapfo:l mano:s

'If he works hard he will succeed'

Obligative mood marker is *nisci* 'ought'

e:n nisci baro:n 'I ought to come'

Optative mood marker is *harin* 'let' concord with the suffix- *gecy*. Example

harin sapfa bara:gecy: 'let them all come'

Aspect

Imperfect

Present :	<i>hu:s PaDhaldas</i>	'he is reading'
Past :	<i>hu:s PaDhaliya:s</i>	'he was reading'
Future :	<i>hu:s Pa:Dharo:d</i>	'he will be reading'

Perfect

kamcikka:das 'he had gone'

Non-finite verbs

Infinitive : *-ge* 'to'

1. *e:n bara:ge: caha:lda:n* 'I want to come'
2. *nimma:n bara:ge e:n teMgalka:n* 'I told you to come'
3. *bara:ge:* 'to come'

Verbal noun : -na:

1. i:bo:d mohna: malli:d 'this is not eatable'
2. i: ammu:d happanna: malli:d 'this water is not drinkable'

Gerund

-na:d used to the verb stem

1. ghudhiya:na:d gho:nti mania:d 'running is done by the horse'
2. bhukka:na:d alla:ti mana:li:d 'barking is being done by a dog'

Participle : -ka: added to the verbal stem

1. sapha:rin barahilaga:n mahaka:da:y 'all those you called have come'
2. ta:n khattarka: pa:Tu guTTi:n petta: 'she collected the fallen fruits'

Auxiliary verb

1. piTTa: ciya: 'to destroy'
2. ba:s kamliya:r 'lived'
3. i: ka:cca:r 'guarded'

Compound verb

The compound verbs are constituted of non finite – finite verbs. Example

1. e:n bara:ge caha:ldan 'I want to come'
2. e:n bara:ge bho:lakkaldan 'I like to come'
3. e:n pha:Dmoha:Mge bho:lakkalkan 'I liked to eat fruit'

Adverbs

The adverbial modifiers are -kiri, -Diya, Examples

Manner adverbs

1. aste:kiri 'slowly' < aste: 'slow'
2. mu:TTa:Diya: 'stoutly' < mu:TTa: 'stout'

Time adverbs

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|
| arga:libi:Di | 'afternoon' | agli paccili | 'afterwards' |
| din | 'day' | ho:rbre: | 'day before yesterday' |
| jolti | 'fast' | | |

Directional adverbs

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| puru:b | 'east' | Desri ka:De: | 'left side' |
| ti:na: ka:De: | 'right side' | ciddhaDiya | 'straightly' |

Particles

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|---------------|-------|
| aru | 'and' | hintu / kintu | 'but' |
| bakke:n | 'so' | bakkin | 'yet' |

Clitics

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|--------------|
| aru | 'and' | jaha: | 'as much as' |
| aro....hi | 'nor' | lekka: | 'like' |

kiri
khu:p

'so'
'some more'

chaDa

'besides'

Interjections

ma:l
e:

'mother !'
'vocative address' re:, ayo

ba:
'father'
'for pain and distress'

Syntax

Word order in sentences

The order of the words in sentences of Kisan language is as follows.

Subject + Object + Verb. Example

<u>hu:d</u>	<u>emhe:</u>	<u>aDpa:ge:</u>	<u>bara:d</u>
↓	↓	↓	↓
<u>she</u>	<u>our</u>	<u>house</u>	<u>comes</u>
↓	↓	↓	↓
subject	object		verb

Description of phrases

Noun phrase

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|--------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. | i:d | aNTa | ga:y | 'this is a cow' |
| 2. | tamhe: | kukko: | haddu:r | 'their sons' |
| 3. | tamhe: | kukko: | haddu | 'their son' |

Verb phrase

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----------|---------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | eMge | aDpa:ge: | ka:ldam | (my house-to go) | 'go to my house' |
| 2. | ninhe | aDpa:ge: | ka:ldan | (your house-to go) | 'go to your house' |

Prepositional phrase

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|--------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | ca:ca: | miya:n | ila: | 'step on the stone' | | |
| 2. | aDpa:ge | bhāure: | ka:la: | (house-to round go) | 'go round the house' | |
| 3. | rupo:T | panciri | ula | attili | (parrot cage in is) | 'parrot is in the cage' |

Adjectival phrase

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|---------|----------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | kaTTiTe: | haddu:s | hasa:n | okka:das | small | child | there | sitting | 'the small child is sitting there' |
| 2. | baDe: | aDpa: | large | home | | | | | 'the large house' |
| 3. | dhubla: | gho:nu | guTTi:d | | | | | | 'the white horses' |

Adverbial phrase

- | | | | | | |
|----|------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | kaDe | kaDe | teMga | (slowly speak) | 'speak slowly' |
| 2. | e:m | nela: | ko:m | (we tomorrow go-will) | 'we will go tomorrow' |

Description of type of constructions

Interrogative sentences -uh- type

What & why : formed with en-

What : <i>ni:m ende:n teMgalkar?</i>	'what did you say?'
Why : <i>ni:m endhirge ka:ldar?</i>	'why are you going?'
Who : formed with <i>ne-</i> <i>ne:d enhe: saMge baro:r?</i>	'who will come with me?'
When, where, how formed with <i>ekka</i>	
When : <i>ekka: bakke:n ni:m ka:lda:r?</i>	'when are you going?'
Where : <i>ni:n ekka:sa:n ro:y?</i>	'where do you live?'
How : <i>e:n ekka:ne: teMga:n?</i>	'how shall I speak?'

-ka suffixed for tag questions

<i>e:n hasa:Mge: ko:nka:?</i>	'shall I go there?'
<i>ta:n aDpa:nnu attalna:rka:?</i>	'are they at home?'

Negation

Negation markers are *-pol*, *-ma:l / mal / malla:*, *-ama:*. Examples

1. <i>ni:m nalku kama polda:r</i>	'you should not do the work'
2. <i>e:n jalli mal hakka:n bakke:n</i> <i>e:n inna: ka:la: polka:n</i>	'I could not find my net so I did not go today'
3. <i>e:n inna: ma:l barda:n</i>	'I am not coming today'
4. <i>e:n niMga:n aglin malla:e:run</i>	'I have never seen you before'
5. <i>hadin ama: teMga:</i>	'don't say thus'

Imperative sentences : -a: is the marker. Examples

1. <i>isa: Mge: bara:</i>	'come here'
2. <i>ammu Tike ondra:</i>	'bring some water'
3. <i>okka:</i>	'sit down'
4. <i>kaDe: kaDe: teMga:</i>	'speak slowly'

Passive sentences

1. *Tippa:d taMge:ti lekri:d* (note him-by written)
'a note is written by him'
hu:s Tippa oNTa lecka:das (he note a write + perfect + personal ending)
'he has written a note'
2. *bo:ki:d taMge:ti pha:Dra: bara:li:d*
'the book is being read by him'
hu:s bo:ki Pha:Ddas
'he reads a book'
3. *ahaDa:d bra:mana:re ma:l mohari:d*
'meat will not be eaten by Brahmins'
bra:mana ahaDa: ma:l mokano:r 'Brahmins will not eat meat'

Causative sentences

1. *e:n ta:n [hu:d] gi:t oNTa*
pa:Ta:ge: moMga: ba:dan [I her song one sing + to making]
'I am making her sing a song'
2. *e:n kukko:sen tiMka: moha:ge: teMgdan* (I the boy sweet eat + to make)
'I make the boy eat the sweet'
3. *e:n gho:no:n ghuthiya:ra:ge: ca: jka:da:n* 'I have made the horse run'

Double causative sentences

1. *e:n taMgestin bo:ki huva:ge: taMga:n hu:d maMgabahe teMgdan*
'I ask her to make her take that book from him'
2. *e:n eMga:Di:n kukko:se: ti:Mka mohadda:ge: (I my sister boy*
sweet feed to make) 'I make my sister feed the boy with sweets'

Relative clause

wh- Interrogative when stands for Noun
hu: mannunṭa DoDorunnu- oNTa kaDiya: neRu: ra:liya:d taMga:n
kua: guTTiya:r mahā: elca:liya:r
'in a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake whom
the crows feared greatly'

Wh- Interrogative when stands for location
ta:m kua:sta baksa:nta baDe pokkha:rige: anuciya:r asa:n
be:lase: ra:niguTTiya:r hemma:liya:r akka:r 'they approached
a big pond in palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having
bath'

Coordinate sentences

Conjoined noun phrase With *aru* 'or/and'
ni:m dhukilukko:r aru ti:nilukko:r saMge:n hessu hoyar 'you two
or three together cut the paddy crop'

Conjoined verb phrase with *hintu/kintu* 'but' {*aru*} 'and'

1. *habaDa maikana:rge: ka:na:ra:cca: hintu ha:r ma:lke:ra:r*
'those ladies had to go but they did not go'
2. *ka:la: aru kirra ba:ra:* 'go and come back'

Conjoined adjectival phrase with {*aru*} 'and' or {- ϕ }

1. *idhuge:ba:d kua:d aru maikua:d ha: mannunu maha:n kusinnu ra:cca:r*
'the crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards'
2. *kaDiya: neRu:d raMgara: raMgara: miyā: tappa: saha:ge: anuciya:d*
'the black snake crept higher and higher closer to the nest'

Conjoined particles with *hintu* 'but'

ra:ma:s kirusna:sen bara:ge teMgdas hintu kirusna:se: be: Dimalla:
'Ram makes Krishna come back but Krishna has no time'

Complex sentences

1. *jo:ti e:n bho:l ro:n e:n nela: baro:n*
'if I am well, I will come tomorrow'
2. *jo:ti ni:n Ti:k somoyannu barcikkaro:yne: na:m idhin pokiya:*
kamcikka: ratne:
'if you had come in time, we would have examined it'

Compound Sentence : with { *aru* } 'and'

e:n saDe tas' bajje: reil ga:Di okkada:n aru a:pi:sge: saDe:

egga:ro: bajje: barda:n

'I caught the train at 10.30 forenoon and came to the office at 11.30 fore noon'

Note: Along with Kisan, a small survey was conducted in Kurukh/Oraon also which is returned by a substantial number of speakers and a comparative study of the same has been done with Kisan. It has been seen that both Kisan and Kurukh are linguistically one and the same.

Brief sociolinguistic information

The tribes by name Kisan inhabit the states of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal. It is quite possible that these tribes were referred to as Kisan, a Hindi word referring to agriculture, because of their strong attachment and devotion to the agricultural occupation. Risley (1891) in his book entitled Tribes and Castes of Bengal describes Kisan as a section of Biahut sub-caste of Kalwars.

Kisan language is much related to the Kurukh/Oraon language of the north Dravidian group of Dravidian family. Grierson (1906), however, has classified this language as belonging to Austric family. But now it has been well established that it belongs to the north Dravidian group of languages only.

There is no evidence for the existence of any written literature in this language. Moreover, this language does not have a script system of its own.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English words	Kisan words	Sl. No	English words	Kisan words
1	air	<i>powan</i>	45	Wife	<i>mukka:</i>
2	ashes	<i>chintu</i>	46	woman	<i>a:li:</i>
3	cloud	<i>bodili</i>	47	ant	<i>chaTTi</i>
4	cold	<i>ToNDa</i>	48	bird	<i>o:ra</i>
5	darkness	<i>kulkuli uhā:</i>	49	cat	<i>bili</i>
6	earth	<i>pu:rthi</i>	50	claw	<i>arho:</i>
7	eclipse	<i>ghoron</i>	51	cock	<i>gaM'ja:</i>
8	fire	<i>cichchu</i>	52	cow	<i>ga:y</i>
9	fog	<i>kuhDi</i>	53	dog	<i>alla:</i>
10	forest	<i>harbu</i>	54	egg	<i>mcjji</i>
11	hill	<i>partta:</i>	55	feather	<i>peM'M'cho:</i>
12	ice	<i>boro:p</i>	56	fish	<i>iM'M'ju</i>
13	moon	<i>chando:</i>	57	fly	<i>uDiya:ra:</i>
14	mountain	<i>partta:</i>	58	fox	<i>kuliha:</i>
15	rain	<i>che:pu:</i>	59	goat	<i>e:Ra:</i>
16	river	<i>jo:Ru</i>	60	grease	<i>pipli</i>
17	road	<i>pa:bu</i>	61	guts	<i>maNDina:li</i>
18	sand	<i>dhu:li</i>	62	horn	<i>margu</i>
19	wing	<i>dhukka:</i>	63	back	<i>me:tu</i>
20	wood	<i>ka:Mku</i>	64	belly	<i>ku:lu:</i>
21	baby	<i>cho:TTe haddu</i>	65	blood	<i>hē:su</i>
22	boy	<i>kukko:</i>	66	body	<i>me:du</i>
23	bride	<i>kanya: kukka:y</i>	67	bone	<i>DaMgra:</i>
24	bride groom	<i>bor kukko</i>	68	breast	<i>Dudhi:</i>
25	brother	<i>bhai</i>	69	chest	<i>Chati</i>
26	child	<i>haddu</i>	70	ear	<i>hebda:</i>
27	daughter	<i>kukka:y</i>	71	eye	<i>haNNu</i>
28	father	<i>baMg</i>	72	face	<i>muhī</i>
29	friend	<i>saMghi</i>	73	fever	<i>nani</i>
30	girl	<i>kukka:y</i>	74	finger	<i>aMTTi</i>
31	husband	<i>metha:</i>	75	flesh	<i>ahaRa</i>
32	male	<i>a:la:</i>	76	foot	<i>pa:tu</i>
33	man	<i>a:la:</i>	77	hair	<i>chuTTi</i>
34	marriage	<i>beM'jarna:</i>	78	hand	<i>hekka:</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>mamu:</i>	79	head	<i>kukku:</i>
36	maternal uncle's		80	heart	<i>kolja:</i>
	daughter	<i>dayt:</i>	81	leg	<i>haDDu-</i>
37	mother	<i>ma:</i>	82	lip	<i>cho:lu</i>
38	nephew	<i>putra:</i>	83	liver	<i>dhal potta</i>
39	niece	<i>jehari</i>	84	lung	<i>phocka</i>
40	old man	<i>pacci:a:la:</i>	85	mouth	<i>tumna:</i>
41	sister	<i>dayi:</i>	86	neck	<i>hoTTo</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>sa:Ri</i>	87	nose	<i>muhī</i>
43	son	<i>haddu</i>	88	spine	<i>rihiRa</i>
44	widow	<i>raNDi</i>	89	tongue	<i>tatta:</i>

90	tooth	<i>pallu</i>	140	white	<i>dho:bu</i>
91	waist	<i>kaRma</i>	141	yellow	<i>holdiya:</i>
92	fruit	<i>pa:Du</i>	142	hungry	<i>kiDttu</i>
93	liquor	<i>arki</i>	143	love	<i>bholakna</i>
94	milk	<i>guras</i>	144	pain	<i>nunjna:/kosT</i>
95	salt	<i>be:ku</i>	145	true	<i>sottu</i>
96	smoke	<i>kuhuda</i>	146	wish	<i>icca:</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>tīhal</i>	147	ink	<i>seki:</i>
98	bed	<i>Dasana</i>	148	school	<i>lsku:l</i>
99	door	<i>kapaT</i>	149	student	<i>catro:</i>
100	house	<i>aDpa:</i>	150	teacher	<i>guru:</i>
101	roof	<i>cha:tu</i>	151	bullet	<i>guli:</i>
102	rope	<i>e:pu</i>	152	first	<i>poyale:</i>
103	wall	<i>kanti</i>	153	second	<i>du:sra:</i>
104	well	<i>tu:sa:</i>	154	third	<i>muNTa:</i>
105	window	<i>jorka:</i>	155	one	<i>oNTa:</i>
106	flower	<i>pumpu:</i>	156	two	<i>joDe:/dui</i>
107	fruit	<i>pha:Du</i>	157	three	<i>mu:NTa:</i>
108	garden	<i>bakcha:</i>	158	four	<i>na:kTa:</i>
109	grass	<i>laTTa:</i>	159	five	<i>pance:TTa:</i>
110	guava	<i>maya:</i>	160	ten	<i>tase:TTa</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>pano:s</i>	161	sixteen	<i>sullo:TTa</i>
112	leaf	<i>atta:h</i>	162	twenty	<i>kuDie:TTa</i>
113	lily	<i>ko:ī</i>	163	forty	<i>ca:lisTTa</i>
114	mango	<i>TaTTa:</i>	164	do	<i>manna:</i>
115	paddy	<i>hesu</i>	165	pull	<i>natkana:</i>
116	plough	<i>ukta:</i>	166	push	<i>Thelna:</i>
117	potato	<i>ahu:</i>	167	put	<i>i:na:</i>
118	root	<i>ce:ru</i>	168	rub	<i>rakaDa:na:</i>
119	sweet	<i>miTTa:</i>	169	sell	<i>bi:sna:</i>
120	tree	<i>maNNu</i>	170	wash	<i>ho:Dna:</i>
121	vegetable	<i>aDha:</i>	171	work	<i>nalku</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakka:</i>	172	sing	<i>pa:Dna:</i>
123	bitter	<i>haDka:</i>	173	bring	<i>Ondurna:</i>
124	black	<i>kaDiya:</i>	174	climb	<i>argana:</i>
125	blind	<i>ontho:</i>	175	come	<i>barna:</i>
126	blue	<i>nilya:</i>	176	give	<i>ci:na:</i>
127	bright	<i>ujjo:l</i>	177	go	<i>ka:na:</i>
128	brown	<i>hajuroMg</i>	178	jump	<i>Dekna:</i>
129	coldness	<i>TaNDha:</i>	179	vomit	<i>puTrana:</i>
130	green	<i>saguva:</i>	180	say	<i>deMgna:</i>
131	hot	<i>gorom</i>	181	write	<i>lekna:</i>
132	light	<i>billi</i>	182	touch	<i>esarna:</i>
133	red	<i>la:lu</i>	183	bathe	<i>emna:</i>
134	sour	<i>tissa:</i>	184	all	<i>jama:</i>
135	sweet	<i>emba:/miTTa:</i>	185	by	<i>dwa:r</i>
136	bad	<i>khara:p</i>	186	down	<i>kattrā:</i>
137	big	<i>baRka:</i>	187	for	<i>loga:n</i>
138	dirty	<i>moila:</i>	188	from	<i>ti:n</i>
139	dry	<i>heika:</i>	189	he, she	<i>hu:s, hu:d</i>

190	few	<i>Tike:</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>tamga:ge:</i>
191	full	<i>pura:</i>	223	here	<i>isa:n</i>
192	good	<i>bho:l</i>	224	his/her	<i>tina:ge:</i>
193	hard	<i>Ta:n</i>	225	how	<i>ekka:ne</i>
194	honest	<i>bhisba:si</i>	226	I	<i>e:n</i>
195	long	<i>lomba:</i>	227	it/this	<i>i:d</i>
196	many	<i>keddegu:de:</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>iduge:</i>
197	narrow	<i>sakDu</i>	229	its/of this	<i>idge:</i>
198	new	<i>puna:</i>	230	like	<i>lekka:</i>
199	old	<i>pacca:</i>	231	to me	<i>eMga:ge:</i>
200	raw	<i>kaM'ja:</i>	232	my	<i>eMge:</i>
201	rotten	<i>durka:nt</i>	233	our	<i>e:m</i>
202	east	<i>puru:b</i>	234	not	<i>malla:</i>
203	end	<i>se:s</i>	235	so/thus	<i>enne</i>
204	far	<i>gecca:</i>	236	that	<i>ha:d</i>
205	left	<i>Debri</i>	237	to them	<i>tama:ge:</i>
206	middle	<i>maja:</i>	238	then	<i>tarpori:</i>
207	near	<i>chaha:</i>	239	those	<i>aboDa:d</i>
208	north	<i>uto:r</i>	240	there	<i>hasa:n</i>
209	out	<i>bha:ri</i>	241	they	<i>hu:</i>
210	right/side/hand	<i>ti:ha:</i>	242	their	<i>harge:d</i>
211	south	<i>dokkin</i>	243	these	<i>ibaDa:d</i>
212	again	<i>arudore</i>	244	to us	<i>ima:ge:</i>
213	always	<i>hu:rmi bakke:n</i>	245	we	<i>e:m</i>
214	before	<i>agli</i>	246	what	<i>ende:d</i>
215	daily	<i>portidi:n</i>	247	when	<i>ekka:bakke:n</i>
216	day	<i>di:n</i>	248	where	<i>ekka:sa:n</i>
217	evening	<i>putbaDge</i>	249	who	<i>ne:d</i>
218	fast/quick	<i>jolti</i>	250	why	<i>endirge/enderge</i>
219	afterwards	<i>pore:</i>			
220	behind	<i>pacili</i>			
221	between	<i>maja:</i>			

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KOYA

S. Ganesh Baskaran

Introduction

Koya is the speech of one of the scheduled tribes of Orissa, mainly concentrated in Orissa and adjoining parts of Andhra Pradesh. For the purpose of present survey investigation was carried in the state of Orissa only. In Orissa the Koya speakers are located in in the southern part of Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district which is mostly covered with forest and hills.

Family affiliation

Koya is one among the dialects of Gondi language of the central Dravidian group of the Dravidian family. The Gonds are divided into two major ethnic groups – Rajgonds and Bastar Gonds. The Koyas belong to the Bastar Gonds (Grierson: *LSI*, Vol.-IV)

Nigam has the following observation about Koya "of late Koya has, however, been considered not as a dialect of Gondi but a member of a sub-group consisting of Konda and Pengu languages connecting Gondi sub-group with another sub-group of the name Kui-Kuvi in the Central Dravidian". (Nigam, *Handbook on mother tongues in census 1971*: p.132). The details of distribution of Koya speakers in India and Orissa is presented below.

Statistical data : Language, mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

KOYA (LANGUAGE)					KOYA (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	270,994	135,691	135,303		T	270,994	135,691	135,303
	R	268,506	134,336	134,170		R	268,506	134,336	134,170
	U	2,488	1,355	1,133		U	2,488	1,355	1,133
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	101,752	50,962	50,790		T	101,752	50,962	50,790
	R	101,634	50,897	50,737		R	101,634	50,897	50,737
	U	118	65	53		U	118	65	53

Bilingualism

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	270,994	147,320	76,217	71,103	Telugu	131,861	66,436	65,425	1,419	1,392	27
					Oriya	14,760	9,173	5,587			
Orissa	101,752	16,288	10,193	6,095	Oriya	14,760	9,173	5,587	510	510	-----
					Telugu	1,018	510	508			

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels	front	central	back
high	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
low		<i>a a:</i>	

Consonants

	bilabial	labio dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	pharyngeal
stop	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	
affricate					<i>c j</i>		
fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
lateral			<i>l</i>				
trill/flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
semivowel		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

Suprasegmentals: length / : / is phonemic

Major allophonic distribution

Vowels

/i/ has two allophones [i] and [i:].

[i:] High front unrounded short vowel occurs inter-consonantly in the first syllable.

/wil/	[wil]	'bow'
/mɪTTa/	[mɪTTa]	'move'

/i/ High front short unrounded vowel occurs in all positions.

/id/	[id]	'it'
/kis/	[kis]	'fire'

- / e / /ta:li/ [ta:li] 'dish'
 has two allophones [E] and [e].
 [E] open mid front unrounded short vowel occurs inter-consonantly in the first syllable.
 /ye:kka/ [yEkka] 'elder sister'
 [e] mid front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.
 /et/ [eT] 'plant'
 /eDj/ [eDf] 'bear'
 /kew/ [kew] 'ear'
- / a / has two allophones [A] and [a].
 [A] open mid back unrounded vowel occurs inter-consonantly in the first syllable.
 /pall/ [pAl] 'teeth'
 /narkom/ [nArkɔm] 'down'
- [a] low central short unrounded vowel occurs in all positions.
 /ar/ [aR] 'footpath'
 /alawa:v/ [alawa:t] 'habit'
 /lo:pa/ [lo:pa] 'swallow'
- / o / has two allophones [O] and [o].
 [O] mean mid back rounded short vowel occurs inter-consonantly in the first syllable.
 /gor/ [gOr] 'chicken'
- [o] mid back rounded short vowel occurs in all the positions.
 /okku/ [okku] 'if'
 /toy/ [toy] 'steam'
 /ba:To/ [ba:To] 'wife's brother'
- / u / has two allophones [] and [u].
 [] high back rounded short vowel occurs inter-vocally in the first syllable.
 /puTTum/ [p TTum] 'birth'
- [u] high back rounded vowel occurs in all the positions.
 /unD/ [unD] 'drink'
 /lup/ [lup] 'deer'
 /na:lu/ [na:lu] 'four'

Consonants

- / n / has four allophones [n̥], [N], [M'] and [n].
 [n̥] dental nasal occurs when it precedes the dental stop.
 /santa/ [san̥ta] 'market'
 [N] retroflex nasal occurs when it precedes the retroflex consonants.
 /panTa/ [pANTa] 'harvest'
 [M'] voiced unaspirated palatal nasal occurs medially when it precedes the palatal stop.
 /pe:nca/ [pe:M'ca] 'music'
- [n] voiced alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere.
 /nella/ [nElla] 'moon'
- / l / has two allophones / L / and [l].
 [L] voiced retroflex lateral occurs only in the medial positions.
 /nella/ [neLLa] 'moon'
- [l] voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all position.

	<i>/lekke/</i>	<i>[lEkke]</i>	'like'
<i>/r/</i> has two allophones <i>[R]</i> and <i>[r]</i> .			
<i>[R]</i> voiced retroflex trill occurs in the medial and final positions.			
	<i>/arra/</i>	<i>[aRRa]</i>	'yard'
	<i>/mar/</i>	<i>[mARR]</i>	'son'
<i>[r]</i> alveolar trill occurs in the initial and medial positions.			
	<i>/rekka/</i>	<i>[rEkka]</i>	'wing'
	<i>/na:ra/</i>	<i>[na:ra]</i>	'plant'

Distribution of phonemes

Vowels */i, e, a, o, u/* occur in all the three positions initial, medial and final.
/i:, e:, a:, o:, u:, / occur in the initial and medial positions only.

Consonants */p, b, t, d, T, D, c, j, k, g, s, h, l, r, m, n, w, y/* occur in the initial, medial and final positions.
/R, M/ occurs in the medial and final positions.

Diphthongs

Diphthongs found in Koya language such as */au-* and *ai-/*
 Example
/auM/ 'flesh' */aiM/* 'fire'

Consonant clusters

The consonantal clusters are of two types 1) two consonant cluster and 2) three consonant cluster of which the former occurs in the medial and final positions and the latter occurs only in the medial position. No initial consonantal cluster is attested.

Example

-pr-	<i>tapra</i>	'funny'	-rp-	<i>porpe</i>	'adopted'
-ps-	<i>kupsap</i>	'secret'	-Rd-	<i>poRdu</i>	'sun'
-pp-	<i>guppa</i>	'forest'	-mm-	<i>tammu:nD</i>	'younger brother'
-bb-	<i>gubba</i>	'hill'	-mp-	<i>rampem</i>	'saw'
-it-	<i>multta</i>	'old'	-ng-	<i>punga</i>	'flower'
-ik-	<i>hatke</i>	'snail'	-nm-	<i>enmed</i>	'eight'
-dm-	<i>go:dma</i>	'wheat'	-yl-	<i>koyle</i>	'cuckoo'
-TT-	<i>gaTTi</i>	'very'	-yd-	<i>poyda</i>	'catch'
-Tk-	<i>iTke</i>	'grasshopper'	-tw-	<i>satw</i>	'strength'
-Tn-	<i>caTni</i>	'catni'	-Dk-	<i>eDk</i>	'fever'
-kk-	<i>yekka</i>	'elder sister'	-lk-	<i>palk</i>	'tooth'
-kt-	<i>raktem</i>	'blood'	-rk-	<i>werk</i>	'wood'
-gg-	<i>digga</i>	'sky'	-rb-	<i>urb</i>	'sweet'
-ce-	<i>uccu:l</i>	'saliva'	-rg-	<i>perg</i>	'cheese'
-St-	<i>loalusta</i>	'fat'	-rs-	<i>durs</i>	'hard'
-ss-	<i>mosso:l</i>	'crocodile'	-nc-	<i>munc</i>	'monkey'
-ll-	<i>nella</i>	'moon'	-nj-	<i>wadenj</i>	'finger'
-ly-	<i>kolya</i>	'jackal'	-nD-	<i>ji:wu:nD</i>	'heart'
-lp-	<i>kalpa</i>	'mix'	-rsp-	<i>werspa</i>	'threaten'
-rk-	<i>narkom</i>	'down'	-nDr-	<i>kanDri</i>	'tears'
-rd-	<i>burda</i>	'mud'	-lsk-	<i>ilska</i>	'sprinkle'

Syllable

A sequence of phonemes with one peak of sonority is syllable. The syllabic patterns of Koya language may be shown with the examples below.

Mono-syllabic words

V	<i>l</i>	'that'
CV	<i>ni</i>	'and'
VC	<i>ar</i>	'foot path'
VCC	<i>eDk</i>	'fever'
CVC	<i>ga:l</i>	'air'
CVCC	<i>pe:Dk</i>	'cave'

Di-syllabic words

VC-CV	<i>usko</i>	'sand'
VCV-CV	<i>uDuk-a</i>	'urine'
CVC-CV	<i>narka</i>	'night'
CV-VC	<i>dua:r</i>	'arch'
CV-CVC	<i>pinum</i>	'dead body'
CVC-VC	<i>gaDom</i>	'beard'
CVC-CVC	<i>mabmab</i>	'weather'

Tri-syllabic words

CVV-CV-CV	<i>kaimu:ta</i>	'fist'
CVC-CV-CV	<i>kalbo:De</i>	'stone'
CVC-CVC-CV	<i>ga:ldurma</i>	'storm'
CVC-CV-CVV	<i>kunnokai</i>	'elbow'
VC-CV-CVC	<i>uskobu:m</i>	'desert'
CV-CV-CVC	<i>bo:dekal</i>	'ankle'

Four-syllabic words

CV-CV-CV-CV	<i>berepo:ye</i>	'father's sister'
CVC-CV-CVC-CV	<i>garmurunga</i>	'embrace'
CV-CV-CV-CVC	<i>natipiki:r</i>	'grand daughter'
CVC-CV-CV-CVC	<i>pilleka:lem</i>	'childhood'
CVC-CVC-CVC-CVC	<i>mirra:npantem</i>	'race'

Five-syllabic words

CVC-CVC-CV-CV-CV	<i>garbakkaro:la</i>	'set'
CVC-CVC-CVC-CVC-CV	<i>mandu:lpokella</i>	'oath'
VC-CV-CV-CV-CVCC	<i>eskema:deno:nD</i>	'broker'
CVC-CV-CVC-CV-CVCC	<i>talkitindano:nD</i>	'beggar'
CV-CVC-CV-CVC-CVC	<i>kiruMtacakku:r</i>	'morning food'

Morphology

Nouns

Gender

Genders are two masculine and non-masculine. Non-masculine includes feminines and neuters. The masculine markers are / -a : l ~ l ~ o ~ - o : n D ~ - r ~ - i / while the non-masculine markers are - / -a : R ~ - a : ~ - e ~ - il /

Example

/pe:ka:l/	'boy'	/mutpa:l/	'husband'
/ba:To/	'wife's brother'	/mane/	'man'
/leyo:nD/	'young man'	/da:do:r/	'ancestors'

/samdi/	'daughter-in-law's father'		
/leyda:R/	'young woman'	/pilla:/	'child'
/me:ka:/	'goat'	/mute:/	'wife'
/ki:ke:/	'fish'	/ra:nDil/	'widow'

Numbers

Two tier numbers are singular and plural. Whereas singular is the base itself the plural markers are (1) /-lo:r--r/ (2) /-k--sk--nta--i/

Example

/peka:lo:r/	'boys'	/ku:lo:r/	'labourer'
/goDk/	'cows'	/mark/	'sons'
/pillanta/	'children'	/piTTanta/	'birds'
/a:ki/	'leaves'	/maiya:sk/	'daughters'

Case

There are six cases and they have the following markers. Example

Nominative	- ϕ		
Accusative	-k	pilla na:k uDita	'child sees me'
Genitive	-na	ad-na ya:yo	'she is my mother'
Locative	-e	nanna na:T-e manta:n	'I live in the village'
Dative	-tag	nan waya-tag atta:n	'I go to the field'
Ablative	-konc	a:ki ma:Da:t-konc ra:lita	'the leaves fall from the tree'

Pronouns

Pronouns are personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive.

The personal pronouns are three - first, second and third and the demonstratives are proximate and remote types divided by masculine and non-masculine. The pronouns are declined for number and case.

Personal	Singular	Plural
I Person	/nanna ~ nan/	/mamma ~ mam/
II Person	/nimma ~ nim/	/mi:r ~ mi:/
III Person	/u:nD ~ u:n/	Masculine -u:r Non-masculine- an

Demonstrative

Proximate masculine singular-	/ind/	'this'
plural-	/i:r/	'these'
Proximate non-masculine singular-	/id/	'this'
plural-	/i:w/	'these'
Remote masculine singular-	/u:nD/	'that'
plural-	/u:r/	'those'
Remote non-masculine singular-	/ad/	'that'
plural-	/au/	'those'

Interrogative

/ba:ta /	'what'	/beno/	'who'
/bepo:D/	'when'	/bela/	'how'
/ba:ta:nk/	'why'		

Indefinite

/adpaDi/	'someone'	/nan o:rtink /	'some one'
/beno:nD/	'anybody'		

Reflexive

/nan nanne/	'I myself'
/mam mamedink/	'we, ourselves'
/nim nime/	'you(singular), yourself'
/mi:r mi:re/	'you (plural), yourself'
/ad tanne/	'she, herself'
/u:r u:ra:se/	'they, themselves'

Adjectives

Qualitative or attributive adjective

/monDi pillal/	'lazy child'	/catur pillal/	'clever child'
/beriya pillal/	'big child'	/tella gurra:m/	'white horse'

Quantitative adjectives:

/segga:m/	'some'
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Numerical adjective

/renD pustak/	'two books'	/onD na:R/	'one village'
/iruwwu:r mark/	'two sons'	/muwwu:r mark/	'three sons'

Numerals

Cardinal

Simple /basic

/ond/	'one'	/renD /	'two'
/mu:nD/	'three'	/na:lu/	'four'

Complex

/padkonD/	'eleven'(10 + 1)
/pannenD/	'twelve'(10 + 2)

Ordinal

/werro:T/	'first'	/irru/	'second'
/muwwu/	'third'		

Verbs

Finite

/u:D -tt-a:n/	'I saw'	/u:Da/	'to see'
/uD -tt-a:n/	'I walked'	/uDa/	'to walk'

Non-finite verb

Auxiliary verb

/mind/ 'am'	/matt/ 'was'	/mant/	'shall'
-------------	--------------	--------	---------

Causative verb -h ~ - ih ~ - t

/tin/	'to eat'	/ti: -ha:na/	'cause one to eat'
/unn/	'to drink'	/u:ha:na/	'cause one to drink'

Negative verb

The negative verb *ille* 'to be not' is inflected for all three persons and two numbers. Besides this, there are two forms /o/ and /i/ conditioned by non-past tense and person of which /o/ occurs in first and third persons and /i/ occurs in second person. Example

/nan paDiy ma:Dille:n/	'I did not do the work'
/u:nD paDiyma: Do:n/	'he will not do the work'

Compound verb

It is a morphological construction of two roots:

/malswa:s u:Dtta/	'came back and saw'
/kaTTo kuddi matta/	'crept and sat'

Tense and Aspect

Tenses Tenses are two- past and non-past. Past has { -tt- } as marker and non-past has three markers such as { -t- / -dt- / -it- }

Past

/ud -tt -a:n/ '(I) walked' /ni-tt-a:n/ '(I) stood'

Non-Past

/tin-t -a:n/ '(I) eat'
/uD-it-a:n/ '(I) see' /wa-dt-a:n/ '(I) come'

Aspect

Only imperfect aspect is available in the three tenses- present, past and future. The imperfect or continuous aspect is constructed with the help of auxiliary verb -mind 'am', -matt 'was' and -mant 'will be' when preceding verb ends with 'o' sound. Example

/nan cadwo mind -e:n/ 'I am reading'
/nan cadwo matt -a:n/ 'I was reading'
/nan cadwo mant -a:n/ 'I will be reading'

Person-number markers

I Person singular	/e:n/	/nan cadwo mind -e:n/	'I am reading'
plural	/e:m/	/mam cadwo mind -em/	'we are reading'
II Person singular	/i:n/	/nimma cadwo mind -i:n/	'you are reading'
plural	/i:r/	/mi:r cadwo mind -i:r/	'you are reading'
III Person masculine singular	/e:nD/	/u:nD cadwo mind -e:nd/	'he is reading'
plural	/o:r/	/u:r cadwo mind -o:r/	'they are reading'
non-masculine singular	/e/	/ad cadwo mind -e /	'it is reading'
plural/numeral		/ad renD na:y u:Do mind-e/	'those two dogs are looking'

Non-finite verb

Participle: Present participle	/waso:re/	'while coming'
Past participle	/tinna cil/	'having ate'
Infinitive: -a	/uDai/	'to walk' /nilla/ 'to stand'

Verb paradigm

Auxiliary verb

/nan cadwo minde:n/ 'I am reading'
/mam cadwo mind e:m/ 'we are reading'
/nan cadwo matta:n/ 'I was reading'
/mam cadwo matt o:m/ 'we were reading'
/nan cadwo mant a:n/ 'I shall be reading'
/mam cadwo mant o:m/ 'we shall be reading'

Negative auxiliary verb

/nan cadwo mindille/ 'I am not reading'
/mam cadwo mind ille/ 'we are not reading'
/nan cadwo matt ille/ 'we were not reading'
/mam cadwo matt ille/ 'we were not reading'
/nan cadwo mant ille/ 'I shall not be reading'
/mam cadwo mant ille/ 'we shall not be reading'

Negative marker -ille occurs in the sentence-final position.

Mood

Indicative mood-

/id igge minde/ 'it is here'

Imperative mood-

/-a/ /na band dag an/ 'go to my cart'

Interrogative mood -

/ad ni ela:d/ 'is she your sister?'

intonation is the marker.

Desiderative mood-

/u:r kecu:di:to:r/ 'they may ask'

Conditional verb

-tke/ is added to the verbal stem */a-tu- ma- wa /* to form conditionals. Example

/rail le:t -a -tke na:k dorki-t/ 'if the train is late we may catch it'

/gurrakin rekka ma-tke pa:rsanne/

'if horses had wings they would have flown'

/nim sori:gtaimde wa-tke parikya ma:Di ka:i/

'if you come in time we will examine this'

Temporal verb

/munne/ 'before' expresses temporal relationship. Example

/u:nD ni munne mindenD/ 'he is before you in the line'

Adverb

Adverb of place or direction

/mam agga atto:m/

'we go there'

/mam igge nittito:m/

'we stop here'

/id ne:l wa:Ta/

'keep it down'

/u:r wellu:m porro tarritor/

'they jump over the fence'

/u:nD ma:DDa:t adge ra:lito:nD/

'he sleeps under the tree'

/maina gorra:T goDgtag minde/

'parrot is in the cage'

/nan ma:Da:t soppe minde:n/

'I am near the tree'

/nim du:rem attin/

'you went away'

Adverb of time

/nan ne:nD wa:ro:n/

'I am not coming today'

/na:d nan na:Te adia:n/

'tomorrow I shall go to the field'

Adverb of manner

/mella:s kella/

'speak slowly'

/rama:l jaldi mirto:nD/

'Ram ran quickly'

Particles

Particles of co-ordinating and subordinating types are

/ni-/

'and'

/mat/

'but'

/adena/

'because'

/ba/

'or' and

/aga/ 'then'

Example

ni 'and' */u:nD nimma u:Dtta:n ni ketta:n/* 'he saw you and told'

mat 'but' */nan u:nk sama:n oda ketta:n mat u:nD isTemille:nd/*

'I asked him to take the luggage but he did not like to'

adena 'because' */ka:ka:D sadate badkitta adnena karri taDam Dolkitta/*

'the parent crow lived happily because black snake died at once'

<i>ba</i>	'or'	<i>/lo:n man ba isku:l an/</i>	'stay in house or come to school'
<i>aga</i>	'then'	<i>/wanjl wita:t -aga koymu:t/</i>	'cut the paddy after sowing'

Interjections

It expresses feeling or emotion. Example

<i>/ayyo~aha:/</i>	'grief'	<i>/a:rr~o:h/</i>	'surprise'
<i>/ya:ygo~ihim/</i>	'shame'		

Echo words

Echo words of nominal and verbal types have the second component beginning with *g-* and *m-*. Example

<i>/e:r gi:r/</i>	'water, etc'	<i>/banDi ginDi/</i>	'cart, etc'
<i>/sile mile/</i>	'clothes, etc'	<i>/kike mike/</i>	'fish, etc'

Syntax

Koya has three types of sentences- simple, complex and compound. Example-

<i>/nan na:Ta:D tu:nk uDta:n/</i>	'I see the girl (simple)
<i>/nan adanad matta mati adille/</i>	'I had to go but I did not' (compound)
<i>/gurra kin rekka mat -ke pa:rs anne/</i>	'if horses had wings they would have flown' (complex).

Normal word order of a simple sentence is

Subject + object + verb : */nan u:nk uDta:n/* 'I see him'

Description of phrases

Noun phrase

a) Article + noun	<i>/id lo:n/</i>	'this house'
	<i>/ad na:y/</i>	'that dog'
b) Number + noun	<i>/ond na:y/</i>	'one dog'
	<i>/aiM ma:ne/</i>	'five persons'
c) Possessive + noun	<i>/na mar/</i>	'my son'
	<i>/ni: nayk/</i>	'your dogs'
d) Descriptive + noun	<i>/catu:r piki:r/</i>	'clever girl'
	<i>/guDDi ma:n/</i>	'blind man'

Verb phrase

- a) NP + verb
/na:y bo:has minade / 'the dog is barking'
 (NP) (VP)
 The dog barking is - present continuous
- b) Adverb + verb
/mam agga at-to:m/ 'we go there'
 (NP) (VP)
 we there go - II person pronominal termination,
/u:nD iggo minde:-nD/ 'he is here'
 (NP) (VP)
 he here aspect - III person pronominal termination.
- c) NP + case + verb
/nan waya -tag att -a:n/ 'I go to the field'
 (NP) (VP)
 I field - to go - I person pronominal termination
/nan DoMgra:nk poy -t- a:n/ 'I caught the robbers'
 (NP) (VP)
 I robber - plural catch - past tense - I person pronominal termination.

Adjectival phrase

a) Attribute preceding the noun

/monDi pɛka:l/ 'lazy boy' /catu:r pillə/ 'clever boy'

b) Nouns preceding the attribute -ma:ne

/De:Mga:l/ 'tall man' /id De:Mga/ 'it is tall'

Adverbial phrase

/ligge warə/ 'come here' /agga an/ 'go there'

/ne:l wa:Ta/ 'keep it down'

Description of types of sentences

Imperative sentences indicate command, request or advice. Example

/agga a:n/ 'go there' /ne:l gudda/ 'sit down'

Interrogative sentences: Interrogative marker occurs after the noun and pronoun or is realised by the occurrence of intonation in the final word. Example

/u:r lo:n minde:r/ 'are they at house?'

/nan ba:ta:nk adawa:l/ 'why should I go?'

/u:nD beno:nD/ 'who is he?'

Negative sentences

/ille/ 'past negation' /o:/ 'non-past negation'

Past negation

/nan paDiy tungille/ 'I did not do the work'

/mi:r paDiy tuŋ mi:t/ 'you should not have done the work'

/ad paDiy tuŋma/ 'they should not have done the work'

Non-past negation

/nan paDiy ma:D:n/ 'I do not work'

/tista sope anma/ 'do not go near the fire'

Passive sentences

/roTTi u:nwalla tindanaɖ atta/ 'the bread is eaten by him'

/roTTi u:nwalla tindanaɖ atta/ 'the bread was eaten by him'

Brief Sociolinguistic Information

According to Aiyappan (1960) "Koyas are the southern most branch in the Godavari valleys of the great Gond tribe...The word Koya means hill-dwellers. The tribe is divided into several occupational sub-tribes such as blacksmiths, carpenters, brass workers and basket makers". These people are basically agriculturalists practising shifting cultivation. Many of them have adopted settled cultivation as well. They are fond of fishing and hunting. They own large herds of cows and bullocks.

A comprehensive description of the Koya language can be found in Stephen A. Tylor's (1969) work entitled *Koya: An Outline Grammar (Gommu Dialect)*. This language is a member of the sub-group of Konda and Pengu language connecting Gondi sub-group with the Kui-Kuvi sub-group of the Central Dravidian.

According to Tylor (1969), Koya is a Gondi language and mutually intelligible with Hill Maria Gondi in Bastar. He further observes that Koyas and Gondis speak different but mutually intelligible Gondi dialects in geographically adjacent area. There are three different kinds of Koyas, namely, Gommu, Gutta and Lingu. To some extent these distinctions correlate with the dialect differences. Gommu and Lingu Koyas have a higher percentage of Telugu loan words than Gutta Koya.

Koya is an unwritten language having no script system of its own to represent the language orthographically.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Koya	Sl. No	English	Koya
1	air	ga:l	45	wife	mutte
2	ashes	ni:r	46	woman	na:Ta:D
3	cloud	megam	47	ant	goDo
4	cold	kriMta	48	bird	piTTe
5	darkness	sika:D	49	cat	werka:D
6	earth	bu:m	50	claw	gor
7	eclipse	u:Ta	51	cock	gogo:D
8	fire	kis	52	cow	goD
9	fog	mas	53	dog	na:y
10	forest	guppa	54	egg	garbam
11	hill	gubba:l	55	feather	gerrem
12	ice	adurgaDDa	56	fish	ki:ke
13	moon	nella	57	fly	wisi
14	mountain	meTTa	58	fox	nakka
15	rain	wa:na	59	goat	meka
16	river	poTTe:r	60	grease	peDk
17	road	ar	61	guts	dairem
18	sand	usko	62	horn	ko:k
19	wind	ga:l	63	back	po
20	wood	werk	64	belly	DoMkalpoTTa
21	baby	sudupilla	65	blood	netu:r
22	boy	peka:l	66	body	me:ndu:l
23	bride	penDul peka:l	67	bone	bu:la
24	bride groom	koka:D	68	breast	bomma
25	brother	da:da:l	69	chest	gunDe
26	child	pilla	70	ear	kew
27	daughter	moyya:D	71	eye	kanD
28	father	baba:l	72	face	mokkom
29	friend	jokato:nD	73	fever	eDk
30	girl	piki:r	74	finger	waDenj
31	husband	mudpa:l	75	flesh	ma:msom
32	male	manQu:nD	76	foot	pa:dem
33	man	ma:ne	77	hair	kelk
34	marriage	kalya:n	78	hand	kai
35	maternal uncle	ma:ma	79	head	tala
36	maternal uncle's daughter	mayya:D	80	heart	irudaya
37	mother	yo:yo:iya	81	leg	ka:
38	nephew	baDanja:l	82	lip	sonDe
39	niece	baDanji:l	83	liver	nella
40	old man	mutto:nD/Do:rka	84	lung	dorba
41	sister	yakka	85	mouth	payu:r
42	sister-in-law	bayi:l	86	neck	guDuMga
43	son	mar	87	nose	mocco:r
44	widow	ra:nDil	88	spine	mursbula
			89	tongue	na:lke

90	tooth	<i>pal</i>	140	white	<i>tella</i>
91	waist	<i>kai</i>	141	yellow	<i>kamuka</i>
92	fruit	<i>panD</i>	142	hungry	<i>karpoyta</i>
93	liquor	<i>kal</i>	143	love	<i>pya:r/peminca</i>
94	milk	<i>pa:lu</i>	144	pain	<i>nop</i>
95	salt	<i>auwo:r</i>	145	true	<i>nijem</i>
96	smoke	<i>umba</i>	146	wish	<i>a:si:rwa:d</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>nu:ka</i>	147	ink	<i>ka:li</i>
98	bed	<i>ta:ran</i>	148	school	<i>isku:l</i>
99	door	<i>ma:r</i>	149	student	<i>sadwin pilla</i>
100	house	<i>lo:n</i>	150	teacher	<i>me:sTer/gurji</i>
101	roof	<i>idporro</i>	151	bullet	<i>gu:nD</i>
102	rope	<i>no:De</i>	152	first	<i>tol</i>
103	wall	<i>naTTa</i>	153	second	<i>irru'renD</i>
104	well	<i>nuy</i>	154	third	<i>muw/mu:nD</i>
105	window	<i>kiTke</i>	155	one	<i>onD</i>
106	flower	<i>puMga:r</i>	156	two	<i>renD</i>
107	fruit	<i>panD</i>	157	three	<i>mu:nD</i>
108	garden	<i>To:nTa</i>	158	four	<i>na:iu</i>
109	grass	<i>gaD</i>	159	five	<i>aiMlaid</i>
110	guava	<i>pijli</i>	160	ten	<i>pa:ai</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>panceka:ya</i>	161	sixteen	<i>pada:ru</i>
112	leaf	<i>a:k</i>	162	twenty	<i>iruwe</i>
113	lily	<i>durpa puMga:r</i>	163	forty	<i>naleppe</i>
114	mango	<i>marko</i>	164	do	<i>ma:D</i>
115	paddy	<i>wanji</i>	165	pull	<i>la:ga</i>
116	plough	<i>uDuda</i>	166	push	<i>tursa</i>
117	potato	<i>a:lumati</i>	167	put	<i>o:swa:Ta</i>
118	root	<i>we:r</i>	168	rub	<i>meindulno:ka</i>
119	sweet	<i>ti:pa</i>	169	sell	<i>Tekka</i>
120	tree	<i>maraleT</i>	170	wash	<i>norda</i>
121	vegetable	<i>ka:yakucci:r</i>	171	work	<i>paDi</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakrem</i>	172	sing	<i>pa:Ra</i>
123	bitter	<i>kaimul</i>	173	bring	<i>tota</i>
124	black	<i>karri</i>	174	climb	<i>ma:Datarra</i>
125	blind	<i>kana:l</i>	175	come	<i>wara</i>
126	blue	<i>blu:</i>	176	give	<i>i:da</i>
127	bright	<i>wenne:l</i>	177	go	<i>a:da</i>
128	brow	<i>manDul ran</i>	178	jump	<i>tul</i>
129	coldness	<i>alla</i>	179	vomit	<i>porsa/kakka</i>
130	green	<i>pacce raM</i>	180	say	<i>ketta</i>
131	hat	<i>Toppi</i>	181	write	<i>rasa</i>
132	light	<i>wenne:l</i>	182	touch	<i>iTTa</i>
133	red	<i>erra raM</i>	183	bathe	<i>e:rmuDundi</i>
134	sour	<i>pulla</i>	184	all	<i>sarre</i>
135	sweet	<i>ti:pa</i>	185	by	<i>u:nwalla</i>
136	bad	<i>ceDDa</i>	186	down	<i>ne:l</i>
137	big	<i>beriya</i>	187	for	<i>maidink</i>
138	dirty	<i>murk</i>	188	from	<i>nagga:k</i>
139	dry	<i>wasta</i>	189	he,she	<i>u:nk</i>

190	few	<i>suku:k</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>adke</i>
191	full	<i>nindu:M</i>	223	here	<i>igge</i>
192	good	<i>sa:ye</i>	224	his/her	<i>u:nDke</i>
193	hand	<i>kai</i>	225	how	<i>we:la</i>
194	honest	<i>santi</i>	226	I	<i>naNNa</i>
195	long	<i>poDgo</i>	227	it/this	<i>id</i>
196	many	<i>yekkua</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>id</i>
197	narrow	<i>unje</i>	229	its/of this	<i>id</i>
198	new	<i>puna</i>	230	like	<i>lekke</i>
199	old	<i>pa:nta</i>	231	to me	<i>na:k</i>
200	raw	<i>ka:ya</i>	232	my	<i>nawa</i>
201	rotten	<i>kaDlya</i>	233	our	<i>mawad</i>
202	cast	<i>tu:rpc:kka</i>	234	not	<i>ille</i>
203	end	<i>na:te:n ma:re:M</i>	235	so/thus	<i>adink</i>
204	far	<i>durem</i>	236	that	<i>ad</i>
205	left	<i>roDDa</i>	237	to them	<i>o:rke</i>
206	middle	<i>naDeme</i>	238	then	<i>payye</i>
207	near	<i>dagge:r</i>	239	those	<i>au</i>
208	north	<i>roDDe</i>	240	there	<i>agga</i>
209	out	<i>ba:yde</i>	241	they	<i>u:r</i>
210	right/side/hand	<i>tinne kai</i>	242	their	<i>u:rwa</i>
211	south	<i>tinne kaida pakka</i>	243	these	<i>ad</i>
212	again	<i>minDe</i>	244	to us	<i>na:k</i>
213	always	<i>gowinde</i>	245	we	<i>mamma</i>
214	before	<i>tol/munne</i>	246	what	<i>ba:ta</i>
215	daily	<i>ro:j</i>	247	when	<i>beppoD</i>
216	day	<i>dinem</i>	248	where	<i>begge</i>
217	evening	<i>mulpu:T</i>	249	who	<i>benonD</i>
218	fast/quick	<i>jaldi</i>	250	why	<i>ba:ta:nk</i>
219	afterwards	<i>payye</i>			
220	behind	<i>pe:rke</i>			
221	between	<i>naDeme</i>			

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KUI

S. Rajendran and S. Boopathy

Family affiliation

The language Kui belongs to the central group or intermediate group of Dravidian family of languages.

The people

Kui, Kuvi, Kandh, Kandhi, Kondh, Khond, Khondi, Kodu and Kond are the terms used to refer to the Kond people or their language. The people living in the north-western part of Orissa call themselves Kuvinga and their language as Kui and those in the north-eastern part call themselves as Ku:vinga and their language as Ku:vi.

Location

Kui people are concentrated in the districts of Koraput, Kalahandi, Baudh Khondmals and Ganjam in Orissa.

Earlier studies on Kui language

The grammatical sketch of Kui language found in Grierson's *LSI* (Vol.No. IV, pp-457-71) is based on Latchmayee's (1902) *An introduction to the grammar of the Kui or Kandh language*. The dialect spoken in Gursur has been considered to be a standard one by Latchmayee and Smith in *LSI*. The same dialect has been studied by scholars namely Frye (1851), Friend Pereira (1909) and Winfield (1928-29). A fullfledged grammar and dictionary of Kui are found in Winfield's works, *A grammar of the Kui language* and *A vocabulary of the Kui language* (Kui-English). His grammar regards the Kui of the Gunupur-Udayagiri Taluk as the standard. Winfield's work was used as the basic source for Kui in DED. Gopinath Mohanty's book on Ku:vi also includes some Kui material. Chandra Sekhar (1958) published a book entitled, *Material for a Kui grammar*, containing Kui texts.

Statistical data : Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

KUI (LANGUAGE)					KUI (MOTHER TONGUE)				
INDIA		Persons	Male	Female	INDIA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	641,662	315,299	326,363		T	641,600	315,265	326,335
	R	630,848	309,709	321,139		R	630,786	309,675	321,111
	U	10,814	5,590	5,224		U	10,814	5,590	5,224
ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female	ORISSA		Persons	Male	Female
	T	636,005	312,441	323,564		T	636,005	312,441	323,564
	R	625,343	306,929	318,414		R	625,343	306,929	318,414
	U	10,662	5,512	5,150		U	10,662	5,512	5,150

Bilingualism

	Total Number of Speakers	Total Numbers of Bilinguals			Major Languages of Bilingualism				Total Number of Trilinguals		
		Persons	Male	Female	Language	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
India	641,662	243,568	145,232	98,336	Oriya	228,237	137,530	90,707	22,493	15,865	6,628
					Telugu	15,226	7,638	7,588			
Orissa	636,005	240,792	143,723	97,069	Oriya	228,072	137,474	90,598	22,094	15,622	6,472
					Telugu	12,720	6,249	6,471			

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High-Long	i:		u:
High-Short	i		u
Mid-Long	e:		o:
Mid-Short	e		o
Low(Long;Short)		a: a	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		T D	j	k g	ʔ
Nasals	m	n		N			
Laterals			l				
Flap			r	R			h
Fricative			s				
Continuant					y		

Suprasegmentals

Vowel length is phonemic. Length is denoted by the co-vowel / : /. Nasalization is not phonemic though nasalized vowels are found in the speech of some Kui speakers which may be attributed to the influence of Oriya.

Major allophonic distribution

Vowel

Vowels are pronounced with their value in all their environments. Short vowels are half long at the final position.

Consonant

/n/ is a dental before a dental stop, palatal before palatal affricate, a velar before velar stops and elsewhere alveolar.

Consonants are sharply pronounced at the initial position. The consonants occurring intervocally when followed by a short vowel are longer than those appearing in the other positions.

Phonemic distribution

All the vowels occur word initially, medially and finally. Among the consonants /h/, /y/, /ʔ/ and /N/ do not occur word-initially. All the consonants occur medially. There is no word ending in a consonant. All the words end in a vowel and sometimes final vowel is glided when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. The final vowel is reduplicated in the speech.

Diphthongs

There is no diphthong in Kui.

Consonant cluster

Only two-consonant clusters occur word-initially. Consonant clusters do not occur word-finally.

/g/ and /ʔ/ do not cluster with another consonant.

The two consonant clusters occurring initially are restricted to the type give below

$$C_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L \\ r \\ R \end{array} \right\}$$

Where C_1 may be any consonant except /ʔ/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /R/, /h/ and /y/

Three-consonant clusters are few in number and are of the following types

(i) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ R \end{array} \right\} + \text{Homorganic nasal} + \text{stop}$

(ii) Homorganic nasal + stop + $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} l \\ r \\ R \end{array} \right\}$

The language Kui does not permit voiceless stop + voiced stop and voiced stop + voiceless stop combination. Stops being an initial member can combine with /l/ /r/ /R/ and /s/

Homorganic nasal – voiced stop is quite frequent. /m/, /n/ and /N/ contrast before /b/.

Syllables

Kui syllable carries a vowel as nucleus and may be followed by an onset or preceded by a coda. The syllable may be of the following types.

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| (i) V - | (v) CVC- |
| (ii) CV - | (vi) VCC- |
| (iii) CCV- | (vii) CVCC- |
| (iv) VC- | (viii) CCVC- |

All the eight types can occur word-initially but only the first three can occur word-finally.

Kui has mono-syllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and tetra-syllabic words.

Morphophonemics

The following rules are operated when plural markers are added to the nouns

-u	→	ϕ / -ka		
/Doru -	ka/	→	/Dorka/	'ropes'
/pe:nu -	ka/	→	/pe:nga/	'louse'
/mi:nu -	ka/	→	/mi:nga/	'fishes'
/sra:su -	ka/	→	/sra:ska/	'snakes'
/ka:nu -	ka/	→	/kanga/	'eyes'

Exceptions

/a:ku/	→	/a:ka/	'leaves'
/kru/	→	/kri:ka/	'ears'
/Dabu/	→	/Dabunga/	'moneys'

This rule is restricted to words with more than two syllables

/si pa: li - ka/	→	/si pa: la ka/	'deers'
/kise: Ri - ka/	→	/kise: Ra ka/	'ear-rings'
naho Ri - ka	→	/na ho Ra ka/	'dogs'

$$(N) \left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ d \\ D \\ j \\ g \end{matrix} \right\} - u \rightarrow \phi \left\{ \begin{matrix} p \\ t \\ T \\ s \\ k \end{matrix} \right\} - \phi / - ka \quad (N=\text{nasal consonant})$$

/go:bu - ka/	→	/go:pka/	'branches'
/iDu - ka/	→	/iTka/	'houses'
/paDu - ka/	→	/paTka/	'teeth'
/ku:ndu - ka/	→	/ku:Tka/	'funguses'
/ko:ju - ka/	→	/ko:ska/	'horns'

Exceptions

/sra:ngu/	→	/sra:kaka/	'breasts'
/vanju /	→	/vaskaka/	'fingers'
/DunDu/	→	/DunDuka/	'large ants'

k → g / n-			
/kanu - ka/	→	/kanga/	'eyes'
/pe:nu - ka/	→	/pe:nka/	'houses'

Morphology

The grammatical categories in Kui are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs and adverbs.

Noun

Nouns are inflected for case. Nouns have gender (masculine and non-masculine) and number (singular and plural) distinctions. Of the two types of nouns simple nouns are not overtly marked for gender and number and the composite nouns are overtly marked for gender and number.

Simple nouns

Simple nouns are divided into rational and non-rational types. The rational nouns belong to masculine or feminine gender and the non-rational nouns refer to non-human gender.

Gender-number marking with simple nouns

- Simple masculine nouns with *ru* as the plural marker.

/aba/	'father'	/aba-ru/	'fathers'
/da:da/	'elder brother'	/da:da-ru/	'elder brothers'
/a:po/	'son'	/a:po-ru/	'sons'
- Simple feminine nouns with *-ska* as the plural marker.

/aja/	'mother'	/aja-ska/	'mothers'
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/a:sa/	'woman'	/a:sa-ska/	'women'
/mrau/	'daughter'	/mrau-ska/	'daughters'
(3) Simple non-human nouns with -ka and -nka as the plural marker			
/ko:ru /	'buffalo'	/ko:r -ka/	'buffaloes'
/so:ru /	'hill'	/so:r -ka/	'hills'
/mrahnul	'tree'	/mrah -ka/	'trees'

Composite nouns

Composite nouns are formed from bound nominal roots denoting certain abstract sense or, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs by adding gender - number marker (GN).

Abstract nominal root + GN

/mReh -enju/	'man'	/mReh -enga/	'men'
/mReh -ah/	'woman'	/mReh -ali-ska/	'women'

Noun + GN

/pRe:ki/	'adultery'	/pRe:ko-ra/	'adulterer'
/pRe:ko-ra-nga/	'adulterers'	/pRe:ko-ri/	'adulteress'

First, second and third person reflexive pronominal root + GN

These nouns are used only to indicate masculine persons and neuter things,

Pronoun inflected base

/a:nu/	'I'	/na: -/ na: -anju/	'my man'	/na: -aru/	'my men'
/a:mu/	'we'	/ma: -/ ma: -anju/	'our man'	/ma: -aru/	'our men'
/i: nu/	'you(sg)'	/ni: -/ ni: -anju/	'thy man'	/ni: -aru/	'your men'
/i: ru/	'you'(ord/hon)	/mi: -/ mi: -anju/	'your man'	/mi: -aru/	'your men'
/ta: /	'he'	/ta: -/ ta: -anju/	'his man'	/ta: -aru/	'his men'

Third person pronoun inflected base +GN

Pronoun	inflected base	
/anju/	/ian- ian-iti/	'his things'
/aru/	/iar- iar-iti/	'their things'
/ri /	/i:raDi- iraDi-ndi/	'her thing'
/vi/	/i:vaska- i:vaska-ndi /	'their things'

Composite nouns formed out of the reflexive base tan-(~ta-) + GN

masculine	/tan-anju/	'person'	/ta-ka/	'people'
feminine	/ta-ri/	'person'	/ta-i/	'people'
neuter	/ta-ri/	'thing'	/ta-i/	'things'

Adjective +GN

/negi/ - 'good'	/neg- neg-anju/	'good man'	/neg-aru/	'good men'
	/meg-ari/	'good woman'	/neg-ai/	'good women'
/pu: ni-/ 'new'	/pu:n- pu:n-anju/	'new man'	/pu:n-aru/	'new men'
	/pu:n-ari/	'new woman'	/pu:n-ai/	'new women'

Numeral adjective + GN

/ro/	'one'	/ro-anju/	'one man'
/ri:/	'two'	/ri:-aru/	'two men'

Relative participle form of verb + GN

In Kui there is no relative pronoun. But Kui has relative participial nouns instead.

/va:n-anju/	'the man who will come'
/va:n-aru/	'the men who will come'
/va:t-anju/	'the man who comes'
/va:t-aru/	'the men who come'

Verb root + GN

/pang-e/	'to spit'	/pang-eRi/	'planks'
/pang-eRa-ka/	'planks'		
/ko-/	'to reap'	/ko:-eri/	'harvest'
/si:-/	'to give'	/si:p-oRi/	'ladle'
/si:p-oRa-ka/	'ladders'	/drung-/	'to sway'
/drung-oli/	'swing'	/drung-ola-ka/	'swings'

Pronouns

Pronouns are of four types, namely, personal, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive. The pronouns are also composite in nature having a bound root + GN

Personal pronouns

Person	Base	Singular	Plural
I	a:-	a: nu	a:mu (exclusive) a:ju (inclusive)
II	i:-	i: nu	i:ru

Third person/demonstrative pronouns

Masculine	Singular	Plural
proximate	/ianju /	/iaru/
intermediate	/oanju /	/oaru/
remote	/eanju/	/earu/

Non-masculine

(feminine/neuter)

proximate	/i:ri/	/i:vi/
intermediate	/o:ri/	/o:vi/
remote	/e:ri/	/e:vi/

Herein (i) demonstrative bases are *i ~ i:-* (proximate), *o ~ o:-* (intermediate),
e ~ e:- (yonder)

(ii) GN markers are: *-anju* (masculine singular) *-aru* (masculine plural) *-ri* (non-masculine singular), *-vi* (non-masculine plural)

Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative bases: *an-*, *est-* - GN

Definite	Singular		Plural	
Masculine	/est-anju/	'which man'	/est-aru/	'which men'

Non-masculine	/est-ari/	'which woman/thing' /est-ai/	'which women/things'
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The commonly used interrogative words are : *imbai/embai/ambai* 'v.ho'

Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive base *ta:* - - GN

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	/ta:nu/	/ta:ru/
Non-masculine	/ta:nu/	/ta:i/

Herein, *ta:* is reflexive, *-nu* is singular, *-ru* is masculine and *-i* is non-masculine.

Cases

Cases are six, namely, genitive, accusative, dative, sociative, locative and ablative. These are expressed by case inflections added to nouns and pronouns. Nouns inflect for genitive to attribute another noun whereas nouns inflect for other cases to relate with the verb.

Nominative

The nominative is uninflected and is subject of a sentence or clause.

Genitive

The genitive is the same as the inflectional base. The inflections are *-i*, *-ni* and for some neuter nouns *-a*. Genitive case indicates 'possession'. Below are explained the contexts where the genitive inflections are added:

Masculine singular nouns marked by *-nju* and masculine plural nouns marked by *-ru* receive inflectional increment *-i* by dropping *-ju* and *-u*.

/naganju/	'good man'	/naga-i/	'of good man'
/va:nanju/	'the man who will come'		
/va:nan-i/	'of the man who will come'		
/a:bara/	'father'		
/a:bar-i/	'of the father'	/aba-i/	'of father'

Composite masculine nouns with plural marker *-nga* as well as feminine nouns (both simple and composite) receive *-ni* as the inflectional increment.

/mRehenga/	'men'	/mRehenga -ni/	'of man'
/aja/	'mother'	/aja -ni/	'of mother'
/ajaska/	'mothers'	/ajaska-ni/	'of mothers'
mRehali	'women'	mRehali-ni	'of women'

Feminine plural nouns marked by *-i* replaces *-i* by *-saka* by the addition of the inflectional increments *-ni*.

/negal/	'woman'	/negasaka-ni/negasani/	'of woman'
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In neuter nouns, the nominative form itself is the genitive form. The case suffixes are added to the post-position *tin-*. Sometimes, neuter plurals that end in *-nga* are declined like masculine nouns.

/ko:ru/	'buffalo'	/ko:ru/	'of buffalo'
/ko:Dinga/	'buffaloes'	/ko:Dinga-ni/	'of buffaloes'

Demonstrative pronouns are declined like appellative nouns. (Herein, in the oblique cases of the feminine singular pronouns the *-r* of the gender suffix is changed to *-R* for some reasons).

/ianju/	'he'	/ian-i/	'his'
/iaru/	'they (masculine)'	/iar-i/	'their(masculine)'

/i:ri/	'she'	/i:raRini/i:aRini/	'her'
/i:vi/	'they(feminine)'	/i:vasaka-ni/	'their(feminine)'
/i:ri/	'it'	/i:ra/	'of it'
Genitive or inflectional bases of interrogative pronouns:			
/ananju/	'what man'	/anan-i/	'of what man'
/anari/	'what thing'	/anar-a/	'of what thing/things'
/anai/	'what things'	/ana/	'of what things'
/estanju/	'which man'	/estan-i/	'of which man'

Accusative

Accusative case is formed by adding *-i* to the inflectional base.

/mReheni-i/	'to a man'	/ko:rutini/	'buffalo' (accusative)
/negani-i/	'good man(accusative)'	/negaa-i/	'good thing(accusative)'
		/kingani-i/	'cows(accusative)'

Accusative forms of the personal pronouns are

/nangi /	'me'	/ma:ngi/	'us'
/ni:ngi/	'thee'	/mi:ngi/	'you(accusative)'.

Alternative forms for the accusative (also dative) are

/na:nge/	'me'	/ma:nge/	'us'
/ni:nge/	'thee'	/mi:nge/	'you(accusative)'.

Accusative case is used for the direct object of a verb:

/na:ho:Di a:mi:DDa:l kassate/	'the dog bit that girl'
/a:nu e:r marosani pu:NDitee/	'I met my daughters'
/eanju su:da ciktenju/	'he opened his mouth'

Dative

Dative case is formed by adding *-ki* to the inflectional base. In feminine nouns, the final *-i* of the inflectional base is glided and the case-marker becomes *-gi* whereas in case of neuter nouns, the dative case is usually expressed by the postposition *tingi* (*tin - gi*).

/aba - ki/	'to father'	/abari-ki/	'to fathers'
/mReheni -ki/	'to man'	/mRehengani-ki/	'to men'
/ajan-gi/	'to mother'	/negasakam-gi/	'to good women'

In case of personal pronouns *-ngi* is added to the inflectional base.

/na: -ngi/	'to me'	/ma: -ngi/	'to us'
/ni: -ngi/	'to you'	/mi: -ngi/	'to you'

Alternative forms of the accusative and dative case are

/na: -nge/	'me/to me'	/ma: -nge/	'us /to us'
/ni: -nge/	'thee/ to thee'	/mi: -nge/	'you/to you'

Sociative

Oblique base - *-ke*

/a:nu ram -ke sake/	'I went to Ram'
/taDasaka maru sakan -ge sasw/	'the mothers went to the daughters'

Pronominal base - *-ke*

/na: -ke/	'with me'	/ma:ke/	'with us'
/ni: -ke/	'with thee'	/mi:ke/	'with you'

Locative

Postposition *tani* 'in, (also, *-ta* or *-ni*) is used with the base:
/a:ru jo:Ritani Do:nga oinera/ 'they are sailing in a boat on the river'
/a:nu ko:Ditini muNDatani si:tumiste/ 'I washed the cows in the tank'

Ablative *-Rai* 'from' is used with the base.

/a:nu baliguRa -Rai ba:i mo:i/ 'I am coming from Baliguda'
/a:mu so:ru -Rai ja:pinamu/ 'we are descending from the mountain'

Numerals

Numerals available in Kui are *ro* 'one' and *ri* 'two'. Beyond this, Kui men use Oriya numerals upto 'twenty' and women upto 'ten'.

Below are explained the use of cardinal, ordinal and adverbial numerals.

Cardinals	Ordinals	Adverbials
<i>/ro/</i> 'one'	<i>/ve:letari/</i> 'first'	<i>/so:teka/</i> 'once'
<i>/ri:/</i> 'two'	<i>/ri:hetari/</i> 'second'	<i>/ti:he/</i> 'twice'
<i>/ti:ni/</i> 'three'	<i>/ti:nitari/</i> 'third'	<i>/ti:ni pa/</i> 'thrice'
<i>/sa:ri/</i> 'four'	<i>/sa:ritari/</i> 'fourth'	<i>/sa:ripa:lu/</i> 'fourth time'
<i>/pa:nso/</i> 'five hundred'	<i>/pa:nsotari/</i> 'fifth'	<i>/pa:sopa:lu/</i> 'fifth time'
<i>/pondoro/</i> 'fifteen'	<i>/pondorotari/</i> 'fifteenth'	<i>/pondoropa:lu/</i> 'fifteenth time'
<i>/ko:Rie/</i> 'twenty'	<i>/ko:rietari/</i> 'twentieth'	<i>/ko:riepa:lu/</i> 'twentieth time'

Adjectives

Adjectives precede the nouns they qualify. As such, there are a few words which are used exclusively as adjectives. Besides these, adjectival expressions are also formed from nouns, verbs and other words. Below are explained the adjectivals.

1. Words exclusively used as adjectives

<i>/deri/</i>	'large'	<i>/kogi/</i>	'small'
<i>/kageri/</i>	'small'	<i>/pRad/</i>	'good'
<i>/pu:ni/</i>	'new'		

2. Nouns used as adjectives

<i>/meReha mi:da/</i>	'male child'	<i>/vaDi vi:ra/</i>	'stoney earth'
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3. Nouns used in the genitive case often become adjective.

<i>/la:veni Del/</i>	'youthful days'
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4. Infinitive used as adjectives

<i>/uRba si:Dru/</i>	'drinking water'
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5. Relative participle used as adjective.

<i>/vai monikRa:Di/</i>	'the tiger that is coming'
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Verbs

Verbs inflect for tense, mood and aspect. Structure of finite verb is: verb root – (transitive suffix) – (causative suffix) – (motion suffix) = (transference suffix) – (negative suffix) – tense suffix – person- number – gender (PNG) suffix. The items in brackets may appear optionally.

Verb stem

The verb stems are simple (that is one verb root) complex (that is verb root - derivational morphemes) and compound (that is more than one verb root + one or more derivational or inflectional suffixes). The transitive verb stem governs the direct or indirect object and the intransitive does not.

Transitive and causative stem

The intransitive verb stems end in voiced stop or homorganic nasal + voiced stop and their corresponding transitives end in voiceless stop or *k, s, t, p*. This inter-relationship is due to morphophonemic change of transitive stem + covert allomorph of the transitive marker.

(i)	$-(m) g \rightarrow (\phi) k$	<i>/e:g-/</i>	'be open'	<i>/e:k-/</i>	'open'
		<i>/ning-/</i>	'rise'	<i>/nik-/</i>	'raise'
(ii)	$(n) \left\{ \begin{matrix} j \\ d \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow (\phi) s$	<i>/aj-/</i>	'fear'	<i>/as-/</i>	'cause to fear'
		<i>/e:j-/</i>	'be separated'	<i>/e:s-/</i>	'separate'
		<i>/nenj-/</i>	'be filled'	<i>/nes-/</i>	'fill'
(iii)		<i>/aD/</i>	'be joined'	<i>/aT-/</i>	'join'
		<i>/bra:D-/</i>	'be scattered'	<i>/bra:t/</i>	'scatter'
(iv)	$mb \rightarrow \phi p$	<i>/kamb-/</i>	'be burnt'	<i>/kap-/</i>	'scorch'

A small class of verbs take one of the transitives as shown below.

(1)	VR - ϕ	<i>/e-/</i>	'arrive'	<i>/e -p/</i>	'to cause to arrive'
		<i>/ja/</i>	'descend'	<i>/ja:-p/</i>	'bring down'
(2)	VR - <i>s</i>	<i>/mi:-/</i>	'bathe'	<i>/mi:-s/</i>	'cause to bathe'
		<i>/no:-/</i>	'pain'	<i>/no:-s/</i>	'cause to pain'
(3)	VR - <i>k</i>	<i>/vle:/</i>	'swell'	<i>/vle:k/</i>	'cause to expand'

(4)	$-\left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ i \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \phi + \phi$	<i>/uN/</i>	'drink'	<i>/u:T-u:R/</i>	'cause to drink'
		<i>/sa:l/</i>	'enter'	<i>/so:R/</i>	'cause to enter'

- (5) Periphrastically the verb *-gi* 'make' is added to the infinitive form of the main verb to convey the transitive or causative.

<i>/eanju sogoDi hisagitenju/</i>	'he made the cart to stop'
<i>/a:nu eani pada po:nga gipkimai/</i>	'I am making to spread his name abroad'

Motion

The actor undergoes a motion towards the location of action before performing the action. The structure is verb stem + the motion suffix *ka*.

<i>/meh -\phi -i/</i>	'I will look'	<i>/meh -ka- \phi -i/</i>	'I will go and look'
<i>/meh -ka -t -e/</i>	'I went and looked'		

Motion suffix is not added to the verb that has already incorporated the transition suffix.

Transference

The transference suffix is added to the verb root expressing transition or carrying over the action indicated by the verb from the subject to the object.

The transference suffix has the allomorphs as *-a ~ -ba- ~ -da ~ -Da ~ -ja*.

<i>/a:nu mi:ngi pehai/</i>	'I will drive you away'
<i>/a:nu ni:ngi ve:tai/</i>	'I shall strike you'
<i>/a:nu tu-da -i/</i>	'I will fasten for you'

Negative

The negative suffix negates the statement made by the verb. The negative suffix has two allomorphs *-pa- ~ - ? -*, *-pa-* occurs before the past tense suffix and *- ? -* before non-past suffix-
 $\phi -$.

/tɪn - p - φ - enu/	'I will not eat'
/tɪn - ? - φ - ai/	'you will not eat'
/tɪn - ? - φ - enju/	'he will not eat'

Tense

Tenses are two - non-past and past.

Non-past tense

The non-past tense morpheme has the alternants as - *-d-* (*~ -id-*) - *-n-* (*-in*) *~ - φ -* - *-d-* occurs before second personal suffix (both singular and plural), *-n-* occurs elsewhere except before first person singular suffix where *- φ -* (or glottal stop) occurs. The following morphophonemic changes take place with verbs ending in *l*, *N* and *n*.

- (i) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a long vowel $l-d > D$
- (ii) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a short vowel $l-d > j$
- (iii) $N - d > ND$
- (iv) $N - d > nj$
- (v) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} - n > φn$

- (vi) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ n \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} - φ > φφ / - i$ (first person singular)

/aT -id -i/	'you will boil'
/ko: -d -i/	'you will reap'
/tɪn - d -i tɪn -j -i/	'you will eat'
/aT -in -e njw/	'he will boil'
/ko: -n- enju/	'he will reap'
/pa:n - -φ- i > pa: - φ - i	'I will obtain'
/tɪn - φ - i > ti - φ - i/	'I will eat'

Past tense

The past tense morpheme has the alternants *-it-*, *-t-*, *-d-*. The following morphophonemic changes take place when *-t-* occurs after verb ending in a consonant.

- (i) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + t > \left\{ \begin{matrix} T \\ s \end{matrix} \right\}$
- (ii) $vl + t > T$
- (iii) $vl_1 + t > s$
- (iv) $vl_2 + t > T$ (optional).

Example

/iT -it -enju/	'he put'	/ta:k -it -enju/	'he walked'
/nog -d -enju/	'he washed'	/sug -d -enju/	'he roasted'
/uN - t -enju/ > /u-T-enju/	'he drank'		

Person – number

The person-number suffixes that occur with the verbs are

	Singular	Plural
I person	-i ~ -e ~ -enu (exclusive) (inclusive)	-amu -asu
II person	-i	-eru
III person (masculine)	-enju	-eru
III person (non-masculine)	-e	-u ~ -o

Among the allomorphs of the first person singular, -i occurs after future tense marker - ϕ ; -e after past tense marker -it and -eru after the negative suffix.

Among the allomorphs of the third person non-masculine plural morpheme -o occurs after negative non-past and -u elsewhere.

Inflection of *ta:ki* 'to walk' showing person-number markers.

/a:nu ta:ki/	'I shall walk/I walk'
/a:mu ta:kin -amu/	'we (exclusive) shall walk/we walk'
/a:ju ta:kin -asu/	'we (inclusive) walk/we walk'
/i:nu ta:ki -di/	'you will walk/you walk'
/i:ru ta:ki -deru/	'you will walk/you walk'

Mood

Imperative

The imperative suffixes are -mu and -du. -mu is used when the subject is second person singular; -du is used when the subject is second person plural. -mu alternates with -amu/-umu, -du alternates with -aTu. The following morphophonemic changes operate

- (1) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} vl_1 \\ vl_2 \end{matrix} \right\} - du \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} vDu \\ vju \end{matrix} \right\}$
- (2) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ N \end{matrix} \right\} - du \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} nju \\ nDu \end{matrix} \right\}$

Singular	Plural	
/e:nd -a mu/	/e:nd -atu/	'dance'
/nog -umu/	/nog -du/	'wash'
/ko: -mu/	/ko: -du/	'reap'

Also, the suffix -i:ke occurs as imperative marker when the personal ending is omitted.

/ve su mu - i: ke/	/vesike/	'speak'
/ta: mu - i: ke/	/taike/taika/	'bring'

Prohibitive

The markers indicating prohibition are: - ϕ for second person singular; -Tu for second person plural. They come after negative - ? a -

Singular	Plural	
/e:nd - ? a/	/e:nd - ? a -Tu/	'do not dance'
/ko: - ? a/	/ko: - ? a -Tu/	'do not reap'

Optative

The optative markers have the following alternants -k- ~ -ak- ~ -pak- ~ -bak-. Imperative is followed by appellative endings

/ta:k -? a -k- a nu/	'let me not walk'
/ja: -pak -a nu/	'let me beg'
/ko: -pak -a nu/	'let me reap'

Non-finite

Past participle

The markers are *-a ~ -sa ~ -ja*. One suffix is added to the verb stem.
a-j /a:ji 'having cooled down'

Present participle

The markers are <i>-ai ~ ki ~ pki ~ -pi ~ -i ~ -bi ~ ji</i>			
/aT -ki/	'joining'	/as-ki /	'fearing'
/deg -ai/	'running'	/ta:t -ai/	'walking'
/a:r -pi/	'calling'	/e:s -pi/	'separating'

Relative participle

It is formed by adding the adjective marker <i>-i</i> to the past tense stem of the verb.			
/munj -it -i/	'that immersed'	/pu: -t -i/	'that blossomed'
/ni -T- i/	'that stood'	/ti -s - i/	'that ate'
/ta:k -in -i/	'that sacrifices/that will sacrifice'		

Infinitive

The infinitive markers are <i>-a ~ -pa ~ -va ~ -ba</i>			
/iT -a /	'to place'	/panD -a/	'to send'
/ve: -pa/	'to strike'		

Conditional and concessive

The conditional marker *-eka* is added to the past stem of a verb. It has a variant *-aka* after the past negative stem.

/ta: k-it -eka/	'if (subject) walk (s)'
The concessive is formed by adding the emphatic particle <i>-ve</i> to the conditional.	
/sah -t -ekave/	'even though (subject) beat (s)'

Verbal compounding

Present, imperfect, perfect and plu-perfect tenses are formed by verbal compounding.

Present tense

The present adverbial form of the main verb followed by the future tense form of the auxiliary verb *man-* 'be' forms the present tense periphrastically.

/ta: k-a : ma- φ -i/	'I am walking'
/De:s -pi man- φ -amu/	'we are building'
/Ru: -i ma - φ -i/	'I am ploughing'

The negative mood is brought out by replacing the verb *man-* by the negative verb *siD-*

/ta: k -ai siD - φ -enu/	'I am not walking'
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Imperfect tense

It is formed by the present verbal participle followed by the past auxiliary.

/ta: k -ai mā -s -e/	'I was walking'
/ta: k -ai siDa -t -enu/	'I was not walking'

Perfect tense

It is formed by the perfect verbal participle followed by the future auxiliary.

/ta: k -a mā -φ -i/	'I have walked'
/ta: k -a siD - φ -enu/	'I have not walked'

Plu-perfect tense

It is formed by the perfect verbal participle followed by the past auxiliary.

/ta: k -a mā-s-e/	'I had been walking'
/ta: k -a siDa -t -enu/	'I had not been walking'

Adverb

Adverbs are formed from nouns used adverbially and from demonstrative and interrogative pronominal bases. Adverbs are either simple (mono-morphemic) or derived (periphrastic or multimorphemic).

Simple adverbs

Manner	/di:ri/	'slowly'	/DanDe/	'quickly'
Quantity	/aDa/	'only'	/dehe/	'much, very'
Time	/Da :u/	'afterwards'	/ra:si/	'yesterday'
Place	/aTu/	'near'	/ramma/	'upto'

Derived adverbs

These are formed by using demonstrative/interrogative particle and bound morpheme.

Demonstrative adverbs

/i- mba/	'here'	/e-mba/	'there'
/i- mba -ngi/	'hither'	/e-mba-ngi/	'thither'
/o-mba-ngi/	'thither'		

Interrogative adverbs

Manner	/a-na-Ri-ki/	'why'	/a-na-ki/	'why'
	/isingi/	'how'		
Quantity	/es-e/	'how much'	/es-oli /	'how many'
Time	/es-e -ko/	'when'	/es-e-ri-ve:la/	'when'
Place	/es-tava/	'when'	/es-tava-ni/	'where'

Syntax

The arrangement of words in Kui sentences and the relationship between them are analysed below.

Arrangement of words in a sentence

Considerable diversity is allowed in the order of words used in a sentence so that hard and fast rules cannot be given. However, a few commonly used rules are stated below-

- (i) The predicate or finite and principal verb generally comes last.
- (ii) An infinite dependent on the finite verb generally immediately precedes it.

- (iii) The object of the sentence is usually introduced early though it is often placed immediately before the predicate and occasionally for great emphasis, after it.
- (iv) The object usually comes somewhere between the subject and predicate.
- (v) An adjective precedes the noun it qualifies and a noun or a pronoun in the genitive case is always placed in the adjectival position, that is, it precedes the word or words governed by it.
- (vi) An adverb is sometimes introduced early and put first in the sentence if it is to be emphasized, but, usually it comes near the verb it qualifies.
- (vii) A conjunction, when used, always begins the sentence or clause.
- (viii) An interrogative is often placed second, or even later rather than first in its own clause.

Concord of words in a sentence

A verb agrees with the subject in number and person. If the subject is of the third person, the verb agrees also in gender, that is, it has a masculine termination wherever the subject is a male human being and a non-masculine termination whenever the subject is not a male human being. Sometimes the subject is composed of two or more nouns or pronouns having the same predicate. The verb in such cases is plural and agrees with the prior person i.e., first person being reckoned prior to the second person and the second person to the third.

Example /i:nu enga ni: ambesa vi:e va:deragina a:e/
 'will you and your brother come tomorrow or not?'

When such subject is of the third person the verb has masculine plural ending if the subject represents only male human being, but if the subject comprises also female persons or neuter objects, the verb has a non-masculine plural termination. Example

/earu enga ta:Ra a: sa sa ka si:labora a:i masu/
 'they and their women folk were quarrelling'

Phrase structure

A sentence has two parts -noun phrase (NP) and predicate phrase (Pr.P) (keeping aside minor sentences such as interjections, exclamation, vocation, etc.)

Noun phrase

A noun phrase contains a noun or an adjective phrase governed by a noun (N). The adjectives are of various types, such as demonstrative (Dem), numeral (Nu) quantity (Qu), possessive (Pos) and disrespective (Dis).

Thus, the following structures are possible.

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) N | /ko:Dina/ | 'cows' |
| (ii) Dem + N | /i:ko:Dinga/ | 'these cows' |
| (iii) Pos + N | /mi: ko:Dinga/ | 'my cows' |
| (iv) Nu + N | /rinDe ko:Dinga/ | 'two cows' |
| (v) Quan + N | /kogi pa:Du / | 'little cows' |
| (vi) Dis + N | /ko:li ko:Dinga/ | 'black cows' |
| (vii) Dem + Nu + N | /i: rinDe ko:Dinga/ | 'these two cows' |
| (viii) Dem + Pos + N | /i: mi: ko:Dinga/ | 'these cows of yours' |
| (ix) Pos + Nu+N | /mi: rinDe ko:Dinga/ | 'your two cows' |
| (x) Nu + Dis + N | /rinDe ka:li ko:Dinga/ | 'two black cows' |
| (xi) Pos+Nu + Dis+ N | /mi: rinDe ka:li ko:Dinga/ | 'my two black cows' |
| (xii) Dem-Pos-Nu+Dis+N | /i:mi:rinDe ka:li ko:Dinga/ | 'these two black cows of yours' |

Brief sociolinguistic information

According to Winfield (1928), the people who speak the Kui language are generally known as the Konds, Khonds, or Kandhs, though they call themselves as Kuvinga/Kuinga. Winfield has grouped Kui along with Gondi, Tulu and Oraon. Kui language bears a considerable resemblance of Telugu, Tamil, and Kannada in grammar and vocabulary.

Kui language has no script system of its own and hence no native written literature are available in this language. However, certain portions of Bible and some school text books have been translated into Kui language using the orthography of Oriya language. There is a tendency for using Roman letters as well for this language. Winfield's description of Kui language (1928) contains a list of publications in Kui language using both these script systems.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Kui	Sl. No	English	Kui
1	air	bilu	45	wife	ku:Ra
2	ashes	na:di du:li	46	woman	a:salo:ku
3	cloud	muDenji	47	ant	saTi
4	cold	jilipeNNi	48	bird	poTa
5	darkness	anda:ri	49	cat	meyō
6	earth	diNNa	50	claw	tuma:ri
7	eclipse	wa:na	51	cock	TaDra
8	fire	ha:Ri	52	cow	ponDako:Di
9	fog	kuttuku?e:Di	53	dog	nahō:R
10	forest	gossa	54	egg	baTa
11	hill	kupa	55	feather	keDu
12	ice	a:ji	56	fish	mi:nu
13	moon	da:nju	57	fly	pa:nja
14	mountain	so:ru	58	fox	gada
15	rain	piju	59	goat	o:da
16	river	jo:Ri	60	grease	niju
17	road	Da:NDu	61	guts	TuTu
18	sand	ba:lu	62	horn	kuju
19	wing	wilu	63	back	ga:NDi
20	wood	beju	64	belly	Tu:Tu
21	baby	mi:da	65	blood	raka
22	boy	abu	66	body	gaNDi
23	bride	ja:md	67	bone	pRe:nu
24	bride groom	ku:Da	68	breast	sra:ngu
25	brother	da:da	69	chest	daki
26	child	miDa	70	ear	ki:ru
27	daughter	mrau	71	eye	ka:nu
28	father	aba	72	face	muhū
29	friend	to:Renju	73	fever	nomberi
30	girl	buRi	74	finger	baka
31	husband	ja:ma	75	flesh	u:nga
32	male	mRehe:nju	76	foot	pada
33	man	mRehenju	77	hair	Tlame
34	marriage	ara:nju	78	hand	kaju
35	maternal uncle	ma:ma	79	head	kapli
36	maternal uncle's daughter	agi	80	heart	tloma
37	mother	aja	81	leg	ka:Du
38	nephew	baRanja	82	lip	tuma:ni u:T
39	niece	baRanji	83	liver	kalenja
40	old man	buRRa lokku	84	lung	kalenja
41	sister	angi	85	mouth	guttu
42	sister-in-law	na:nja	86	neck	serki
43	son	mri?e:nju	87	nose	Do:ka
44	widow	baTagaTa:ri	88	spine	biyō sura haDa
			89	tongue	ba:ngo:si

90	tooth	paDu	140	pain	no:ba
91	waist	karju koTTi	141	true	sat
92	fruit	po:lo	142	wish	naicha
93	liquor	kallu	143	ink	ka:li
94	milk	paDDu	144	school	cahali obodana
95	salt	sa:ru	145	student	urigā
96	smoke	halondu duā:	146	teacher	guruji
97	uncooked rice	pra:nga	147	bullet	sisaguDi
98	bed	Dopasinda:nga	148	first	u:rari
99	door	kuDDu	149	second	u:rari be?o:Ti
100	house	i:Du	150	third	e:be?o:Ti
101	roof	pa:nja	151	one	e:ko
102	rope	Do:ru	152	two	du:i
103	wall	kuDu	153	three	ti:n
104	well	ku:a	154	four	sa:Ri
105	window	kuDDu jorka	155	five	pa:su
106	flower	pu:ju	156	ten	do:so
107	fruit	po:lo	157	sixteen	soulo
108	garden	ba:Di	158	twenty	ku:Re
109	grass	so:la	159	forty	ri:ko:Ri
110	guava	ja:mbi	160	do	giwa
111	jack fruit	ponosi	161	pull	jelba
112	leaf	a:ku	162	push	nassa
113	lily	koīpu:j	163	put	iTa
114	mango	mahā:	164	rub	ne:ra
115	paddy	kuDi	165	sell	parpinei
116	plough	seru uDuini	166	wash	nobga
117	potato	kara	167	work	paitigiwa
118	root	si:ru	168	sing	e:sa
119	sweet	sepine	169	bring	tapa
120	tree	marka	170	climb	senga
121	vegetable	tunusa:ga	171	come	ba:ba
122	wheel	cakka	172	give	si:ba
123	bitter	pi:ta	173	go	salba
124	black	ka:li	174	jump	Deggia:jnei
125	blind	a:ndo	175	vomit	te:pka
126	blue	koso	176	say	ano:njnai
127	bright	nirmal	177	write	brisa
128	brown	ge:ru	178	touch	
129	coldness	gili	179	bathe	ka:kuri puiṛne?nai
130	green	jibe:ni	180	all	gule
131	hat	hogri ja:mpi	181	bad	edibollo?ai
132	light	halka	182	big	dera:di
133	red	pu:sane	183	dirty	moiladane
134	sour	amble	184	dry	bayane
135	sweet	sembine	185	few	Tikka
136	white	longi	186	full	purunjana
137	yellow	ci:nga be:sa:na	187	good	negadi
138	hungry	saki	188	hand	kaju
139	love	balopamtin?eyi	189	honest	nekki lokku

190	long	ko:budura	238	then	ni betoTikka
191	many	dhiya	239	those	abi iNNei
192	narrow	koga:ri	240	there	edimba tay ī
193	new	pu:na?ri	241	they	e:ru
194	old	praDa:ri	242	their	ia:ru
195	raw	siDadi	243	these	ibigulle
196	rotten	soDiyadana	244	to us	ma:ngi
197	east	purbodi:n	245	we	a:mu
198	end	sarate	246	what	ina:di
199	far	du:ra	247	when	iciri bella
200	left	deba	248	where	estawa
201	middle	made	249	who	imbe:l
202	near	aTu	250	why	ina:taī
203	north	utter di:n			
204	out	baremu/halamu			
205	right/side/hand	tina paDi			
206	south	dakkin di:g			
207	again	oTe?e			
208	always	Tikno?a			
209	before	a?go:?ne			
210	daily	Tikna?a			
211	day	uja?Ri			
212	evening	belakuRte			
213	fast/quick	begge			
214	afterwards	Dau			
215	behind	beto			
216	between	majinga			
217	by/through	kaju Tikka kaCCe			
218	down	Tana			
219	for	na:nde			
220	from	idimba Tikka			
221	he,she	enju/i:ri			
222	to her, to him	abanipaī			
223	here	idimba			
224	his/her	ta:/i:ri			
225	how	ico			
226	I	a:nu			
227	it/this	adi			
228	to it/to this	inadi			
229	its/of this	idanandi			
230	like	e:Mgi			
231	to me	na:ngi			
232	my	na:			
233	our	ma:			
234	not	ko:?e			
235	so/thus	ambaTikka			
236	that	ho:di			
237	to them	ebaDi			

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KUVI

R.Selvin Anand

Introduction

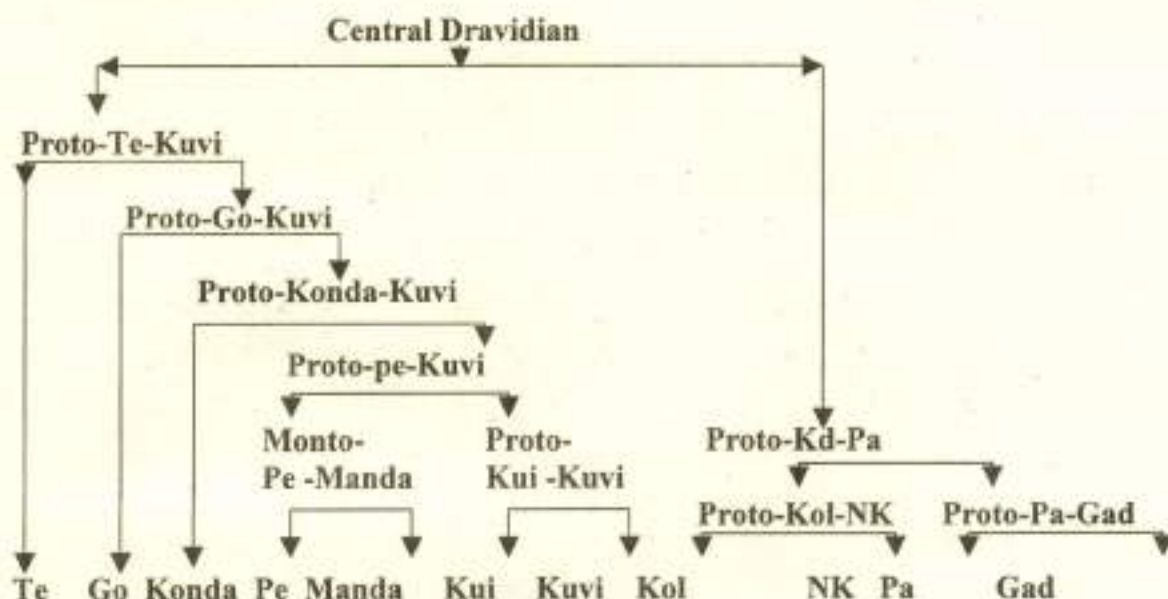
The language name Kuvi is derived from Kuvinga 'the Kuvi people'. The term Kuvi is often used as synonymous with Khond/Kondh as the Khond/Kondh speaking people often call themselves as Kuvinga. The Kuvi speakers form a sub-section of the Khond tribe which is spread over in the entire forest range of the Srikakulam-Koraput districts of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa states.

Earlier studies on Kuvi language

The name Kuvi was first recorded by F.V.P. Schulge. He (1941 and 1913) and A.G. Fitzgerald (1913) attempted to write grammars of Kuvi language. In 1952 Gopinath Mohanty published a book on Kuvi in Oriya. Burrow and Bhattacharya (1963) studied Kuvi language spoken in Andhra Pradesh. Israel (1979) has prepared a descriptive grammar of the Kuvi language. Joy Reddy (1979) prepared a phonetic reader and a descriptive grammar of Kuvi language.

Position of Kuvi in Dravidian

Kuvi language belongs to Central Dravidian group of Dravidian languages. According to Subrahmanyam (1971) the position of Kuvi in the Central Dravidian is as follows.



Kuvi of Laxmipur where from the language data was collected corresponds to the northern dialect of Raygada.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Kuvi language has 27 segmental phonemes (5 vowels and 22 consonants) and 2 supra-segmental phonemes.

Segmentals

Vowels

The vowel phonemes which occur in this language are the following:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

The consonant phonemes which occur in this language are the following

	labial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palato-alveolar	velar	glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Affricate						<i>c j</i>		
Fricative		<i>v</i>		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Lateral				<i>l</i>				
Flap				<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Semi vowel						<i>y</i>		

Supra-segmentals

Two supra-segmental features, namely, length (:) and nasalisation (~) are found to occur in this language.

Phonemic distribution - vowels

Phonemes	Distribution	Examples	
/ɪ/	Initial	[illu]	'house'
	Medial	[nippu]	'shoulder'
	Final	[mirʔesi]	'son'
/ĩ/	Medial	[hỹẽ: Ni]	'shade'
	Final	[salũ]	'porcupine'
/i:/	Initial	[i:nju]	'today'
		[ti:coNi]	'sponge gourd'
/ĩ:/	Medial	[nĩ: yũ]	'oil'
/e/	Initial	[embaʔa]	'there'
	Medial	[Kellu]	'feather'
	Final	[gede]	'she buffalo'
/ẽ/	Medial	[bẽyyĩ]	'fence'
	Final	[ro:lehẽ]	'similar'
/e:/	Initial	[e:yu]	'water'
	Medial	[ge:ru]	'ladder'
/ẽ:/	Medial	[tẽ:ki]	'teak'
/u/	Initial	[ulli]	'onion'
	Medial	[turiya]	'rafter'
	Final	[oNpu]	'memory'
/ũ/	Medial	[mũyyũ]	'tinkling bell'
/u:/	Initial	[u:Na]	'small'

	Medial	[ku:Du]	'wall'
/ū:/	Final	[nī:yyū]	'oil'
/o/	Initial	[oNpu]	'memory'
	Medial	[TopNi]	'marsh'
	Final	[moggo]	'bud'
/ō/	Medial	[kōyyā]	'peg (on wall)'
	Final	[ossohō]	'medicines'
/o:/	Initial	[o:ra]	'furrow'
	Medial	[to:lu]	'skin, hide'
/ō:/	Medial	[tō:To]	'garden'
/a/	Initial	[aMgao]	'body'
	Medial	[Kannu]	'eye'
	Final	[herra]	'fodder'
/ā/	Medial	[māhNihī]	'ghosts'
	Final	[mū yyā]	'tinkling bell'
/a:/	Initial	[a:ku]	'leaf'
	Medial	[kra:ndu]	'mongoose'
/ā:/	Medial	[trā:yu]	'head'
Phonemic distribution-consonant			
/P/	Initial	[pa:cu]	'song'
	Medial	[ti:pa]	'sweet'
/b/	Initial	[bilei]	'cat'
	Medial	[sara:bu]	'carpenter'
/t/	Initial	[ti:pa]	'sweet'
	Medial	[ba:tu]	'duck'
/d/	Initial	[danomi]	'wealth'
	Medial	[gu:di]	'mouth'
/T/	Initial	[Ta:Di]	'blister'
	Medial	[tō:To]	'garden'
/D/	Initial	[Dabbu]	'wealth'
	Medial	[Ta:Di]	'blister'
/k/	Initial	[ka:wa]	'crow'
	Medial	[pi:ka]	'cigar'
/g/	Initial	[ga:Da]	'latch, hinge'
	Medial	[ta:ga]	'sunshine'
/ʔ/	Medial	[re?ila]	'yesterday'
/c/	Initial	[ci:ni]	'sugar'
	Medial	[ba:ca]	'blame'
/j/	Initial	[jantu]	'animal'
	Medial	[gajomi]	'yard'
/m/	Initial	[muMgeli]	'nose'
	Medial	[ga:ma]	'sweat'
/n/	Initial	[naro:mi]	'brain'
	Medial	[ji:nu]	'saddle'
/N/	Medial	[ja:leNi]	'sieve'
/M/	Medial	[baMa:ra]	'gold'
/v/	Initial	[ve:hNi]	'hot'
	Medial	[iva:]	'these'

/s/	Initial	[sa:so]	'wife's elder sister'
	Medial	[evasi]	'he (distant)
/h/	Initial	[herra]	'fodder'
	Medial	[kehla]	'petal'
/l/	Initial	[lo:ku]	'people'
	Medial	[telivi]	'clever'
/r/	Initial	[rungu]	'color'
	Medial	[ko:ru]	'scraper'
/R/	Initial	[Rivirika]	'cold'
	Medial	[ko:re:]	'twenty'
/y/	Medial	[e:yu]	'water'

Allophonic distribution – consonants

/t/ It has two allophones

[č] voiceless palatal affricate – occurs medially after nasal.
[kuM'čɪ] 'lock' (of hairs)

[c] voiceless palato-alveolar affricate – occurs initially and medially.
[ci:ni] 'sugar' [ba:ca] 'blame'

/j/ It has two allophones.

[j] voiced palatal affricate. – occurs medially after nasal.
[maM'juti] 'wrinkle'

[j] voiced palato-alveolar affricate – occurs initially and medially.
[jantu] 'animal' [gajomi] 'yard'

/n/ It has three allophones.

[M'] voiced palatal nasal – occurs medially before homorganic affricate.
[paM'čada:ra] 'sugar'

[n] voiced dental nasal – occurs medially before the dental stop.
[ande:ri] 'darkness'

[n] voiced alveolar nasal – occurs initially and medially:
[naromi] 'brain' [kanmu] 'eye'

/v/ - It has two allophones.

[w] voiced bilabial semi-vowel – occurs medially and finally.
[ji:wu] 'affection, love' [pa:w] 'quarter of a measure'

[v] voiced labio-dental fricative – occurs initially and medially.
[ve:hNi] 'hot' [juve:Ri] 'yoke'

/s/ It has two allophones.

[S] voiceless retroflex fricative – occurs medially before retroflex stop.
[kaSTomi] 'difficulty'

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative – occurs initially, medially and finally.
[sa:so] 'wife's elder sister' [evasi] 'he(distant)'
[po:lis] 'police'

/l/ It has two allophones.

[L] - voiced retroflex lateral – occurs medially before or after retroflex stop.

[poTLa ka:ya] 'snake gourd' [baLTi] 'bucket'

[l] - voiced alveolar lateral – occurs initially and medially.

[lo:ku] 'people' [vellu] 'bow'

Clusters

In Kuvi language consonant clusters are quite frequent.

Two consonant clusters (including gemination) are:

/p/	pp	/kappa/	'frog'
	pI	/kupTa/	'leaves, bush'
	pk	/apka/	'arrows'
	p?	/go:ru go:p?eri/	'nail disease'
	pN	/tipNi/	'tiffin'
	pl	/sipla/	'chips of wood'
	pr	/pra:li/	'hive of bumble bee'
	ph	/Daphine/	'(it) is broken'
	pD	/apDa:lu/	'papad'
/b/	bb	/sabbu/	'soap'
	bg	/Tubgi/	'small tiger'
	bN	/bNe:komi/	'cucumber'
	br	/Te:bri/	'left'
	bd	/habda/	'sound'
	bR	/habRa/	'crow-bar'
	bD	/kebDa/	'wild buffalo'
	bl	/pajji tubli/	'small tiger'
/t/	tp	/jatpur/	'golden ornament worn'
	tt	/ettu/	'height'
	tk	/vetki a:himanne/	'(it) is fluttering'
	t?	/ka:Rini slit?eri/	'species of mouse'
	tl	/pote?esi/	'father-in-law'
	tr	/tra:na/	'heart'
	tR	/tRe:lu/	'cream'
	ty	/na:tya/	'grandson'
	th	/ka:thiki:ne/	'(she) makes to boil'
/d/	dd	/adda/	'half'
	dg	/kudgu/	'thigh, hind leg'
	d?	/med?e:Ni/	'noon'
	dm	/podmapu:yu/	'lotus'
	dv	/gudva/	'flame'
	dr	/vi:hkadro:gi/	'lizard'
	dy	/badyagorri/	'castrated he-goat'
	dl	/podli/	'swell (as grain)'
/T/	TT	/jaTTA/	'plait'
	Tk	/iTke:Ri/	'story'
	T?	/kaT?eri/	'kind of wild gourd'
	Tl	/mu:Tla/	'hammer'
	TN	/TNitesi/	'(he) twirled moustache'
	Th	/u:Thite/	'(she/it) drank'
	Tv	/haTva/	'spoon'
	Ty	/trāyupaTya/	'parting of hair'
	TP	/paTpa/	'fly on cattle'
/D/	Dd	/ga:Dde/	'ass'
	DD	/aDDe/	'across'
	Dg	/aDgumanji/	'raw rice'
	Dl	/teDli/	'waist'

Dr	/Drahi/	'torn of cloth'
Dy	/taDya/	'dining plate'
Dt	/maDta/	'fold'
Dp	/kuDpu/	'ornament worn on woman's hair'
Dv	/Dappu maDva/	'rim of drum'
Dk	/paDki ja:NDu/	'wild grass'
/k/ kT	/nakTa/	'bed bugs'
kD	/kakDo:ni/	'armlet worn by men'
kK	/akKu/	'ancestor'
k?	/Kik?o:ni/	'hip, buttock'
kc	/ge:kci/	'bird resembling partridge'
kN	/kNu:ne/	'(sun) sets'
kv	/ko:kva/	'comb'
kh	/ekhitesi/	'(he) loaded (the cart)'
ki	/kokli/	'dried fish'
kr	/Dokri/	'wife'
kR	/kRa:ni/	'tiger'
ky	/rokya/	'protection'
ks	/goksa/	'kind of fish'
/g/ gg	/kuggori/	'sparrow'
gr	/gra:hũ /	'crocodile'
gR	/gRihpite/	'she/it made to slip'
gN	/gNaphima?i	'(I) am jumping across'
gD	/kagDa/	'sickle to cut bushes'
/c/ cc	/icci/	'small'
cm	/cocma/	'spectacles'
cy	/pacya/	'dhoti'
cn	/cecnapa:ta/	'rock'
cr	/kacri/	'court, king's palace'
/j/ jj	/kajja/	'big'
jr	/kajruka:Ru/	'liquor collected from date palm'
/mm/ mp	/Rompkori/	'cough'
mb	/ambu/	'arrow'
md	/samduri/	'ocean'
mD	/kumDa/	'pumpkin'
mm	/Dommu/	'bone'
mN	/mNa:kci/	'mouse'
ml	/kamla/	'orange'
mr	/mra:nu/	'tree'
mR	/mRa:lu/	'hare'
mT	/simTa/	'screw pine'
ms	/gamsa/	'hand towel'
mk	/komka/	'horns'
/n/ nt	/de:varomunto/	'decorated pot'
nd	/anderi/	'darkness'
nk	/banka/	'gum'
nc	/kunci/	'lock'
nj	/ka:nju/	'stick with load at either end'
nn	/kannu/	'eye'

ny	/donya/	'coriander'
n?	/kan?e:rika/	'tears'
np	/ganpa mullu/	'hook to catch fish'
/N/ NT	/gaNTa/	'time'
ND	/muNDa/	'pillar'
Nk	/kaNka/	'eyes'
Nc	/pa:Nce/	'jack fruit'
N?	/pa:N?i/	'old'
Ns	/maNsi/	'man'
Nh	/meNha/	'man'
Nv	/ja:Nva/	'twins'
Nb	/baNbiki:te/	'made to escape'
Nm	/pa:Nmite/	'(it) crumbled'
Nt	/koNta:Mga/	'gram'
/M/ Mg	/aMga/	'body'
MM	/baMMa:ra/	'gold'
Mk	/peMku/	'file'
/V/ vT	/kevTu/	'fisherman'
vD	/jurũvDo:ka/	'pot for preparing gruel'
vN	/kujjala:vNi/	'chameleon'
vV	/avva/	'elder brother's wife'
vr	/vri:hkadro:gi/	'lizard'
vd	/jurũvdonna/	'cup made of leaves'
vk	/sa:vka:ri /	'money lender'
vl	/de:vlomi/	'temple'
/s/ st	/kastomi/	'difficulty'
st	/ru:sta/	'smooth'
sp	/vi:spala?esi /	'beggar'
sk	/kaske:ri/	'centipede'
ss	/osso /	'medicine'
sr	/husre?esi /	'husband's elder brother'
/l/ lp	/palpu/	'rope to tie'
lk	/holka/	'animal to peg'
lg	/dulgite/	'(she/it) made to fall'
l?	/mil?a:nu /	'afternoon; evening'
lm	/balmi?e/	'by force'
lM	/mulMa/	'drumstick'
lh	/kalhine/	'she/it meets'
ll	/vellu /	'bow'
lt	/kolta/	'size'
lb	/go:Ratulbu/	'grass for home'
ly	/jalyahukka/	'comet'
ls	/tulsi/	'basil'
/r/ rb	/parbu/	'festival'
rh	/e:rhite/	'sifted'
ry	/dairyam/	'courage'
rp	/darpeni/	'mirror'
rt	/parti/	'cotton'
rd	/varda/	'flood'

<i>rD</i>	<i>/ku:rDa/</i>	'stalk of plant'
<i>rk</i>	<i>/marka/</i>	'stain'
<i>rg</i>	<i>/korgo/</i>	'big hollow in tree'
<i>rc</i>	<i>/kurci/</i>	'chair'
<i>rm</i>	<i>/karmulu/</i>	'orphan'
<i>rn</i>	<i>/korna/</i>	'scraper'
<i>rN</i>	<i>/karNa/</i>	'person of Karna caste'
<i>rv</i>	<i>/pa:rva/</i>	'pigeon'
<i>rs</i>	<i>/kursa/</i>	'short'
<i>rl</i>	<i>/orli/</i>	'rat'
<i>rr</i>	<i>/karra/</i>	'sunshine'
<i>rM</i>	<i>/karMine/</i>	'(it) melts'
<i>/R/ Rt</i>	<i>/koRta/</i>	'gram'
<i>Rg</i>	<i>/koRga/</i>	'tender leaf'
<i>Rv</i>	<i>/saRva/</i>	'dining plate'
<i>Rs</i>	<i>/kaRsa kommi/</i>	'kind of earring'
<i>Rh</i>	<i>/buRhi/</i>	'old woman'
<i>Ry</i>	<i>/ba:Ryu/</i>	'strength, strong'
<i>Rp</i>	<i>/koRpa/</i>	'heaped up grain'
<i>Rk</i>	<i>/go:Rka/</i>	'milkman, shepherd'
<i>/y/ yk</i>	<i>/ru:yki:te/</i>	'melted'
<i>yj</i>	<i>/meyjo:Du/</i>	'socks'
<i>ys</i>	<i>/bōyso/</i>	'age'
<i>yl</i>	<i>/maylu/</i>	'mile'
<i>yy</i>	<i>/ayya/</i>	'mother, woman'
<i>yr</i>	<i>/mi:nupuyri/</i>	'fish'
<i>yc</i>	<i>/kōy-ci/</i>	'snail'
<i>yT</i>	<i>/ja:yTingo:li/</i>	'pot for cooking vegetable'
<i>yn</i>	<i>/ba:yne?e/</i>	'just for nothing'
<i>yt</i>	<i>/roytu/</i>	'farmer'
<i>/h/ hp</i>	<i>/konpe/</i>	'grain'
<i>h?</i>	<i>/neh?u:Ri/</i>	'dog'
<i>hl</i>	<i>/rohlaha: /</i>	'blacksmith'
<i>hN</i>	<i>/kohNi/</i>	'elbow'
<i>hn</i>	<i>/ve:hni/</i>	'hot'
<i>hr</i>	<i>/dahru a:ne/</i>	'she/it is jealous'
<i>hm</i>	<i>/hahmu/</i>	'clap hands'
<i>ht</i>	<i>/nehteri/</i>	'breath'
<i>hD</i>	<i>/pahDiki:ne/</i>	'(cattle) chew cud'
<i>/?/ ?n</i>	<i>/kRa:?ni /</i>	'tiger'

Three consonant clusters

Three consonant clusters which occur in this language are:

<i>NDr</i>	<i>/KaNDru/</i>	'tears'
<i>NDv</i>	<i>/goNDva/</i>	'nose ring'
<i>NDy</i>	<i>/maNDya/</i>	'millet'
<i>NTr</i>	<i>/baNTro:tu/</i>	'attendant'
<i>Nph</i>	<i>/gaNphiki:tesi/</i>	'(he) made to cross'
<i>Nkh</i>	<i>/gaNkhitesi/</i>	'(he) stabbed'
<i>ndr</i>	<i>/ka:ndri/</i>	'anger'

nDr	/kiNimDri kra: ?ni/	'cheetah'
njr	/gunjra: te/	'(she) rolled up (bedding)'
ndN	/bindNa/	'chisel'
ndl	/bondli/	'big bolt of door'
mbr	/kumbre? esi/	'potter'
mpt	/Ra: mpta/	'uvula'
mpk	/Rompkori/	'cough'
Mgy	/taMgya/	'axe'
Mgr	/taMgri/	'barren hill'
MgN	/daMgNe? esi/	'bachelor'
rMg	/DerMga/	'ladder to climb to attic'
rph	/tirphi/	'roll'
rmb	/darmbu/	'ashes'
rkh	/torkhi/	'make to fall'
rky	/porkya/	'examination'
rnd	/marnde? esi/	'husband's younger brother'

Morphophonemics

External sandhi

The frequent occurrences of external sandhi found in this language are the following:

- (i) Occasionally word final vowel is dropped before a phrase-final juncture.

Example /na:nu ha?i/ 'I came' ~ /na:nha?i/

- (ii) When a word ends with a vowel and the following word begins with a vowel the final vowel of the first word is dropped. Example

/ayya a:ba/ 'father and mother' ~ /ayya:ba/

Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi is more frequent in this language. The following are some of the general processes involved in internal sandhi.

When the plural suffix /-ka/ is added to a noun stem the following morphophonemic changes take place in the given order:

Rule -1: -V → φ / -ka

The final vowel of the noun stem is dropped when it is followed by -ka, the plural marker.

Example

/to:lu - ka/ → /to:l - ka/ → /to:lka/ 'skins'

/he:ru - ka/ → /ho:r - ka/ → /ho:rka/ 'hills'

Rule -2: -Voiced stop → voiceless Stop / -ka;

Voiced stops become voiceless Stop when followed by -ka. Example

/amhu - ka/ → /amp - ka/ 'arrows'

Changes in the verb roots

Morphophonemic changes take place in the verb roots when suffixes are added as the following:

When the suffix is added to the verb roots ending in a single retroflex nasal, the nasal is retroflexed.

Rule -1: $N + n \rightarrow NN$ (Here N stands for retroflex nasal and n present tense suffix).

Example /uN - n/ → /uNN/ 'drink' /hoN - n/ → /hoNN/ 'run'

When the suffix added to the above class of verbs is a dental stop, the suffix is retroflexed and the nasal is assimilated into stop.

Rule -2: $N + t \rightarrow NT$

$NT \rightarrow TT$

(N stands for retroflex nasal, *t* past tense suffix and *T* retroflex consonant homorganic with *N*).

Example $/uN - t \rightarrow uNT \rightarrow uTT/$ 'drank'

When the past tense suffix is added to the verb roots ending in *-h* the following rule operates.

$h \rightarrow s/t$

Example $/tuh - t \rightarrow tust/$ 'bore' $/oh - t \rightarrow ost/$ 'broke'

When the verb root ends in any other consonant or consonant cluster the enunciative vowel /i/ is introduced. The rule reads as

Rule -3: $\phi \rightarrow i$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ c_1c_2 \\ c_1c_2 \end{array} \right\} -C$

Example $/da:l - n \rightarrow da:lin/$ 'bloom' $/vajj - n \rightarrow vajjin/$ 'cook'

Exceptions to the above rule are *hal* 'go' and the verb root ending in *-n*.

(The sections on phonology and morphophonemics were adopted from Kuvi Grammar by Joy Reddy, CIIL: Mysore, 1979)

Morphology

Nouns In Kuvi language the structure of a noun is as follows:

Stem + Gender - Number + Case

Gender

Semantically there are two genders that is Masculine and Non-Masculine in Kuvi language.

Example

Masculine

Non-Masculine

$/koka:si/$, $koka:yũ/$

'boy'

$/po:da:/$

'girl'

$/ka:ja: ta: yi/$

'elder brother'

$/saguDa/$

'cart'

Number

Kuvi language has two numbers, that is singular and plural. Generally there is no marker for singular number. Plural nouns are formed by the addition of the following suffixes to the singular nouns.

Masculine plural

The suffix $\{-ri\}$ occurs with masculine singular nouns which end in *-si*

Example

$/koka:si/$

'boy'

$/kokari/$

'boys'

$/na:Totasi/$

'village'

$/na:Totari/$

'villagers'

Feminine plural

The suffix $\{-ska\}$ occurs with feminine singular nouns.

Example

$/staMgi/$

'younger sister'

$/taMgiska/$

'younger sisters'

$/koya/$

'hen'

$/koska/$

'hens'

Neuter plural

- (i) { -yā: } occurs with neuter noun stems (mostly disyllabic) ending in vowels (a, i, o, u)
- Example /asti/ 'elephant' /astiyā:/ 'elephants'
 /guDu/ 'egg' /guDuyā:/ 'eggs'
- (ii) { -Mga } occurs with neuter nouns (singular) having the syllabic structure (c₁) v₁ : c₂v₂ after dropping c₂v₂
- Example /pu:yu/ 'flower' /pu:Mga/ 'flowers'
 /u:yu/ 'one piece of meat' /u:Mge/ '(many) pieces of meat.'
- (iii) { -ka } occurs with trisyllabic neuter nouns stems ending in -i.
- Example /pirpuTi/ 'stomach' /pirpuTika/ 'stomach'
 /kohoNi/ 'elbow' /kohoNika/ 'elbows'.

Concord

Suffixes which indicate the gender and number of the subject are given below with examples :

Gender	number	Suffix	Example
(1) Masculine	singular	-esi	/koka:yuū va:ne:si/ 'the boy comes'
			/mir?eyū va:nesi/ 'the son comes'
	plural	-eri	/ma:mahā: va:neri/ 'uncles come' /lo:ku va:neri/ 'men came'
(2) Non-masculine	singular	-e	/ma:Mka:va:ne/ 'the daughter comes'
	plural	-u	/po:dahā: va:nul/ 'girls come' /avyasika va:nul/ 'women come'

Cases and postpositions

Kuvi language has the following cases and postpositions:

Case	Suffixes	Examples
1. Nominative	no suffix	/ne?u:Di muski manne/ 'the dog barks'
2. Accusative	?i	/ne?u:Di bilai?i muski manne/ 'the dog barks at the cat'
	?ā	/ma:mbu ko: Riya?ā ve:tabul/ 'we beat the cows'
3. Dative	ki	/na:mu na:yū ki pa:s Taka hi:te?ē / 'I have given him five rupees'
4. Instrumental-sociative	tole	/na: kaDi tole lekkikimul/ 'write with my pen'
5. Locative	ta	/na:mu ma: saguDa:ta ma?i / 'I am in my cart'
6. Ablative	Ti	/isku:ITi halla:mul/ 'go from the school'
7. Genitive	ti (occurs with neuter noun stems) ~ -ni (occurs with feminine singular noun stem)	/samuNDruti e:yu/ 'water of the sea' /po:da: nibo:hi/ 'book of the girl'

The postpositions which are commonly used in this language are the following:

- (1) ta:ki Example /roka:ma-ta:ki hallamul/ 'one should go to find a job'
- (2) bitre Example /ua:yū: mirka ijo bitre mannirul/ 'his sons are in the house'
- (3) Do?e Example /ua:yū: marnu Do?e Du:ra manniyū/ 'he sleeps under the tree'
- (4) Le?o Example /ma:rnu le?o poTTa kuga mane/ 'the bird sits on the tree'
- (5) tole Example /na:kaDi tole lekk:kimul/ 'write with my pen'

Pronoun

Pronouns may be divided into the following types (i) personal pronouns, (ii) demonstrative pronouns and (iii) interrogative pronouns.

Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Oblique stem	Plural	Oblique stem
I	/na:ni/ 'I'	/na:/ 'my'	/ma:ro/ 'we'(incl) /ma:mbu/ 'we(excl)	/ma:/ 'our'
II	/ni:nu/ 'you'	/ni:/ 'your'	/mi:ru/ 'you'	/mi:/ 'your'
III	/evasi/ 'he' (eva-yū)	/tani/ 'his/its'	/evari/ 'they'(masc) /evasika/ 'they'(feminine) /evit/ 'those'(non-human feminine)	/tani/ 'their'

Demonstrative pronouns

Gender/Number	Proximate	Remote
1. Masculine (singular)	/i:vasi/ 'he/this man'	/u:vasi/ 'he/that man'
(plural)	/i:vari/ 'they/these men'	/u:vari/ 'they/those men'
2. Non-masculine(singular)	/i:di/ 'she/it/this woman/thing'	/u:di/ 'she/that woman/thing'
(plural)(Human)	/i:vasika/ 'they (feminine)	/u:vasika/ 'they'(feminine)
3. Non-masculine(plural)	/i:vi/ 'they/these woman/things'	/u:vi/ 'they/those women/things'

Interrogative pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
II	/amba:ti/ 'who(are you)'	/amba:ri/ 'who(are you)'
II	/amba:ti/ 'who(is he)'	/amba:ri/ 'who'
	/amba:yi/ 'who(is she)'	/amba:ri/ 'who(are they/those)'

Adjectives

Adjectives of Kuvi language may be classified into two types namely, simple and derived.

Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives are classified as follows:

Types of adjective	Examples
1. Descriptive	/u:Na koka:yū/ 'small boy' /kajja saguDa/ 'big cart'
2. Demonstrative	/i:ne?u:Ri/ 'this dog' /e:bo:hi/ 'that book'
3. Interrogative	/emini bo:hi/ 'which book' /emini saguDa/ 'which cart'
4. Numeral	/ri mi:ka/ 'two sons' /ro saguDa/ 'one cart'

Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives consist of a single root and more than one morpheme. They are derived from nouns or adjectives.

Types of adjectives

Derived from nouns

Types of adjectives	Examples
(a). Nouns in genitive case function as adjectives	(i) /samanduti e:yū/ 'sea water' (ii) /marmuti a:ku/ 'leaf of the tree'
(b). The oblique genitive stems of pronouns function as adjective	(i) /ma: saguDa/ 'our cart' (ii) /ni: ka:ma/ 'your work'

Numerals

Kuvi language has the following numerals:

/roNDi/ (ro:)/ 'one' /ri-NDi (ri:)/ 'two'

These numerals use the classifiers - *jaNa* and *goTTa* which occur with human and non-human nouns respectively.

Example /ti:nigoTTa/ 'three' /ca:rigoTTa/ 'four'

/pa:so goTTa/ 'five'

/ba:rogoTTa/ 'twelve' /salage (ko: Ri)/ 'twenty'

Numerals above 'twenty' are formed by using *ko: Ri* and a cardinal numeral. Example

/ko: Ri roNDi/ 'twenty one' /ko: Ri riNDi/ 'twenty two'

/ko: Di daso/ 'thirty'

Numerals above forty are formed by using the cardinal numbers *ri: ni: ni*, *ca: ri*, *pa: so* and *ko: Ri*

'twenty'

Example

/ri: ko: Ri/

'forty'

/ri: ko: Ri daso/

'fifty'

/ti: ni ko: Ri/

'sixty'

/ti: ni ko: ri daso/

'seventy'

/ca: ri ko: Ri/

'eighty'

/ca: ri ko: Ri daso/

'ninety'

/pa: so ko: Ri/

'hundred'

Fraction The following fractions are commonly used in this language. Example

/pa: v/

'quarter'

/adda/

'half'

/ti: nipa: v/

'three fourth'

Classifiers

In Kuvi language the classifiers -*jaNa* and -*goTTa* occur with numerals above three. The classifier *ja: Na* occurs with human nouns and -*goTTa* occurs with non human nouns.

Example

/ti: ni goTTa pu: Mgo/

'three flowers'

/ca: ri goTTa astiyā/

'four elephants'

/ti: njaNa po: dayā/

'three girls'

/ca: ri jaNa koka: ri/

'four boys'

Verbs**Finite verbs**

Tense In Kuvi language the tenses are of two types- past and non-past. Below are discussed the tense -types:

Past The past tense suffix is { -t }.

Example

/na: nu hi: te?ē/

'I gave'

/evasi va: tesil/

'he came'

The tense marker -t- becomes -c- when added to the verb stems ending in nasals and laterals

Example

/evari hacceril/

'they went'

/evari ticceril/

'they ate'

Non-past The non-past tense marker is { -n }. It has the following allomorphs.

(i). { -n- } occurs when the subject is in first person plural or in third person (singular and plural).

Example

/ma: mbu hannomil/

'we are going'

/evasi hannesil/

'he is going'

(ii). { -φ- } occurs with subjects which are in first person singular.

Example

/na: nu ha?ē/

'I am going'

/na: nu ua: ru?ū sinikihi ma/

'I see them'

(iii). { -j- } occurs with subjects which are in second person and if the verb root ends in a lateral or nasal.

Example

/mi:ru tinjeri/ 'you (pl) are eating' /ni:nu hajji/ 'you(sg) are going'

(iv). { -d- } occurs elsewhere.

Example

/mi:ru hi:deri/ 'you are giving' /ni:ru ni?deri/ 'you are standing'

Person

There are three persons in Kuvi language and these are realised through the application of the respective markers as mentioned below:

Person	Singular	Suffixes	Plural	Suffixes
I	/na:nu/	/-e?ɛ/	/ma:ro/(inclusive)	/-ayi/
			/ma:mbu/(exclusive)	/-omi/
II	/ni:nu/	/-i/	/mi:ru/	/-eri/
III	/evasi/(masculine)	/-esi/	/evari/(masculine)	/-eri/
	/edi/(non-masculine)	/-e/	/evasika/evi/(non-Masculine)	/-u/

Mood

There are five types of moods in Kuvi language.

Indicative mood -ϕ (Zero marker)

Example

/na:nu paMga:ta: haccɛ?ɛ/ 'I went to the field'

/ua:ru umba?ɛ: hacciru/ 'They went there'

Imperative mood

-mu ~ -du

-mu occurs when the subject is second person singular

-du occurs where the subject is second person plural

/ni:nu umba?ɛ halla:mu/ 'you(singular) go there'

/mi:ru va:du/ 'you (plural) come'

Optative mood

-o

/ma:ro tinno/ 'let us eat' /ma:ro hanno/ 'let us go'

Habitual mood -vi (allomorphs are -vi ~ -mhi to the verb stem).

Example

/erari e:yu hi:viteri/ 'they used to give water'

/evari roTTi tinmbineri/ 'they used to eat bread'

Obligative mood -ayi (followed by manne).

Example

/na:nu tinnayi manne/ 'I should eat'

/ni:nu hannayi manne/ 'you should go'

Aspect

Kuvi language has two types of aspect, viz, durative and perfective.

Durative : { -i ~ -hi }

Example

/ne:nu tiM'ji mace?ɛ/ 'I was eating' /evasi kihi mannu/ 'they are doing'

/kihi mannesi/ 'he is doing'

Perfective : { -ha }

Example

/kiha manne/ 'she has given' /evasi ka:ma kiha macesil/ 'he had done the work'
 /kiha macceri/ 'they had done'

Causative

Causatives in Kuvi are formed by the addition of the suffix *-vi* (allomorphs are *-vi* ~ *-mbi* ~ *-pi*) to the stem and it followed by the verb *ki-* 'do'.

- a). { *-vi* } occurs with stems ending in vowels.

Example

/va:vi ki/ 'make to come' /halvi ki/ 'make to go'

- b). { *-mbi* } occurs with stems ending in *-n*

Example

/tinmbi ki/ 'make to eat' /venmbi ki/ 'make to tell'

- c). { *-pi* } occurs elsewhere.

Example

/hoNpi ki/ 'make to run' /ratpi ki/ 'make to cut'

Negatives

The negative verbs in Kuvi language have the following structures in the past and non-past tense categories:

- a) **Past** Stem + Negative marker + Tense + Person
 Stem - { *-?a-* } - { *t* } - person.

- b) **Non-past** Stem + Negative marker + Tense + Person.
 Stem - { *-?o-* } + ϕ - Person.

Herein, the negative markers are *-?a-* (for past) and *-?o-* for non-past. Below are exemplified the use of negative markers in the verb:

Past: { *-?a-* }

/na:nu va:ʔ Ateʔə/ 'I did not come' /evasi tinaʔatesil/ 'he did not eat'

Non-past: *-?o-* (it has two allomorphs, viz, { *-?o-* } and { *-?-* })

{ *-?-* } occurs when the subject is in first person plural or third person (singular + plural)

Example

/ma:mbu tinoʔomil/ 'we do not eat' /ma:mbu vaʔ:omil/ 'we do not come'

{ *-?o-* } occurs elsewhere

Example

/na:nu kiʔə/ 'I do not give' /ni:nu kiʔotil/ 'you do not give'

In declarative sentences, negatives are formed by adding *aʔe* and *hilleʔə* 'not' Example

/idi na: ka:mal/ 'It is my work' /idi na: ka: maaʔe/ 'it is not my work'

/neʔu:Ri muski manne/ 'the dog is barking' /neʔu:Ri muski hilleʔə/ 'the dog is not barking'

Non-finite verbs

Infinitive The infinitive suffix *-ali* (Its allomorphs are *-ali* ~ *-yali* ~ *-hali* ~ *-jali*) is added to the verb stems to form infinitive.

Example

/evasi tinjali va:tesil/ 'he came to eat' /na:nu ka:ma ktyali va:teʔə/ 'I came to do work'

Verbal noun Verbal nouns are formed by the addition of {-*nayi*}

to the verb stem.

Example

<i>/tinnayi/</i>	'laughing'	<i>/hi:nayi/</i>	'giving'
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Gerund

Gerunds are formed by the addition of -*nayi* to the verb stems.

Example

<i>/tin-nayi/</i>	'eating'	<i>/goh-nayi/</i>	'drinking'
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Participle

Past participle marker occurs as in

<i>/hiha/</i>	'having given'
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Compound verbs

In Kuvi language the compound verbs are formed by the combination of two verb forms.

Example

<i>/tiMga va:mul/</i>	'come and eat'	<i>/goska hallmul/</i>	'go and drink'
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Auxiliary verb

The common auxiliary verbs used in this language are *mau-* 'to be' *a-* 'to become' ; *ki* 'to do'.

Example

/ne?u:Ri muski manne/ 'the dog barks'

Adverbs

Adverbs in Kuvi language are of two types – simple and derived

Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs are single morpheme adverbs which are divided into adverbs of time, place and manner.

Example

Adverbs of time:	<i>/dina:mi/</i>	'daily'	<i>/eccalava/</i>	'always'
Adverbs of place:	<i>/imba?ā/</i>	'here'	<i>/Dakita/</i>	'near'
Adverbs of manner:	<i>/dire/</i>	'slowly'	<i>/begi/</i>	'quickly'

Derived

Derived adverbs are structured as : Root + one or more suffixes

Example

<i>/toil?e/</i>	'firstly'	<i>/jike?e/</i>	'also'
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Particles

The particles commonly used in the language are:

<i>/o:Re/</i>	'and'	<i>/edantaki/</i>	'therefore'
<i>/a?:e/</i>	'no/not'	<i>/hā:/</i>	'yes'

Interjections

The examples of interjections commonly used are:

/he:/	'look'	/a:ba:ljo:/	'oh! father!'
/ra:m ra:m/	'alas!'	/o:ho/	'word used to express pain'

Echo words

The echo words available which are nominal in character are:

/he:ru gi:ru/	'mountain etc'	/veska giska/	'fire wood etc'
/pa:lu gi:lu/	'milk etc'		

Herein, the second component in variable begins with the syllable *-gi*.

Syntax

1. Order of words and phrases in a simple sentence :

The construction of a simple sentence is subject + object + verb. (SOV) The order of words and phrases in a simple sentence has thus to be read as under the SOV structure. Below is exemplified the order:

Subject + Object + Verb

Example	/ua:ru	paMga:ta:	hacciru/	'they went to the field'.
	/ua:yū	isku:lta	hacciū /	'he went to the school'.

Description of types of sentences

Interrogative

i)Using tag : Interrogative sentences of this type are formed by using the clitic *-ki-* 'is it not so', in the sentence final position.

Example

/ua:ru ijjo manniru ki/	'are they at house?'
/ni tarigi?i sinikidi ki/	'is she your sister?'

ii)Using a question word : Interrogative sentences are formed by adding a question word after the subject.

Example

/ni:ru ambia: Do?e manji?/	'where do you (singular) live?'
/mi:ru ambia: Do?e manjiru?/	'where do you(plural) live?'

iii)Using intonation : Interrogative sentences are also formed by raising intonation at the end of a sentence.

Example

/evari hajji manneri/	'are they going?'
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Negative

Negative sentences are formed from declarative sentences by adding

a:e and *hille?ē* 'not', at the end of the sentence.

Example

/idi na: ka:ma/	'It is my work'	/idi na: ka:ma a:?e/	'It is not my work'
/neu:Ri muski manne/	'The dog is barking'	/ne?u:Ri muski hille?ē /	'the dog is not barking'

Imperative

The imperative sentences realised only in the second person (singular + plural) are structured as the following:

(Subject) + Verb + Imperative marker

Example

/ni:nu/ va:mul/ 'you(singular) come'
/mi:ru/ va:du/ 'you(plural) come'

Passive

The passive sentences are formed by adding *tole* 'by' to the subject.

Example

/e:rui na:tole tinobi a:te/ 'the bread is being eaten by me'
/e:maha?ā: na: tole tinibi a:te/ 'the mangoes are being eaten by me'

Causative

Causative sentences are formed by adding the respective causative marker and the verb *ki* 'do' after that.

Example

/ua:ru go:Daya?ā: kahu:ta: hoNpi kihili pe:ki manniru/ 'they are making the horse run in the race'

Relative clause

In a sentence the relative clause relates to two clauses ;

Example

/marnu Dakiti korogota ro ka:Diya: ra:ccu hasa a:ha:macce:, edani?i:
ka?ava:yā: be:si aji maccu/ 'in a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake
whom the crows feared greatly

Co-ordination

In coordinated sentences some co-ordinating particles are added between the main clauses.

Example

/na:nu tinnayi macee sama timma hillo?ō/ 'I had to eat but I did not eat'

Brief sociolinguistic information

The Kuvis are bilinguals in Desia, a variety of Oriya and in Telugu that they generally use among their fellow men of Dravidian ethnics. Besides, a few of them can communicate in standard Oriya, the official language of the state and in Hindi as well.

Word list follows:

Sl. No	English	Kuvi	Sl. No	English	Kuvi
1	air	ga:li	45	wife	Dokri
2	ashes	darmpu	46	woman	buRi?i
3	cloud	sa:gu	47	ant	ho:rla:
4	cold	penni	48	bird	poTa:
5	darkness	anda:ra:	49	cat	bilai
6	earth	pritivi	50	claw	go:ru
7	eclipse	handagra:ni	51	cock	ga:M'ca koyu
8	fire	hicu	52	cow	koTi
9	fog	dundara	53	dog	ne?u:Ri
10	forest	ja:ra	54	egg	to:la:
11	hill	ho:ru	55	feather	ma:rā:
12	ice	a:ji	56	fish	mi:nu
13	moon	le:ñcu	57	fly	uRa:?ya?ne?
14	mountain	ho:ru	58	fox	kolya:
15	rain	pi:yu	59	goat	gory
16	river	kaRa:	60	grease (fat)	koRva
17	road	ra:sta:	61	guts	vahī
18	sand	paNDino:	62	horn	komu
19	wind	ga:li	63	back	Da:yu
20	wood	veska:	64	belly	ba:NDi
21	baby	bi:Ra:	65	blood	neturi
22	boy	koka:y ū	66	body	amika:
23	bride	Dukri	67	bone	gaTu
24	bride groom	pu?ni Dokra:	68	breast	ra:Mku
25	elder/younger brother	kaja:/icci ta:yi	69	chest	si:paRa:ki
26	child	bi:Ra:	70	ear	kriyū:
27	daughter	ma:Nka:	71	eye	ka:Naka
28	father	a:ba:	72	face	mo:mbu
29	friend	soyi	73	fever	nombri
30	girl	po:da:	74	finger	ua:M'u
31	husband	Dokra:	75	flesh	uNka: (ka:vu)
32	male	se:hi	76	foot	koRa
33	man	lo:ku/a:ba:TiM	77	hair	ba:Na
34	marriage	viha:	78	hand	ke:yu
35	maternal uncle	soyi	79	head	tarin
36	maternal uncle's daughter	icaya:	80	heart	bo:la:
37	mother	a:ya:	81	leg	koRa
38	nephew	putra:/banan'ja:	82	lip	lu:Ra:
39	niece	paNaM'ji	83	liver	pitta:
40	old man	buR'a:la:	84	lung	bu:la:
41	sister elder/younger	ka:ja:taNki/be:NDiya:	85	mouth	gu:di
42	sister-in-law	na:ñco:	86	neck	herki
43	son	mir?eyū	87	nose	mu:Nli
44	widow	ra:NDi	88	spine	mur?e:si
			89	tongue	be:ndru

90	tooth	palaka:	139	love	ni?i piNa:no:
91	waist	TeDifi	140	pain	kasTo
92	fruit	po:lo:	141	true	soto
93	liquor	vaj	142	wish	a:sa:a:no:
94	milk	pa:lu	143	ink	sayi
95	salt	ha:r	144	school	iskuli
96	smoke	bo: i: pihno:	145	student	koka:r
97	uncooked rice	manji	146	teacher	ma:sTro
98	bed	parpu	147	bullet	bulai
99	door	duveri	148	first	mu:lu
100	house	ijjo:illu	149	second	je?o:
101	roof	sa?a:Ni	150	third	etaM'je?o:
102	rope	te:puri	151	one	roNDi
103	wall	ku:Du	152	two	riNDi
104	well	kui	153	three	ti:ni
105	window	jorka	154	four	ca:ri
106	flower	pu:yu	155	five	pa:so:
107	fruit	po:lo:	156	ten	daso:
108	garden	ba:Di	157	sixteen	soulo:
109	grass	jaNDu	158	twenty	ko:Re:
110	guava	ku:li ma:mu	159	forty	duri ko:Ri
111	jack fruit	paNsa:	160	do	kinno:
112	leaf	a:ku	161	pull	reNNa:yi
113	lily	band: (pu:yu)	162	push	nabki
114	mango	ma?ā:	163	put	iTTinayi
115	paddy	ku:li? i	164	rub	pa:cino:
116	plough	uDu:no:	165	sell	pa:r
117	potato	pe:jā:	166	wash (hands)	norno:
118	root	hirka:	167	work	ka:ma:
119	sweet	henne:	168	sing	pa:ccino:
120	tree	marnu	169	bring	tammu
121	vegetable	jaikua:	170	climb(a tree)	marnuta: ho:no:
122	wheel	billa:	171	come	va: (mu)
123	bitter	kosTo hi:ne	172	give	hi:no
124	black	ka:Diya:	173	go	hal
125	blind	ka:Na:/ka:Ni	174	jump	Demina:yi
126	blue	ni:liya:	175	vomit	kakva
127	bright	ujuDi	176	say	veh
128	brow	maTiya:	177	write	lekovi ki
129	coldness	penihila?agaTyi	178	touch	Digino
130	green	ni:liya:	179	bathe	methi
131	hat	topi	180	all	sobbu
132	light	ujuRi	181	bad	ka:rpa:
133	red	neturi	182	big	kaja:di
134	sour	ambDi	183	dirty	mahāne:
135	sweet	henne:	184	dry	vaite:
136	white	pa:NDri	185	few	icuNe
137	yellow	hi:nkara:ta:	186	full	nenja: (mane:)
138	hungry	ha:ku	187	good	nēyu

188	hand	ke:yu	236	that	u:di
189	honest	bele	237	to them	e:varaki
190	long	lamba:	238	then	o:Re
191	many	ha:rū	239	those	ua:
192	narrow	solko:	240	there	umba?ā:
193	new	pu?na:di	241	they	ua:ru
194	old	pa?Na:di	242	their	umba?a:
195	raw	hi?ila:di	243	these	iva:
196	rotten	sir?a:di	244	to us	maNge
197	cast	ve:Ra: ho:pu	245	we	ma:mbu
198	end	ra:te:	246	what	e:nti
199	far	he?ko	247	when	haccē
200	left	Tebri vaki	248	where	embiya:
201	middle	maddi	249	who	amba:yū
202	near	Dakita:	250	why	a:na?ataki
203	north	uttorO			
204	out	bahari			
205	right/side/hand	ti?i:ni va:yi(keyu)			
206	south	dokiNo			
207	again	o:Re:			
208	always	sabbu ve:la			
209	before	noge:			
210	daily	sabbu dina			
211	day	dina			
212	evening	minNa:la:			
213	fast/quick	no:ke:			
214	afterwards	Da:yu			
215	behind	Da:yu			
216	between	Madiye			
217	by	ta:			
218	down	Do?e:			
219	for	ta:ki			
220	from	ti?e			
221	he, she	ua:yū u:di			
222	to her, to him	e:danaki e:vaNaki			
223	here	imba?ā			
224	his/her	u:yayū /e:da:Ni			
225	how	e:niki			
226	I	na:nu			
227	it/this	idi			
228	to it/to this	e:danaki			
229	its/of this	e:danaki			
230	like	ne?ē			
231	to me				
232	my	na: (di)			
233	our	ma:			
234	not	a:?e			
235	so/thus	eda:ntaki			

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GADABA (Ollari)

J. Suresh

Family affiliation

Gadaba is a language of the Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic family but Ollari has been found to be a Dravidian speech. The composite name Gadaba (Ollari) is the speech of a community called Ollar Gadabas which is affiliated to Dravidian family of languages.

Location

Gadaba (Ollari) is found in the Lamtaput block and Boipariguda block under Jeypur Sub-Division of Koraput district of Orissa. They are distributed in 16 villages that is, Chuppa, Chondua, Nokkulapadar, Mundagada, Muria, Tokkal, Leuja, Kappuguda, Charaguda, Litiput, Maddi, Kaliagada, Kapparuguda, Pami, Kadalipadar and Tentulipada.

Earlier works on Ollari Gadaba

Only in 1931 census of Madras, 797 Gadabas have been referred to speak a dialect "Hollari" (vol-XIV p-301) and according to the District Gazetteer of Koraput of 1945 "what the language of the Ollars Gadabas is, remains a mystery. It may now be stated with some amount of certainty that Ollari is an important Dravidian language which is perhaps spoken by a distinct ethnic group. The agreement between Ollari and other Dravidian speeches have appeared throughout the vocabulary and grammar" (District Gazetteer of Koraput, 1945).

Ollari has not attracted attention of scholars till recently. Very few scholars have attempted to describe the different aspect of the speech. S.Bhattacharya's "Ollari, A Dravidian Speech" (Memoir No.3 Calcutta) is the only full length study available giving out a comprehensive account of Ollari with other Dravidian languages.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals :

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i i :</i>		<i>u u :</i>
Mid	<i>e e :</i>		<i>o o :</i>
Low		<i>a a :</i>	

The short vowels contrast with their corresponding long counterparts in the initial, medial and final positions.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio Dental	Dental	Post Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	velar
Stop	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>		<i>ʈ ɖ</i>		<i>k g</i>
Affricate						<i>c ɟ</i>	
Fricative				<i>s z</i>			
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Trill			<i>r</i>				
Flap					<i>ɽ</i>		
Semi Vowel		<i>v</i>				<i>y</i>	

Suprasegmentals

Length occurs in all the three position. Example

/a:l/ 'plough' /ta:l/ 'head' /muMga:l/ 'nose'

Nasalisation is found to occur in medial and final position. Example

/sokū m/ 'climb' /kanwāl/ 'well'

Phonemic distribution

The phonemic distribution of the consonants have been like this :

The stop series /p, b; t, d; T, D; k, g/ the affricate series /c, j/, the nasals /m and n/; the dentals /l, r/, the fricatives /s, z/ occur in all three positions – initial, medial and final. The other as /N, M', M/ occurs medially and finally and /R/ occur intervocally.

Diphthongs

Diphthongs are very rare in Ollari-Gadabba. It occurs in borrowed words and compound words.

Example

/peTia/ 'belly'
/dumriandar/ 'fog'

Consonant clusters

The consonant clusters are two or three-member clusters and these occur essentially in the medial position. The medial two consonant clusters are /-pp-, -bb-, -tt-, -dd-, -TT-, -DD-, -kk-, -gg-, -mm-, -nn-, -NN-, -MM-, -ll-, -ss-/ and the non-identical two-member consonant clusters are /-pl-, -k-, -Tr-, -tl-, -Ts-, -Dt-, -Dd-, -Dr-, -gl-, -sm-, -sk-, -rb-, -rk-, -rv-, -rg-, -rd-, -rt-, -rm-, -mc-, -mr-, -ms-, -n d-, -nv-, -ND-, -NT-, -Mb-, -Mg-, -M'j-, -lg-, -lt-, -lk-/ The only initially occurring two-member consonant cluster is /-Dr-/ (example /Druka/ 'tiger'). The three-member consonant clusters occurring only in the work-medial position are /-NDK-, -rND-, -NDz-, -NDp-, -yMp-, -ndk-/

Syllables

The Ollari words are made of syllables which range from mono- to polysyllable. The polysyllabic words range up to hexa-syllable. The syllables are of both open and close types.

Morphology

Nouns

Gender

Ollari nouns are divided into two genders, masculine and non-masculine. This classification of gender is reflected in the conjugation of verbs. Example

/se:pal vadaND/ 'boy came' /ma:l vada/ 'girl came'
/kor vada/ 'fowl came'

The adjectives and predicatives follow the gender of the objects they qualify and also maintain the two-fold classification of nouns into masculine and non-masculine like nouns.

Example

/i: Ronde/ /niyaTa/ 'this cow is good'
/i: se:pal/ /niyaToND/ 'this boy is good'

By adding numeral adjectives the Ollari nouns show three-way distinction of gender

Example

/lirul se:palkil/ 'two boys' /liral ayasil/ 'two women'
/lINDi ko:ndell/ 'two cows'

Further, the addition of a separate word indicates the distinction of gender of the nouns.

Example

/sir/	'buffalo'	/tan - sir/	'she buffalo'
/kor/	'hen'	/ga:nja - kor/	'cock'

Also, the use of *-i* in place of masculine *-a* mark out the distinction of gender.

Example

/kaNa/	'blind man'	/kaNi/	'blind woman'
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Number

Ollari has two numbers, namely, singular and plural. While singular is unmarked, the plural is formed using a number of suffixes as *-l*, *til*; *-sil*, *-kil*, *-kul*, *-gil* and *-gul*.

Example

/i - l > il	irid - il > irdil/	'crabs'
/u - l > ul	puDug - ul > puDugul/	'stomach'
/ti - l > til	super - til /	'tamarind'
/gar - sil > gar - sil/		'hail stone'
/sir - kil > sirkil/		'buffaloes'
/kaN - kul > kaNkul/		'eyes'
/ka:l - gil > ka:lgil/		'legs'

The nouns ending in *-al* drop the final consonant before taking the plural suffix *-sil* or *-sul*.

Example

/aya - sil > aya - sill/	'wives'
/keDa - sil > keDa sill/	'widows'
/va:Mgu - sul > va:Mgu -sull/	'knees'

Cases

Ollari cases do not distinguish for number and as such the same suffix is used for singular and plural nominative in the simple stem itself. Some of the simple uninflected base is used as the accusative form.

Example

/a: n kis siTTon/	'I put out fire'
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Otherwise the common accusative marker is *-n* after vowels and *-in* after consonants.

Example

/Druka: - -n > Druka:n/	'to the tiger'
/va:rTe - -n > va:rTen/	'to the yoke'
/se:pakil - -in > se:pakilin/	'to the children'

Further, the accusative marker *-in* is also used

Example

/meyoNDi ko:nDel -iM a:n kaNDikingan/ 'I am searching the lost cows'

The instrumental marker is *-nal*

Example

/koDal- na:l/ 'with spade' /kiyub -na:l/ 'with axe'
 /sepeT- na:l/ 'with broom'

In Ollari case suffixes are added directly to the stem. Exception to this general rule is the use of -T- in between the stem and the case affix to form an oblique base

Example

/toru 'rope' - -na:l > toru-T- na:l/ 'with rope'
 /kaRme 'stick' - -na:l > kaRmeT na:l/ 'with stick'

The ablative suffixes which are added to the inflected stems are -pelTun and -Tun

Example

/marim -pelTun/ 'from the tree' /ule-TuM/ 'from the house'

The genitive relationship is expressed in various ways in Ollari. The genitive suffixes are -in and -M.

Example

/se:pal-in/ 'boys' /se:lal-in/ 'girls'
 /ko:nde-M/ 'cows'

In Ollari, the inflected genitive form is generally avoided and the words are brought together forming a compound.

Example

/kaNul- maTTal/ 'eye-brow' /kor-pa:p/ 'young fowl'
 /kis -po:g/ 'smoke of fire'

Sometimes -ne and -Te are used to form the possessive case of nouns. Example

/kon -ne ceNDil/ 'cock's comb' /mar-Te ve:r/ 'root of tree'
 /Kopel-Te marin/ 'forest trees'

The locative case affix is -tan -tun or -n

Example

/piNDe puDug -tun ilete/ 'a fly feel on the belly'
 /ba:m ule-n ireTel/ 'the snake entered the house'
 /mogul poyta:n Tara pe:si mayal/ 'a star has appeared in the sky'

Sometimes the uninflected nominative base is used as the locative form. Example

/im polub a:n senMi maTon/ 'I had gone to your village'

Thus, the Ollari case affixes are the following

Nominative	-ø	Ablative	-pelTuM, -Tun
Accusative	-n, -iM	Genitive	-in, -M, -ne, -Te
Instrumental	-na:l	Locative	-tan, tun, -n

Pronoun

Pronouns are of two-types namely, personal and non-personal pronouns. The personal pronouns are further classified into first person, second person and third person pronouns. The non-personal pronouns include the interrogative pronoun, reflexive pronoun etc. The pronouns are discussed below :

Personal pronoun

First person singular { *a:n* } $\propto$ *-an*, *an* occurs before cases and other suffixes :

/a:n - uM > anuM/ 'my'

a:n occurs elsewhere.

/a:n/ 'I'

First person plural { *a:m* } $\propto$ *am*, *am* occurs before cases and suffixes Example

/am - nal amnal/ 'by me'

a:m occurs elsewhere.

/a:m/ 'we'

Second person singular { *i:n* } $\propto$ *in* it occurs before case affixes

Example

/i:n - uM > inuM/ 'your'

i:n occurs elsewhere

/i:n/ 'you'

Second person plural { *i:m* } $\propto$ *im*, *im* occurs before suffixes

Example

/i:m - pelTum > impelTum/ 'from you'

i:m occurs elsewhere

/i:m/ 'you (plural)'

Third person singular

Ollari distinguishes between masculine and non-masculine category as explained below :

Third person masculine singular

{ *o:ND* } $\propto$ *-on*

-on occurs before suffixes. Example

/o:ND - uM > onuM/ 'his'

o:ND occurs elsewhere

/o:ND - o > o:ND/ 'he'

Third person masculine plural

{ *o:r* } $\propto$ *or*, *-or* occurs before suffixes

/o:r - na:l > orna:l/ 'by them'

or occurs elsewhere.

/o:r - o > or/ 'they'

Third person non-masculine singular { *ad* }

Example

/adna:l > /adna:l/ 'by her' (Here nominative base takes the suffixes as it is)

Third person non-masculine plural { av }

Example

/av - na:l > /avna:l/ 'by them'

Non-personal pronoun

The non-personal pronouns are - interrogative and reflexive types. The interrogative pronoun -e:yND 'who' and the reflexive-singular is ta:n and plural is ta:m

The interrogative pronoun e:yND has an oblique base e:yr- and e:yr-ne

{ e:yND } ∝ e:yr, e:yr occurs before case suffixes

Example

/e:yND - ne > e:yr-ne/ 'whose' (/ikon de e:yrne/ 'whose cow is this')

The reflexive pronoun has forms ta:n (singular) and ta:m (plural) Example

/ta:n - suffix > tan/ ; /ta:m - suffix > ta:m/

Besides these, there are a few indeclinables used as pronominal adjectives. These are i 'this' ; a: /a:y 'that'

Example

/i: maggiND	siriMgaToND/	'this man is black'
/da:ma:sil	e:nduminda/	'those girls are dancing'
/a:y garNDa	duna key/	'fold that cloth'

Adjectives

Adjectives are inflected for gender of the object they qualify .

Example

Masculine singular	/i: maggiND siringaTToND/	'this man is black'
Non-masculine singular	/i: kor niyaTe maya/	'this fowl is good'
Masculine singular	/kaNaToND/	'blind man'
Feminine singular	/kaNiTe/	'blind woman'

Inflected forms are also used attributively.

Example

/siringaTTa ayal varimaya/	'the black woman has come'
/surTe kuse a:n paNDan/	'I refused to take sour cooked vegetable'

The adjectival suffix - oNDi that is used to form verbal adjective can also convert a noun into an adjective Example

/pa:p oNDi panis/ 'green jack fruit'

The adjectivals showing the degree of comparison in Ollari are odik 'better' kaNDek 'inferior', etc and these are used before the adjectives. Also the adjectives are used as inflected predicative wherein the word to be compared is put in the ablative.

Example

/an ayal pelTuM in ayal pa:poNDi maya/ 'your wife is younger than my wife'

Verb

The verbs in Ollari Gadaba have two tier tenses - past and present-future. In the past tense there are two patterns of conjugation, viz, those in which -e- is used as the connecting vowel inserted between the root and the personal ending and those in which -o- is inserted.

The structure of the past verbal forms is root - $\begin{Bmatrix} -e- \\ -o- \end{Bmatrix}$ - personal ending.

structurally, the simple past and the present perfect tense make no difference.

Below are presented the conjugational pattern of the verb /i:l/ 'to fall' in three persons and two numbers.

	Singular	Plural
I person	i:l - e -n	il -e-m
II person	i:l -e- T	il -e-r
III person (Masculine)	i:l -e- ND	il -e- r
(Non-masculine)	i:l -e-Te	il -e- Tev

Verb roots having separate stems for the past take -o- as the stem formative in all persons except the third person non-masculine singular and plural. These verbs may be grouped under 4 heads: (i) verbs having separate stems in -n for the past, (ii) verbs having separate stems in -T for the past, (iii) verbs having separate stems in -D- for the past and (iv) verbs having separate stems in -t for the past.

Example

Group I /sin/ 'to give'

	Singular	Plural
I person	si:n-o-n	si:n-o-m
II person	si:n-o-T	si:n-o-r
III person (Masculine)	si:n-o-ND	si:n-o-r
(Non-masculine)	si:n-e	si:n-ev

Group II /veT/ 'to hear'

I person	veT-o-n	veT-o-m
II person	veT-o-T	veT-o-r
III person (Masculine)	veT-o-ND	veT-o-r
(Non-masculine)	veT-e	veT-ev

Group III /tiND/ 'to eat'

	Singular	Plural
I person	tiND-o-n	ti:ND-o-m
II person	tiND-o-T	ti:ND-o-r
III person(masculine)	tiND-o-ND	tiND-o-r
(Non-masculine)	tiND-e	tiND-ev

Group IV /pe:t/ 'to appear'

I person	pe:t-o-n	pe:t-o-m
II. person	pe:t-o-T	pe:t-o-r
III person (Masculine)	pe:r-o-ND	pe:t-o-r
(Non-masculine)	pe:t-e	pe:t-ev

Present -future

In Ollari the present - future tense marker is either *-d-* or *-y-* with *-a-* everywhere as the stem formative. There is a third variety of present- future conjugation in which the transitive and causative verbs have either *p* or *t* stems have *-t* as the present - future marker. To exemplify

(a) <i>-d-</i> Present future :		/vaND/ 'to cook'
	Singular	Plural
I person	vaND- <i>d</i> -am	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-m
II person	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-T	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-r
III person(masculine)	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-ND	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-r
(Non-masculine)	vaND- <i>d</i> -a	vaND- <i>d</i> -a-v

(b) *-y* in the present - future alternative with *-n*, verbs like /pun- and puy/ 'to know' /tin, tiy/ 'to eat', /man-, mat- may-/ 'to be'; /ven-, veT- vey/ 'to hear' /sen-, seND-, sey/ 'to go' etc belong to this group.

Another mode of forming the present - future is to employ the past base in *-t* followed by the present - future link vowel *-a-* instead of *-o-*. All verbs which have additional base in *-t* and which conjugate according to second pattern in the past tense fall under this group.

Example

/pe:p-/ , pe:T/- 'to appeal'

	Singular	Plural
I person	pe:t-a-n	pe:t-a-m
II person	pe:t-a-T	pe:t-a-r
III person (Masculine)	pe:t-a-nd	pe:t-a-r
(Non-masculine)	pe:t-a	pe:t-a-v

Negative verb

Ollari Gadaba has only one set of negative forms for the two tenses - past and present-future. The principal stem of the verb which is usually the imperative form, is used as the base in the negative, with which is added the negative marker *-a-* as the link vowel and then follows the personal ending.

Example

		/pun-/ , /puy -/ 'to know'
	Singular	Plural
I person	pun-a-n	pun-a-m
II person	pun-a-T	pun-a-r
III person(Masculine)	pun-a-ND	pun-a-r
(Non-masculine)	pun-a	pun-a-v

-a- negative used only for the present - future. Such verbs are /maT- and oDt-/ 'to be' and 'to be able' respectively.

Example

	Singular	Plural
I person	man-u-Ton	man-u-Tom
II person	man-u-ToT	man-u-Tor
III person(Masculine)	man-u-ToND	man-u-Tor
(Non-masculine)	man-u-Te	man-u-Tev

Causative verb

The causatives are formed by the addition of *-p* and *-t* to the root. (*-t* is the base used for the past and *-p* is for present – future.)

Example

/aD-/ 'to cry' /aDp-/ , /aDt-/ 'to make to cry'

Roots ending in a consonant conjunct use mostly an anaptyctic vowel when the causative formation supplies them with the third consonant at the end of the words.

Conditional verb

The conditional suffix is *-koDen* in Ollari and is the same in both the past and the future. Herein *-k-* > *-g-* in certain conditions. *-koDen* is used (a) when the root ends in a vowel or *y* (b) after the negative *-a-* and after verb ending in *-p-* and *-t*. Example

/si: -koDen/ 'if you give' /key -a- koDen/ 'If he does not do'

/TeT -koDen/ 'If you raise...'

-goen is used elsewhere (and sometimes it is shortened as *-goD*)

Example

/i:n sen - goDen/ 'if you go'.....;

/i:n man - goD/ 'if you stay'

Imperative verbs

The imperative is the stem itself. Some anaptyctic vowel is also used to break the conjunct consonants as well.

Example

/sen/ 'go' /pe:p/ 'come out'

/ko:p/ 'tend cattle' /pi:v/ 'live'

/key/ 'do' /var/ 'come'

/si:/ 'give'

The verbs ending in *-p* and *-t* use the second person singular *-T* preceded by *-u* to form the second person imperative singular.

Example

/i:lupuT/ 'make to fall' /uNdupuT/ 'make to drink'

/maripuT/ 'teach'

The negative imperative is formed by the addition of *-men*.

Example

/sar-men/ 'do not drive' /tiND-men/ 'do not pull'

/ko:p-men/ 'do not tend'

Compound verbs

In Ollari compound verbs are formed with the help of an auxiliary verb */kar-/* 'to throw/give'

Example

/si-kar/ 'give'

Sometimes the verbs like */si:-*, *sen-/* 'to go' are also used as auxiliaries in compound verbs in Ollari.

Example

/kis siTi seNDe/ 'fire has gone out'

/varsil paDiMgi keriñjum eri seNDe/ 'paddies having ripened have become red'

Non-finite verbs

Infinitive

The verbs in Ollari ending in *-p* and *-t* generally have a *-k* stem in the infinitive. Also, sometimes only *-u* is used as the infinitive marker. The infinitives with *-iM* or *-uM* can be used as gerunds.

Example

/ni:r may-uM/ 'to bathe' */ka:p> ka:kiM/* 'to watch'
/nagiM-bikiriM/ 'jokes'

Verbal nouns

Ollari forms agent nouns by adding *-al* to the verbs.

<i>/ke:s/</i>	'to shave'	becomes	<i>/ke:sal/</i>	'razor'
<i>/koD-/</i>	'to dig'	becomes	<i>/koDal/</i>	'spade'
<i>/kã:j-/</i>	'to carry on shoulder'	becomes	<i>/kã:Jal/</i>	'carrying yoke'

Verbal adjectives

The verbal adjectives in Ollari are formed by the addition of the marker *-oNDi* to the roots.

Example

/tin -oNDi kaDse/ 'cooked rice already eaten up'

Sometimes the present *-future* forms also are used as verbal adjectives indicating an indefinite sense.

Example

/vadan neliM/ 'coming mouth' */jir-era kaDse/* 'undigested food'

Syntax

The sentences of Ollari are phrase-based. The sentences may be broadly classified into three types viz, (1) simple sentences, (2) compound sentences and (3) complex sentences.

Simple sentences

A simple sentence is composed of one independent clause with a simple subject and a finite verb. According to the characteristics of the predicate, a simple sentence may be either transitive or intransitive or copulative. A simple sentence may be one of the four main types - statement, question, command and request.

Example

<i>/i: kor niyaTe maya/</i>	'this fowl is good'
<i>/i: kor e:yrne/</i>	'whose fowl is this?'
<i>/i: lupuT/</i>	'make to fall'
<i>/ko:p/</i>	'tend cattle'
<i>/maripuT/</i>	'teach'
<i>/kaNDup-men/</i>	'do not search'

Compound sentences

The sentences which take more than one principal clause are compound sentences. There will be, therefore, more than one finite verb but the subject may be either same for all the principal clauses or may be different.

Example

/l:n o:r a:n pereT karsi seyoT/ 'you and I went crossing the river'
/a:y lo:k-uM a:m puyam o:r inuM a:m punam/
'we know that person but we don't know you'

Complex sentences

Sentences which have one independent clause and one or more subordinate clauses are complex sentences. A complex sentence has only one subject and one finite verb.

Example

/mogul poytan tara pe:si mayal/ 'the star that had appeared in the sky is still visible'

Brief sociolinguistic information

Ollari-Gadabas use their mother tongue exclusively in their home and kin domains. It is more prevalent among the aged males and middle aged females while the middle aged males and the youngsters resort to Desia which they use even in the locality, in the communication network of the tribals and the non-tribals. A few of them who have received education are exposed to standard Oriya, the official language of the state. Hindi is a popular medium among them for extensive use of mass-media. The language has no script. Hence written communication is maintained only through Oriya script.

Word list follows:

Sl.no.	English	Gadaba(Ollari)	Sl.no.	English	Gadaba(Ollari)
1	air	ua:l varida:	45	wife	asma:l
2	ashes	ni:D	46	woman	asma:l
3	cloud	mogul	47	ant	suidil
4	cold	pañil	48	bird	sitepa:p
5	darkness	sikka:	49	cat	verig
6	earth	tuku:D	50	claw	va:ndel
7	eclipse	goron	51	cock	ga:M'ja
8	fire	kix	52	cow	koNDe
9	fog	dumriandar	53	dog	M'ette
10	forest	koppel	54	egg	ga:r
11	hill	kupli	55	feather	ke:ndisil
12	ice	adir ka:nD	56	fish	niNil
13	moon	nelim	57	fly	mosi
14	mountain	ber koppel	58	fox	bokDa:
15	rain	ku:Di	59	goat	mege
16	river	pereD	60	grease	koDuku:T
17	road	berba:	61	guts	puDu:k
18	sand	maND	62	horn	korkusul
19	wind	besiva:l (storm)	63	back	po:Ttel
20	wood	kaDasil	64	belly	puDu:k
21	baby	sepal	65	blood	ba:ni
22	boy	sepa:l	66	body	men
23	bride	koDa:l/ile	67	bone	puNukul
24	bride groom	salgiND/ileND	68	breast	pa:lgin
25	brother (eld)	berba:/	69	chest	argil
	(yong)	hamcepal	70	ear	kekol
26	child	sepal	71	eye	ka:Nul
27	daughter	ma:l	72	face	po:nd
28	father	aba:	73	fever	ka:iki:r
29	friend	sango	74	finger	va:nde
30	girl	buDDi	75	flesh	se:p
31	husband	agal magil	76	foot	ka:l
32	male	magiND siND	77	hair	ta:ltake
33	man	magiND siND	78	hand	ki
34	marriage	odu:r	79	head	ta:l
35	maternal uncle	paTok	80	heart	ta:DiM
36	maternal uncle's		81	leg	ka:l
	daughter	banji	82	lip	ToDi
37	mother	aya	83	liver	tarim
38	nephew	bonfa	84	lung	popo:s
39	niece	banji	85	mouth	solu
40	old man	mutak	86	neck	koDroM
41	sister	boini	87	nose	muMga:
42	sister-in-law	koDa:l	88	spine	la:Tipu:l
43	son	bai	89	tongue	na:M
44	widow	ranDi asma:l	90	tooth	palkil

91	waist	ka:kki	140	white	wile:d
92	fruit	pho:l	141	yellow	haldi waDinmayā
93	liquor	ma:l	142	hungry	anDida
94	milk	pa:l	143	love	adin sutra hika
95	salt	sup	144	pain	dika pekida
96	smoke	po:g	145	true	so:t pa:Te po:k
97	uncooked rice	cha:l	146	wish	adinicha
98	bed	ki:	147	ink	sira
99	door	walsa:Te	148	school	iskul
100	house	ulle	149	student	chatro
101	roof	si:T	150	teacher	agyā
102	rope	toru	151	bullet	ba:r
103	wall	ku:r	152	first	waga:Ri
104	well	kuwā ka:l	153	second	nenDin
105	window	kiTki	154	third	kunDe:l
106	flower	pu:l	155	one	ukuT
107	fruit	pha:l	156	two	joDe:k
108	garden	wa:De	157	three	munDul
109	grass	la:Ta:	158	four	cha:ri goTTa
110	guava	goma:ri/rauli	159	five	panc goTTa
111	jack fruit	paNisin	160	ten	das goTTa
112	leaf	egil	161	sixteen	sollo
113	lily	maliphu:l	162	twenty	koRe
114	mango	ma:gin	163	forty	challis
115	paddy	varsil	164	do	kame
116	plough	a:l	165	pull	tiND
117	potato	a:lu:re	166	push	phelau:T
118	root	we:r	167	put	hir
119	sweet	tire:n	168	rub	regaRa pu:T
120	tree	ma:rin	169	sell	wiRi karidar
121	vegetable	kuse	170	wash	noruda:r
122	wheel	cho:k	171	work	ka:m
123	bitter	pitase	172	sing	parida:r
124	black	kalla	173	bring	indre
125	blind	ka:Na:	174	climb	sokūm
126	blue	niliTe	175	come	wa
127	bright	wile:d	176	give	indre
128	brown	rata	177	go	sen
129	coldness	pāgil	178	jump	wa:l
130	green	toru	179	vomit	ka:ki herida:n
131	hat	Topi	180	say	po:k
132	light	usa:smayā	181	write	leka pu:T
133	red	nijor rata:Te	182	touch	meru:p
134	sour	Tonku Tonku	183	bathe	nirmul
135	sweet	tire:n	184	all	patin
136	bad	karab	185	by	kakke:l
137	big	berte	186	down	gaRdi
138	dirty	moyuDu	187	for	paT
139	dry	waTeTe	188	from	pel

189	few	ka:NDe:k	221	he,she	o:ND(he)ad(she/it)
190	full	purun	222	to her/ to him	onul
191	good	niyaTe	223	here	IT/L:l
192	hand	ki	224	his/her	onul
193	honest	niyaTe	225	how	eTen
194	long	du:ri	226	I	a:n
195	many	perin	227	it/this	l:du
196	narrow	sipa	228	to it/to this	idinu
197	new	pune:d	229	its/of this	tyo:NDu
198	old	eTe:d	230	like	ipa:R
199	raw	ka:ye	231	to me	amin
200	rotten	illsaNDe	232	my	ane
201	east	welle	233	our	ame
202	end	kinDi:r	234	not	mana
203	far	du:ri	235	so/thus	tenu
204	left	Debri	236	that	a:y
205	middle	neNDin	237	to them	a:ylokun
206	near	kakke:l	238	then	kunDe:l
207	north	kiDiM	239	those	aTaTim
208	out	windtin	240	there	aTaTim
209	right/side/hand	tiya:n pangi:T	241	they	or/av
210	south	poun	242	their	aylokne
211	again	are	243	these	kake:l
212	always	paTindin	244	to us	ame
213	before	pehel	245	we	ame
214	daily	eselman	246	what	enadin
215	day	pakTal	247	when	esel
216	evening	sirtal	248	where	ereman/e:T
217	fast/quick	begi	249	who	e:yND
218	afterwards	kuNDe:l	250	why	enadin
219	behind	kuNDe:l			
220	between	nevDin			

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